

Bibliography

- A. Alcock, 'Persecution under Septimius Severus', *Enchoria* 11 (1982) 1-5
- S. Alcock, *Archaeologists of the Greek Past. Landscape, Monuments, and Memories* (Cambridge, 2002)
- I. Alexandru, 'The Great Persecution of Diocletian and Its Consequences', in E. Dal Covolo and G. Sfameni Gasparro (eds), *Costantino il Grande alle radici dell'Europa* (Vatican City, 2014) 105-20
- R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London, 2002)
- É. Amélineau, *Étude sur le christianisme en Égypte au septième siècle* (Paris, 1888-1895)
- É. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne aux IV^e, V^e, VI^e et VII^e siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1888)
- É. Amélineau, *Les actes des martyrs de l'Église copte* (Paris, 1890)
- É. Amélineau, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque copte* (Paris, 1893)
- É. Amélineau, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte chrétienne. Histoire des monastères de la Basse-Égypte* (Cairo, 1894) 316-413
- É. Amélineau, *Oeuvres de Schenoudi: Texte copte et traduction française*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907-1914)
- W. Ameling, 'Zwei epigrafische Bemerkungen zum Martyrium Pionii', *ZPE* 198 (2016) 68-74
- L. Antonini, 'Le chiese cristiane nell'Egitto dal IV al IX secolo', *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 129-208
- A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume: Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (Munich, 1999)
- J. Assmann, 'Kollektives Gedächtnis und kulturelle Identität', in J. Assmann and T. Hölscher (eds.), *Kultur und Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt, 1988) 9-19
- J. Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (Munich, 1992)
- J. Assmann, *Religion und kulturelles Gedächtnis* (Munich, 2000)
- P. Aubreville, 'Zur Motivation der tetrarchischen Christenverfolgung', *ZAC* 13 (2009) 415-29
- R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993)
- R.S. Bagnall, *Later Roman Egypt. Society, Religion, Economy and Administration* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2003)
- R.S. Bagnall and D. Rathbone, *Egypt: From Alexander to the Copts: An Archaeological and Historical Guide* (London, 2004)
- R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Leiden, 2004²)
- J. Baines and J. Málek, *Cultural Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000, rev. ed. of *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* [Oxford, 1980])
- J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome, 1987)
- G. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, *Acta martyrum I*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1960-1961²)
- G. Balestri and H. Hyvernat, *Acta Martyrum II* (Paris, 1953²)
- P. Barison, 'Ricerche sui monasteri dell'Egitto bizantino', *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 29-148
- T.D. Barnes, 'The Editions of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*', *GRBS* 21 (1980) 191-201
- T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, 1981)
- T.D. Barnes, *Tertullian* (Oxford, 1985) 263-5
- T.D. Barnes, 'From Toleration to Repression: The Evolution of Constantine's Religious Policies', *SCI* 21 (2002) 189-207
- T.D. Barnes, *Early Christian Hagiography and Roman History* (Tübingen, 2010)
- A. Barnier, J. Sutton and M. Temler, 'Total Recall: Truth, Memory, and the Trial of Oscar Pistorius', *The Conversation* (11 April 2014), available online at <https://theconversation.com/total-recall-truth-memory-and-the-trial-of-oscar-pistorius-25496> (the same article appeared as 'Truth,

- Memory and the Trial of Oscar Pistorius', *The New Zealand Herald* [14 April 2014], available online at https://www.nzherald.co.nz/lifestyle/news/article.cfm?c_id=6&objectid=11237871
- J.W.B. Barns, 'Egypt and the Greek Romance', in H. Gerstiger (ed.), *Akten des 8. internationalen Kongresses für Papyrologie in Wien 1955* (Vienna, 1956) 29-36
- J.W.B. Barns and H. Chadwick, 'A Letter Ascribed to Peter of Alexandria', *JThS* 24 (1973) 443-55
- G. Bastianini and R. Pintaudi, 'Due documenti con Aurelio Teofilo economo del *martyrium* di San Colluto', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis III* (Florence, 2017) 593-622
- T. Baumeister, *Martyr invictus: Der Märtyrer als Sinnbild der Erlösung in der Legende und im Kult der frühen koptischen Kirche: Zur Kontinuität des ägyptischen Denkens* (Münster, 1972)
- T. Baumeister, review of H. Bröcker, *Der heilige Thalelaïos, Texte und Untersuchungen* (Münster, 1976), in *JbAC* 22 (1979) 218-20
- T. Baumeister, 'Der Märtyrer Philemon', in E. Dassmann and K.S. Frank (eds.), *Pietas. Festschrift für Bernhard Kotting* (Münster, 1980) 267-79
- T. Baumeister, *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums* (Münster, 1980)
- T. Baumeister, 'Arianus, Saint', in *Copt.Enc.* I (1991) 230-1
- T. Baumeister, 'Fortschritte in der ägyptischen Hagiographie', in C. Fluck et al. (eds.), *Divitae Aegypti: Koptologische und verwandte Studien zu Ehren von Martin Krause* (Wiesbaden, 1995) 9-14
- T. Baumeister, 'Die *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* und die Entwicklung der koptischen hagiographie', in M. Immerzeel and J. Van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2004) 1.269-80
- A. Bausi, *La versione etiopica degli Acta Phileae nel Gadla sama'tat* (Napels, 2002)
- A. Bausi, 'The Coptic Version of the *Acta Phileae*', *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies Newsletter* 8 (2014) 11-3
- A. Bausi, 'Dalla documentazione papiracea (*P.Bodm. XX* e *P.Chester Beatty XV*) alle raccolte agiografiche: la lunga storia degli *Acta Phileae* in versione etiopica', *Adamantius* 21 (2015) 155-70
- A. Bausi and A. Camplani, 'The *History of the Episcopate of Alexandria* (HEpA): *Editio minor* of the Fragments Preserved in the *Aksumite Collection* and in the *Codex Veronensis LX* (58)', *Adamantius* 22 (2016) 249-302
- R. Beck, *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire. Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun* (Oxford, 2006)
- P. Bedjan, *Acta martyrum et sanctorum*, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1890-1897)
- H. Behlmer, 'Ancient Egyptian Survivals in Coptic Literature: An Overview', in A. Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms* (Leiden, 1996) 567-90
- H. Behlmer, 'Women and the Holy in Coptic Hagiography', in N. Bosson and A. Boud'hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2007) 2.405-16
- H.I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1914)
- M. Berek, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit. Eine Theorie der Erinnerungskulturen* (Wiesbaden, 2009)
- G. van den Berg-Onstedder, 'Diocletian in the Coptic Tradition', *BSAC* 29 (1990) 87-122
- É. Bernand, 'Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d'Égypte', *ZPE* 98 (1993) 103-10
- M. Bloch, 'Mémoire collective, tradition et coutume', *Revue de synthèse historique* 40 (1925) 73-83
- L.H. Blumell, *Lettered Christians: Christians, Letters, and Late Antique Oxyrhynchus* (Leiden, 2012)
- L.H. Blumell, 'A Potential Source for the Latin Preface in *P.Oxy. XVIII 2194*', *ZPE* 183 (2012) 72-4
- L.H. Blumell and T.A. Wayment, *Christian Oxyrhynchus: Texts, Documents, and Sources* (Waco TX, 2015)
- J. Boardman, *The Archaeology of Nostalgia. How the Greeks Recreated Their Mythical Past* (London, 2002)

- J. Bogdani, 'The Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. A Question of Method', *Vicino Oriente* 21 (2017) 59-69
- J. Bolland, G. Henschen and D. Papebroc, *Acta sanctorum: Martii, tomus primus* (Paris, 1865)
- A. Bossu, D. Praet and K. De Temmerman, 'The Saint as Cunning Heroine: Rhetoric and Characterization in the *Passio Caeciliae*', *Mnemosyne* 69 (2016) 433-52
- P. Bourdieu, *Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique* (Geneva, 1972)
- , *Le sens pratique* (Paris, 1980)
- R. Boutros, 'The Christian Remains inside the Temple of Dendara', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 1 (2010) 47-68
- D. Brakke, 'Athanasius of Alexandria and the Cult of the Holy Dead,' in: E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica XXXII. Athanasius and His Opponents, Cappadocian Fathers, Other Greek Writers of Nicaea* (Leuven, 1997) 32-8
- D. Brakke, "'Outside the Places, within the Truth": Athanasius of Alexandria and the Localization of the Holy', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998) 445-81
- D. Brakke, *Demons and the Making of the Monk: Spiritual Combat in Early Christianity* (Cambridge, 2006)
- E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1931-1932* (Bergamo, 1932)
- E. Breccia and S. Donadoni, 'Le prime ricerche italiane ad Antinoe', *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 285-310
- J.N. Bremmer, *The Rise of Christianity through the Eyes of Gibbon, Harnack and Rodney Stark* (Groningen, 2010²)
- J.N. Bremmer, 'Preface: The Materiality of Magic', in D. Boschung and J.N. Bremmer (eds.), *The Materiality of Magic* (Paderborn, 2015) 7-19
- J.N. Bremmer, 'From Heroes to Saints', in F. Heinzer, J. Leonhard and R. von den Hoff (eds.), *Sakralität und Heldentum* (Würzburg, 2017) 35-66
- J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 349-386 ('Perpetua and Her Diary: Authenticity, Family and Visions', 2002¹)
- J.N. Bremmer, *Maidens, Magic and Martyrs in Early Christianity* (Tübingen, 2017) 181-96 ('Conversion in the Oldest Apocryphal Acts', 2014¹)
- J.N. Bremmer, 'Athanasius' *Life of Antony*: Marginality, Spatiality and Mediality', in L. Feldt and J.N. Bremmer (eds.), *Marginality, Media, and Mutations of Religious Authority in the History of Christianity* (Leuven, 2019) 23-45
- J.N. Bremmer, 'The Emergence of the Christian Martyr in the Second and Third Centuries', in J. Hahn (ed.), *Innovations in the Veneration of Martyrs in the Fourth Century CE* (forthcoming)
- D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, 'Divine Architects: Designing the Monastic Dwelling Place', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge, 2007) 368-89
- D.L. Brooks Hedstrom, *The Monastic Landscape of Late Antique Egypt. An Archaeological Reconstruction* (Cambridge, 2017).
- P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Men in Late Antiquity', *JRS* 61 (1971) 80-101
- P. Brown, 'The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity', *Representations* 2 (1983) 1-25
- P. Brown, 'Asceticism: Pagan and Christian', in *CAH² XIII* (1997) 601-31
- P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Men in Late Antiquity 1971-1997', *J ECS* 6 (1998) 353-76
- P. Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 2014²)
- T.S. de Bruyn, *Making Amulets Christian: Artefacts, Scribes, and Contexts* (Oxford, 2017)
- T.S. de Bruyn and J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets', *BASP* 28 (2011) 163-216
- P. Buc, 'Martyre et ritualité dans l'Antiquité tardive. Horizons de l'écriture médiévale des rituels', *Annales (HSS)* 48 (1997) 63-92
- E.A.W. Budge, *The Martyrdom and Miracles of Saint George of Cappadocia* (London, 1888)

- E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913)
- E.A.W. Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1914)
- E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915)
- E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1928)
- D.F. Bumazhnov, 'Zur Interpretation der *Vita des seligen Aphu von Pemdje*', in L. Perrone (ed.), *Origeniana Octava: Origen and the Alexandrian Tradition* (Leuven, 2003) 987-93
- R.W. Burgess, 'The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici Canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *JThS* 48 (1997) 471-504
- R.W. Burgess, 'The *Chronograph of 354*: Its Manuscripts, Contents and History', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 5 (2012) 345-96
- R.W. Burgess, 'The New Edition of the *Chronograph of 354*: A Detailed Critique', *ZAC* (2017) 384-415
- R.W. Burgess and M. Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD. Volume I: A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from Its Origins to the High Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2013)
- P. Burke, 'History as Social Memory', in T. Butler (ed.), *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind* (New York, 1989) 97-113
- P. Burke, review of E.B. Tribble and N. Keene, *Cognitive Ecologies*, in *JEH* 63 (2012) 405-6
- O.H.E. Burmeister, 'On the Date and Authorship of the Arabic Synaxarium of the Coptic Church', *JThS* 39 (1938) 249-53
- P. Buzi, 'Re-Interpreting History: Constantine and the Constantinian Age according to Coptic Hagiography', in P. Buzi, A. Camplani and F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2016) 2.1117-28
- P. Buzi, 'Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in Their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage ("PATHs"). A New Project on Coptic Literary Texts', *Early Christianity* 8 (2017) 507-16
- P. Buzi, J. Bogdani, N. Carlig, M.C. Giorda and A. Soldati, '"Tracking Papyrus and Parchment Paths: An Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature. Literary Texts in Their Geographical Context. Production, Copying, Usage, Dissemination and Storage": A New International Project on Coptic Literature and the Role of the Coptic Papyrus Codices of the Museo Egizio for Its Development', *Rivista del Museo Egizio* 1 (2017) 1-11
- A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, 5 vols. and 2 suppl. (Cairo-Madrid-Milan-Bonn, 1935-1996)
- A. Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* (Berkeley, 1991)
- A. Camplani, *Le lettere festali di Atanasio di Alessandria* (Rome, 1989)
- A. Camplani, *Atanasio di Alessandria: Lettere festali* (Milan, 2003)
- C. Cannuyer, 'Des dieux aux saints guérisseurs dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte', in A. Degrière and R. Lebrun (eds.), *Deus medicus: acts du colloque organisé à Louvain-la-Neuve les 15 et 16 juin 2012 par le Centre d'histoire des religions Cardinal Julien Ries* (Turnhout, 2014) 21-48
- J.-M. Carrié, 'Séparation ou cumul? Pouvoir civil et autorité militaire dans les provinces d'Égypte de Gallien à la conquête arabe', in J.-M. Carrié and N. Duval (eds.), *Les gouverneurs de province dans l'Antiquité Tardive* (Paris, 1998) 105-21
- B. Caseau, 'Ordinary Objects in Christian Healing Sanctuaries', in L. Lavan, E. Swift and T. Putzeys (eds.), *Objects in Contexts, Objects in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity* (Boston, 2007) 625-54
- E. Cerulli, *Atti di Giulio di Aqfahs* (Leuven, 1959)
- D.J. Chitty, *The Desert a City* (Oxford, 1966)
- M. Choat, 'The Development and Usage of Terms for "Monk" in Late Antique Egypt', *JbAC* 45 (2002) 5-23

- M. Choat, 'The *Life of Antony* in Egypt', in B. Leyerle and R.D. Young (eds.), *Ascetic Culture. Essays in Honor of Philip Rousseau* (Notre Dame IN, 2013) 50-74
- M. Choat, 'Narratives of Monastic Genealogy in Coptic Inscriptions', *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1 (2015) 403-30
- M. Choat and R. Yuen-Collingridge, 'A Church with No Books and a Reader Who Cannot Write: The Strange Case of *P.Oxy.* 33.2673', *BASP* 46 (2009) 109-38
- A. Clark, *Being There: Putting Brain, Body, and the World together Again* (Cambridge MA, 1997)
- A. Clark, *Natural Born Cyborgs: Minds, Technologies, and the Future of Human Intelligence* (Oxford, 2003)
- A. Clark and D. Chalmers, 'The Extended Mind', *Analysis* 58 (1998) 7-19
- A. Clark and R.H. Wilson, 'How To Situate Cognition', in P. Robbins and M. Aydede (eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Situated Cognition* (Cambridge, 2009) 55-77
- S. Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley* (Oxford, 1912)
- W. Clarysse, 'The Coptic Martyr Cult', in M. Lamberigts and P. van Deun (eds.), *Martyrium in Multi-disciplinary Perspective, Memorial Louis Reekmans* (Leuven, 1995) 377-95
- M. Cole and J. Cole, 'Rethinking the Goody Myth', in D.R. Olson and M. Cole (eds.), *Technology, Literacy, and the Evolution of Society* (Mahwah NJ, 2006) 305-24
- R.A. Coles, *Reports of Proceedings in Papyri* (Brussels, 1966)
- A. Confino, 'Collective Memory and Cultural History, Problems and Method', *American Historical Review* 102 (1997) 1386-1403
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Le synaxaire des coptes. Un nouveau témoin de la recension de Haute Égypte', *AB* 96 (1978) 351-65
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Pamin, Saint', in *Copt.Enc.* VI (1991) 1878
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic', in *Copt.Enc.* VII (1991) 2172-3
- R.-G. Coquin, 'Quelle est la date possible de la recension de Basse Égypte du Synaxaire des coptes?', in J.-M. Rosenstiehl (ed.), *Études coptes IV* (Leuven, 1995) 75-84
- W.E. Crum, 'The Greek and Coptic Graffiti', in P.C. Newberry (ed.), *Archaeological Survey of Egypt: Beni Hasan*, 4 vols. (London, 1893-1900) 2.65-8
- W.E. Crum, 'Eusebius and Coptic Church Histories', *PSBA* 24 (1902) 68-84
- W.E. Crum, 'Coptic Graffiti', in M.A. Murray (ed.), *The Osireion at Abydos* (London, 1904) 38-43
- W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1909)
- W.E. Crum, 'Colluthus, the Martyr and His Name', *ByzZ* 30 (1929-30) 323-7
- W.E. Crum, 'Fragments of a Church Calendar', *ZNW* 37 (1938) 23-32
- G. Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester, 2007)
- W. Cureton, *History of the Martyrs in Palestine* (London, 1861)
- I. Czachesz, 'Eroticism and Epistemology in the Apocryphal Acts of John', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 60 (2006) 59-72
- F. Daumas, 'Dendara', in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vols. 7 (Wiesbaden, 1975)
- P.S. Davies, 'Origin and Purpose of the Persecution of AD 303', *JThS* 40 (1989) 66-96
- S.J. Davis, 'Pilgrimage and the Cult of Saint Thecla in Late Antique Egypt', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998) 303-39
- S.J. Davis, 'The Category of Memory in Recent Scholarship on the Desert Fathers', in S. Moawad and Y.N. Youssef (eds.), *Coptic Studies from Old Cairo to the New World* (Leuven, 2013) 59-76
- A. Delattre, 'Textes coptes et grecs d'Antinoé', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis I* (Florence, 2008) 132-62
- A. Delattre, 'Deux inscriptions funéraires coptes', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis III* (Florence, 2017) 715-7

- A. Delattre, 'Nouveaux textes coptes d'Antinoé,' in T. Gagos (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology* (Ann Arbor, 2010) 171-5
- A. Delattre, 'L'oracle de Kollouthos à Antinoé', *SMSR* 79 (2013) 123-33
- A. Delattre, 'Les rapports entre la ville d'Antinoé et le monastère du Deir Abou Hennis en Moyenne-Égypte', in B. Astrua (ed.), *Itinerari mediterranei fra IV e IX secolo. Città-capitale e deserto-monastico* (Turin, 2013) 39-54
- A. Delattre, 'Trois billets oraculaires', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis III* (Florence, 2017) 651-4
- A. Delattre, J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, 'Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 7 (2019)', *BASP* 57 (2020) in press
- H. Delehay, *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Brussels, 1902)
- H. Delehay, *Les légendes hagiographiques* (Brussels, 1905)
- H. Delehay, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels, 1921)
- H. Delehay, 'Les Martyrs d'Égypte', *AB* 40 (1922) 5-154; 299-364
- H. Delehay, 'La Passion de S. Dioscore', *AB* 40 (1922) 352-4
- H. Delehay, 'Hagiographie napolitaine', *AB* 57 (1939) 5-64
- E. DePalma Digeser, *The Making of a Christian Empire: Lactantius and Rome* (Ithaca, 2000)
- E. DePalma Digeser, *A Threat to Public Piety: Christians, Platonists, and The Great Persecution* (Ithaca, 2012)
- M. Depauw and W. Clarysse, 'How Christian Was Fourth Century Egypt? Onomastic Perspectives on Conversion', *VChr* 67 (2013) 407-35
- M. Depauw and W. Clarysse, 'Christian Onomastics: A Response to Frankfurter', *VChr* 69 (2015) 327-9
- L. Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993)
- L. Depuydt, 'The Texts', in L. Dupuydt (ed.), *Encomiastica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993) 1.ix-xiii
- G.E.M. De Ste. Croix, *Christian Persecution, Martyrdom, and Orthodoxy* (Oxford, 2006) 35-78 ('Aspects of the "Great" Persecution', 1954¹)
- M. Detoraki, 'Greek Passions of the Martyrs in Byzantium', S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2011-2014) 2.61-101
- P. Devos, 'Le dossier hagiographique de S. Jacques l'Intercis', *AB* 71 (1953) 157-210
- P. Devos, 'Le dossier hagiographique de S. Jacques l'Intercis', *AB* 72 (1954) 213-56
- P. Devos, review of P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir-el Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, 2 vols. (London, 1954) in *AB* 74 (1956) 256-9
- P. Devos, 'Un étrange miracle copte de saint Kolouthos: le paralytique et la prostituée', *AB* 98 (1980) 363-79
- P. Devos, 'Autres miracles coptes de saint Kolouthos', *AB* 99 (1981) 285-301
- G. Dickinson, C. Blair and B.L. Ott, 'Introduction: Rhetoric/Memory/Place', in G. Dickinson, C. Blair and B.L. Ott (eds.), *Places of Public Memory. The Rhetoric of Museums and Memorials* (Tuscaloosa, 2010) 1-54
- G.F. Diercks, *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt* (Turnhout, 1978)
- J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leuven, 2008)
- J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Dendera/Tentyra (Graeco-Roman/Late Antique)', in R.S. Bagnall et.al. (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History. Online Additions*, available online at <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/book/10.1002/9781444338386> (2015), 2 pp.
- J.H.F. Dijkstra, '"I Wish to Offer a Sacrifice to God Today": The Discourse of Idol Destruction in the Coptic Life of Aaron', *Journal of the Canadian Society for Coptic Studies* 8 (2015) 61-75
- J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'The Interplay between Image and Text on Greek Amulets Containing Christian Elements from Late Antique Egypt', in D. Boschung and J.N. Bremmer (eds.), *The Materiality of Magic* (Paderborn, 2015) 271-92

- J.H.F. Dijkstra, 'Religious Violence in Late Antique Egypt Reconsidered: The Cases of Alexandria, Panopolis and Philae', in W. Mayer and C.L. de Wet (eds.), *Reconceiving Religious Conflict: New Views from the Formative Centuries of Christianity* (London, 2018) 211-33 ('Religious Violence in Late Antique Egypt Reconsidered', 2015').
- J.H.F. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, *The Coptic Life of Aaron: Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary* (Leiden, 2020)
- J. Divjak and W. Wischmeyer (eds.), *Das Kalenderhandbuch von 354. Der Chronograph des Filocalus*, 2. vols. (Vienna, 2014)
- S. Donadoni, 'Una domanda oracolare cristiana da Antinoe', *RSO* 29 (1954) 183-6
- S. Donadoni, 'Due testi oracolari copti', in A. Guarino and L. Labruna (eds.), *Synteletia V. Arangio Ruiz* (Naples 1964) 286-9
- S. Donadoni and H. Munier, 'Stèles chrétiennes d'Antinoé', *Aegyptus* 29 (1949) 126-36
- C. Downer, *The Martyrdom of St. Pteleme (Pierpont Morgan Coptic Manuscript M581). Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (unpublished doctoral thesis; London, 2004)
- C. Downer, 'A Ban on Unicorns? Decorative Motif and Illumination in M581', in M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2004) 2.1205-20
- C. Downer, 'Parthenope Revisited: Coptic Hagiography and the Hellenistic Novel,' in N. Bosson and A. Boud'hors (eds.), *Actes du huitième congrès international d'études coptes*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2007) 2.439-52
- D. Draaisma, *De Metaforenmachine: Een geschiedenis van het geheugen*, (Groningen, 1995)
- H. Drake, 'The Impact of Constantine on Christianity', in N. Lenski (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine* (Cambridge, 2012) 111-36
- J. Drescher, 'Apa Claudius and the Thieves', *BSAC* 8 (1942) 63-86
- J. Drescher, *Apa Mena: A Selection of Coptic Texts Relating to St. Menas* (Cairo, 1949)
- J. Drescher, 'Graeco-Coptica', *Museum* 82 (1969) 85-100
- J.-P. Dupuy, *The Mechanization of the Mind: On the Origins of Cognitive Science* (Princeton, 2000)
- S. Efthymiadis, *Hagiography in Byzantium: Literature, Social History and Cult* (Farnham, 2011) 151-71 ('New Developments in Hagiography: The Rediscovery of Byzantine Hagiography, 2006')
- S. Efthymiadis, 'Introduction', in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2011-2014) 1.1-14
- S. Efthymiadis, 'Introduction', in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2011-2014) 2.1-21
- H. von Ehrenheim, 'Identifying Incubation Areas in Pagan and Early Christian Times', *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 6 (2009) 237-76
- S. Emmel, *Shenoute's Literary Corpus*, 2. vols. (Leuven 2004)
- S. Emmel, 'Coptic Literature in the Byzantine and Early Islamic World', in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge, 2007) 83-102
- S. Emmel and K.H. South, 'Isaac of Antinoopolis' *Encomium on Colluthus* for 24 Pashons (19 May). A Newly Identified Coptic Witness', *AB* 114 (1996) 5-9
- A. Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen. Eine Einführung* (Stuttgart, 2011)
- C.M. Fausey and L. Boroditsky, 'Who Dunnit? Cross-Linguistic Differences in Eye-Witness Memory', *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 18 (2011) 150-7
- F. Ervas and E. Gola (eds.), *Metaphor in Focus: Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor Use* (Newcastle, 2013)
- F. Ervas and E. Gola, *Metaphor and Communication* (Amsterdam, 2016)
- F. Ervas, E. Gola and M.G. Rossi (eds.), *Metaphor in Communication, Science and Education* (Berlin, 2017)

- F. Ervas, E. Gola and M.G. Rossi, 'Metaphors and Emotions as Framing Strategies in Argumentation', in G. Airenti, B. Bara and G. Sandini (eds.), *Proceedings of the EuroAsianPacific Joint Conference of Cognitive Science* (Turin, 2015) 645-50
- M. van Esbroeck, 'Hilaria, Saint', in *Copt.Enc.* IV (1991) 1230-2
- E. Esposito, *Soziales Vergessen. Formen und Medien des Gedächtnisses der Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt, 2002)
- H.G. Evelyn-White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrûn. New Coptic Texts from the Monastery of Saint Macarius*, 3 vols. (New York, 1926-1933)
- B.T.A. Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt* (Oxford, 1895)
- G. Fauconnier and M. Turner, *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities* (New York, 2002)
- G. Fedalto, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis II: Patriarchatus Alexandriae, Antiochae, Hierosolymitanae* (Padova, 1988)
- G. Fehérvári, 'The Kuwaiti Excavations, 1985-87', in A.K. Bowman (ed.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London, 2007) 109-28 at 112-4
- R. Feloni, 'Mark Zuckerberg Hopes This Book Will Help Shape his Vision for Facebook', *Business Insider* (April 1 2015) available online at <http://www.businessinsider.com/mark-zuckerberg-facebook-book-club-rational-ritual-2015-4>
- M. de Fenoyl, 'Une inscription funéraire bilingue', *BSAC* 17 (1963-64) 57-61
- P.-A. Février, 'Martyre et sainteté', in J.-Y. Tilliette (ed.), *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e-XIII^e siècle)* (Rome, 1991) 51-80
- G. Fischhaber, *Mumifizierung im koptischen Ägypten: Eine Untersuchung zur Körperlichkeit im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1997)
- R. Fivush and C.A. Haden (eds.), *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of a Narrative Self* (Mahwah NJ, 2003)
- G. Flood, *The Ascetic Self: Subjectivity, Memory and Tradition* (Cambridge, 2004)
- J.M. Foley, *Immanent Art: From Structure to Meaning in Traditional Oral Epic* (Bloomington, 1991)
- M. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975)
- M. Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1976-2018)
- J.-L. Fournet, 'Il papiri di Antinoopolis', in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (eds.), *100 anni di istituzioni fiorentine per la papirologia* (Florence, 2009) 115-32
- D. Frankfurter, 'Ritual Expertise in Roman Egypt and the Problem of the Category "Magician"', in P. Schäfer and H.G. Kippenberg (eds.), *Envisioning Magic: A Princeton Seminar and Symposium* (Leiden, 1997) 115-35
- D. Frankfurter, 'Introduction: Approaches to Coptic Pilgrimage', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998) 3-48
- D. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton, 1998)
- D. Frankfurter, 'Beyond Magic and Superstition,' in V. Burrus (ed.), *A People's History of Christianity. Volume 2: Late Ancient Christianity* (Minneapolis MN, 2005) 255-66
- D. Frankfurter, 'Voices, Books, and Dreams: The Diversification of Divination Media in Late Antique Egypt', in S.I. Johnston and P.T. Struck (eds.), *Mantikê: Studies in Ancient Divination* (Leiden, 2005) 233-54
- D. Frankfurter, 'Onomastic Statistics and the Christianization of Egypt: A Response to Depauw and Clarysse', *VChr* 68 (2014) 284-9
- D. Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt. Syncretism and Local Worlds in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 2018)
- H.C.W. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church. A Study of a Conflict from the Macca-bees to Donatus* (Oxford, 1965)

- W.-P. Funk, 'Πόλις, πολιτης und πολιτεία im Koptischen. Zu einigen Fragen des einschlägigen koptischen Lehnwortschatzes', in E.C. Welskopf (ed.), *Das Fortleben altgriechischer sozialer Typenbegriffe in den Sprachen der Welt*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1982²) 1.283-320
- B. de Gaiffier, 'La lecture des actes des martyrs dans la prière liturgique en Occident', *AB* 72 (1954) 134-66
- K. Galinsky, 'Introduction', in K. Galinsky (ed.), *Memory in Ancient Rome and Early Christianity* (Oxford, 2016) 1-39
- G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X^e siècle)* (Brussels, 1958)
- J. Gascou, 'L'Égypte byzantine (284-641)', in C. Morrisson (ed.), *Le monde byzantin. Tome I: L'Empire romain d'Orient, 330-641* (Paris, 2004) 403-36
- M. Gelzer, *Kleine Schriften* (Wiesbaden, 1963) 378-86 ('Der Urheber der Christenverfolgung von 303', 1935¹)
- P. Gemeinhardt, *Athanasius: Vita Antonii – Leben des Antonius* (Freiburg, 2018)
- M. Girardi, *Basilio di Cesarea e i culto dei martiri nel IV secolo: scrittura e tradizione* (Bari 1990)
- J.E. Goehring, *Ascetics, Society, and the Desert. Studies in Early Egyptian Monasticism* (Harrisburg, 1999)
- N. Gonis, 'Oxyrhynchus, the Christ-Loving City?', *ZPE* 129 (2000) 182
- J. Goody and I.P. Watt, 'The Consequences of Literacy', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 5 (1963) 304-45
- J. Goody, *Food and Love: A Cultural History of East and West* (London, 1998)
- A. Grabar, *Martyrium: Recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique* (Paris, 1949)
- F. Graf, *Roman Festivals in the Greek East: From the Early Empire to the Middle Byzantine Era* (Cambridge, 2015) 241-67 ('Incubation in a Christian World', 2013¹)
- L. Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (London, 2004)
- P. Grossmann, 'Die von Somers Clark in Ober-Ansina entdeckten Kirchenbauten', *MDAIK* 24 (1969) 144-68
- P. Grossmann, 'Zur christlichen Baukunst in Ägypten', *Enchoria* 8 (1978) at 135-46
- P. Grossmann, 'Dandarah', in *Copt.Enc.* IV (1991) 690-1
- P. Grossmann, 'The Pilgrimage Center of Abû Minâ', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998) 281-302
- P. Grossmann, 'Kirche und mutmassliches Bischofshaus in Antinoopolis', *Aegyptus* 86 (2006) 207-15
- P. Grossmann, 'Antinoopolis Januar/Februar 2008. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Arbeiten im Frühjahr 2007', *Aegyptus* 88 (2008) 227-55 at 227-38
- P. Grossmann, 'Antinoopolis Januar/Februar 2010. Arbeiten in der Kirche D3', *Aegyptus* 90 (2010) 147-63
- P. Grossmann, 'Antinoopolis October 2010: On the Church beside the Eastern Gate', *Aegyptus* 90 (2010) 165-81
- P. Grossmann, 'Antinoopolis January/February and October 2011. Work in the Church D3 and in the Court Buildings of Dayr Sumbat', *Aegyptus* 90 (2010) 183-205
- P. Grossmann, 'Phoibammon von Panopolis und das Kolluthos Martyrium in Pnewit', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 12 (2010) 19-31
- P. Grossmann, 'Antinoopolis. The Area of St. Colluthos in the North Necropolis', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis II* (Florence, 2014) 241-300
- C. Gudehus, A. Eichenberg and H. Welzer (eds.), *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* (Stuttgart, 2010)
- J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris, 1976)
- R. Haensch, 'Das Statthalterarchiv', *ZRG* 100 (1992) 209-317

- R. Haensch, 'Typisch römisch? Die Gerichtsprotokolle der in Aegyptus und den übrigen östlichen Provinzen tätigen Vertreter Roms. Das Zeugnis von Papyri und Inschriften', in H. Börm et al. (eds.), *Monumentum et instrumentum inscriptum* (Stuttgart, 2008) 117-25
- R. Haensch, 'Christlicher Euergetismus *ob honorem*? Die Einsetzung von Klerikern in ihre Ämter und die von diesen vorangetriebenen Bauprojekte', in J. Leemans, P. Van Nuffelen, S.W.J. Keough and C. Nicolaye (eds.), *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity* (Berlin, 2011) 167-81
- R. Haensch, 'Die Protokolle der Statthaltergerichte der spätantiken Provinzen Ägyptens', in R. Haensch (ed.), *Recht haben und Recht bekommen im Imperium Romanum. Das Gerichtswesen der römischen Kaiserzeit und seine dokumentarische Evidenz* (Warsaw, 2016) 299-324
- H.-R. Hagemann, *Die Stellung der Piae Causae nach justinianischem Rechte* (Basel, 1953)
- H.-R. Hagemann, 'Die rechtliche Stellung der christlichen Wohltätigkeitsanstalten in der östlichen Reichshälfte', *RIDA* 3 (1956) 265-83
- J. Hahn, *Gewalt und religiöser Konflikt. Studien zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Christen, Heiden und Juden im Osten des Römischen Reiches (von Konstantin bis Theodosius II.)* (Berlin, 2004)
- M. Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: étude de mémoire collective* (Paris, 1941)
- M. Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective* (Paris, 1950)
- M. Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1952)
- F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii vitae graecae* (Brussels, 1932)
- E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York, 1931)
- M. Harl, 'La dénonciation des festivités profanes dans le discours épiscopal et monastique, en orient chrétien, à la fin du IV siècle', in F. Dunand (ed.), *La fête, pratique et discours: d'Alexandrie hellénistique à la Mission de Besançon* (Paris, 1981) 123-47
- W. Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford, 2004)
- F.E. Hart, review of E.B. Tribble, *Cognition in the Globe*, in *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012) 635-7
- A. Hartmann, *Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie, Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in antiken Gesellschaften* (Berlin, 2010)
- S.A. Harvey, 'Introduction', in L. Depuydt (ed.), *Encomiastica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2. vols. (Leuven, 1993) 2.v-xvii
- C.M. Heaps and M. Nash, 'Comparing Recollective Experience in True and False Autobiographical Memories', *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 27 (2001) 920-30
- T.M. Hickey, *A Public 'House' but Closed: 'Fiscal Participation' and Economic Decision Making on the Oxyrhynchite Estate of the Flavii Apiones* (Chicago, 2001)
- T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor, 2012)
- A. Hidding, review of Frankfurter, *Christianizing Egypt*, in *Journal of Late Antiquity* 13 (2020) 177-9.
- C. Høgel, *Symeon Metaphrastes: Rewriting and Canonization* (Copenhagen, 2002)
- J. Horn, 'Kontinuität im Übergang. Ein Beitrag zum Problembereich "pharaonisches" vs. "christliches" Ägypten', *ZDMG* 6 (1985) 53-73
- J. Horn, *Studien zu den Märtyrern des nördlichen Oberägypten*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1986-1992)
- J. Horn, *Untersuchungen zu Frömmigkeit und Literatur des christlichen Ägypten: Das Martyrium des Viktor, Sohnes des Romanos* (Göttingen, 1988)
- E. Honigsmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VI^e siècle* (Leuven, 1951)
- J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999)
- S.R. Huebner, 'Soter, Sotas, and Dioscorus before the Governor: The First Authentic Court Record of a Roman Trial of Christians?', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 12 (2019) 2-24

- M. Humphries, *Early Christianity* (New York, 2006)
- M. Humphries, 'The Mind of the Persecutors: "By the Gracious Favour of the Gods"', in M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey (eds.), *The Great Persecution, AD 303: The Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference* (Dublin, 2009) 11-32
- M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey (eds.), *The Great Persecution, AD 303: The Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference* (Dublin, 2009)
- M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey, 'Editors' Preface: The Great Persecution, AD 303: A Commemoration', in M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey (eds.), *The Great Persecution, AD 303: The Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference* (Dublin, 2009) 7-9
- G. Husson, 'Les questions oraculaires chrétiennes d'Égypte: Continuités et changements', in B. Kramer, W. Luppe and H. Maehler (eds.), *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Stuttgart, 1997) 482-9
- H. Hyvernat, *Les actes des martyrs de l'Égypte tirés des manuscrits coptes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane et du Musée Borgia* (Paris, 1886-1887)
- V. Ibrahim, *The Copts of Egypt: The Challenges of Modernisation and Identity* (London, 2010)
- J. Jarry, 'Ensemble de stèles coptes', *BIFAO* 67 (1969) 233-41
- E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Malalas* (Melbourne, 1986)
- A.P. Johnson, *Eusebius* (London, 2014)
- L. Johnson, J. Sutton and E.B. Tribble (eds.), *Embodied Cognition and Shakespeare's Theatre: The Early Modern Body-Mind* (London, 2014)
- A.H.M. Jones, 'Notes on the Genuineness of the Constantinian Documents in Eusebius' *Life of Constantine*. With an Appendix by T.C. Skeat', *JEH* 5 (1954) 197-200
- E.A. Judge, 'The Earliest Use of Monachos for "Monk" (*P.Coll.Youtie* 77) and the Origins of Monasticism', *JbAC* 20 (1977) 72-89
- E.A. Judge and S.R. Pickering, 'Papyrus Documentation of Church and Community in Egypt to the Mid-Fourth Century', *JbAC* 20 (1997) 47-71
- P.E. Kahle, *Bala'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir-el Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*, 2 vols. (London, 1954)
- M. Kahlos, *Debate and Dialogue: Christian and Pagan Cultures, c. 360-430* (Aldershot, 2007)
- W. Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History and Theory* 41 (2002) 179-97
- D. Kirsch, 'Distributed Cognition: A Methodological Note', *Pragmatics and Cognition* 14 (2006) 249-62
- Z. Kiss, *Les ampoules de Saint Méнас découvertes à Kôm el-Dikka (1961-1981)* (Warsaw, 1989)
- M. Kohlstruck, 'Erinnerungspolitik: Kollektive Identität, Diskurshegemonie', in B. Schwellig (ed.), *Politikwissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft. Theorien, Methoden, Problemstellungen* (Wiesbaden, 2004) 173-93
- H. König, 'Das Politische des Gedächtnisses', in C. Gudehus, A. Eichenberg and H. Welzer (eds.), *Gedächtnis und Erinnerung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* (Stuttgart, 2010) 115-25
- W. Kosack, *Die Legende im Koptischen: Untersuchungen zur Volksliteratur Ägyptens* (Bonn, 1970)
- B. Köttig, *Peregrinatio religiosa: Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der alten Kirche* (Münster, 1950)
- J.-U. Krause, *Witwen und Waisen im römischen Reich* (Stuttgart, 1995)
- J.-U. Krause, 'La prise en charge des veuves par l'église dans l'antiquité tardive', in C. Lepelley (ed.), *La fin de la cité antique et le début de la cité médiévale de la fin du III^e siècle à l'avènement de Charlemagne* (Bari, 1996) 115-26
- M. Krause, 'Heidentum, Gnosis und Manichäismus, ägyptische Survivals', in M. Krause (ed.), *Ägypten in spätantik-christlicher Zeit: Einführung in die koptische Kultur* (Wiesbaden, 1998) 81-116.
- K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (Munich, 1911)
- R. Kurzweil, *How to Create a Mind* (New York, 2012)

- G. Lakoff, *The Political Mind: Why You Can't Understand 21st-Century Politics With an 18th-Century Brain* (New York, 2008)
- G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980)
- R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (Harmondsworth, 1986)
- G. Lanata, *Gli atti dei martiri come documenti processuali* (Milan, 1973)
- M. Lapidge, *The Roman Martyrs: Introduction, Translations, and Commentary* (Oxford, 2018)
- G. Lazzati, *Gli sviluppi della letteratura sui martiri nei primi quattro secoli. Con appendice di testi* (Turin, 1956)
- H. Leclercq, 'Sept dormants d'Éphèse', *DACL* 15 (1950) 1251-62
- J. Leemans, 'Flexible Heiligkeit. Der Beitrag der Märtyrer zur Identitätskonstitution christlicher Gemeinden im griechischen Osten im 4. Jahrhundert', in P. Gemeinhardt and K. Heyden (eds.), *Heilige, Heiliges und Heiligkeit in spätantiken Religionskulturen* (Berlin, 2012) 205-30
- G. Lefebvre, 'Stèles chrétiennes du musée du Caire', *BIFAO* 3 (1903) 69-95
- L.-T. Lefort, *Sancti Pachomii vita bohairice scripta* (Leuven, 1953)
- L.-T. Lefort, *Lettres festales et pastorales en copte* (Leuven, 1955)
- L.-T. Lefort, 'La chasse aux reliques des martyrs en Égypte au IV^e siècle', *La nouvelle Clío* 6 (1956) 225-30
- O. von Lemm, *Bruchstücke koptischer Märtyrerakten I-V* (St. Petersburg, 1913)
- C. Lepelley, 'Les réticences de saint Augustin face aux légendes hagiographiques d'après la lettre Divjak 29', in P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (eds.), *Transformations of Late Antiquity. Essays for Peter Brown* (Farnham, 2009) 147-58
- L. Leroy, 'Les miracles de saint Ptolémée', *PO* 5 (1910) 779-803
- J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford, 1979)
- F. Lifshitz, 'The Martyr, the Tomb, and the Matron: Constructing the (Masculine) "Past" as a Female Power Base', in G. Althoff, J. Fried and P.J. Geary (eds.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2008) 310-41
- N. Litinas, *Greek Ostraca from Abu Mina (O.Abu Mina)* (Berlin, 2008)
- D. Locke, *Memory* (London, 1971)
- E.F. Loftus and J.E. Pickrell, 'The Formation of False Memories', *Psychiatric Annals* 25 (1995) 720-5
- A.G. Lopez, *Shenoute of Atripe and the Uses of Poverty: Rural Patronage, Religious Conflict, and Monasticism in Late Antique Egypt* (Berkeley, 2013)
- E. Lucchesi, 'Un fragment inédit de la vie copte de Pamin', *AB* 98 (1980) 422
- E. Lucchesi, 'Encore un débris de feuillet du codex "kolouthien" du Monastère Blanc', in U. Zanetti and E. Lucchesi (eds.), *Aegyptus christiana. Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire de P. Paul Devos bollandiste* (Geneva, 2004) 110
- A. Luijendijk, *Greetings in the Lord: Early Christians and the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (Cambridge MA, 2008)
- A. Luijendijk, 'Papyri from the Great Persecution: Roman and Christian Perspectives', *J ECS* 16 (2008) 341-69
- A. Luijendijk, 'Sacred Scriptures as Trash: Biblical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus', *VChr* 64 (2010) 217-54
- A. Luijendijk, 'A Gospel Amulet for Joannia (P. Oxy. VIII 1151)', in K.B. Stratton and D.S. Kalleres (eds.), *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2014) 418-44
- A. Luijendijk, *Forbidden Oracles? The Gospel of the Lots of Mary* (Tübingen, 2014)
- A. Luijendijk, 'On and beyond Duty: Christian Clergy at Oxyrhynchus (c. 250-400)', in R.L. Gordon, J. Rüpke and G. Petridou (eds.), *Beyond Priesthood. Religious Entrepreneurs and Innovators in the Imperial Era* (Berlin, 2017) 103-26
- A. Luijendijk, '"If You Order That I Wash My Feet, Then Bring Me This Ticket". Encountering Saint Colluthus at Antinoë', in M. Ahuvia and A. Kocar (eds.), *Placing Ancient Texts. The Ritual and Rhetorical Use of Space* (Tübingen, 2018) 197-225

- H. Lundhaug, *Image of Rebirth: Cognitive Poetics and Transformational Soteriology in the Gospel of Philip and the Exegesis on the Soul* (Leiden, 2010)
- H. Lundhaug, 'Memory and Early Monastic Literary Practices: A Cognitive Perspective', *JCH* 1 (2014) 98-120
- J. Mabillon, *Praefationes actis sanctorum ordinis S. Benedicti* (Rouen, 1732)
- L.S.B. MacCoull and K.A. Worp, 'The Era of the Martyrs II', in M. Capso, G. Messori Savorelli and R. Pintaudi (eds.), *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1990) 2.375-408
- R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire (A.D. 100-400)* (New Haven, 1984)
- M. Malevez, 'La mission de Paphnuce. Premières recherches en vue de la constitution du dossier hagiographique des abba Onuphre, Paphnuce et Timothée', in C. Cannuyer (ed.), *Études coptes VIII* (Lille, 2003) 225-36
- M. Malevez, 'Essai de datation relative des différentes versions de la *Mission de Paphnuce* / Vie d'Onuphre et des Apophthegmes qui en sont à l'origine', in P. Buzi, A. Camplani and F. Contardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2016) 2.1137-47
- E.E. Malone, *The Monk and the Martyr: The Monk as the Successor of the Martyr* (Washington DC, 1950)
- E. Manders, 'The Great Persecution and Imperial Ideology: Patterns of Communication on Tetrarchic Coinage', in J.H.F. Dijkstra and C. Raschle (eds.), *Religious Violence in the Ancient World. From Classical Athens to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2020) 203-27
- M. Manfredi, 'Scavi in Egitto II', *A&R* 11 (1966) 188-91
- M. Manfredi, 'Notizie sugli scavi recenti ad Antinoe', in M. Gigante (ed.), *Atti del 17 congresso internazionale di papirologia*, 3 vols. (Napels, 1983) 2.85-96
- M. Manfredi, 'Gli scavi italiani ad Antinoe (1935-1993)', in L. del Francia Barocas (ed.), *Antinoe cett'anni dopo* (Florence, 1998) 23-8
- P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient. Histoire et géographie des origines à la conquête arabe* (Paris, 1985)
- N. Marcos Fernández, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribución al estudio de la incubatio cristiana* (Madrid, 1975)
- H.-M. Marganne, 'La "Collection médicale" d'Antinoopolis', *ZPE* 56 (1984) 117-21
- R. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge, 1990)
- A. Martin, *Athanase d'Alexandrie et l'église d'Égypte au IV^e siècle (328-373)* (Rome, 1996)
- A. Martin, 'L'image de l'évêque à travers les "Canons d'Athanase": devoirs et réalités', in É. Rebillard and C. Sotinel (eds.), *L'Évêque dans la cité du IV^e au V^e siècle: image et autorité* (Rome, 1998) 59-70
- V. Martin, *Apologie de Philéas, Evêque de Thmouis* (Cologne-Geneva, 1964)
- W. Mayer, 'Heirs of Roman Persecution: Common Threads in Discursive Strategies across Late Antiquity', in É. Fournier and W. Mayer (eds.), *Heirs of Roman Persecution. Studies on a Christian and Para-Christian Discourse in Late Antiquity* (London, 2019) 317-340
- O.F.A. Meinandus, *Two Thousand Years of Coptic Christianity* (Cairo, 2002)
- K. Michaelian and J. Sutton, 'Distributed Cognition and Memory Research: History and Current Directions', *Review of Philosophy and Psychology* 4 (2013) 1-14
- Á.T. Mihálykó, *The Christian Liturgical Papyri: An Introduction* (Tübingen, 2019)
- T. Mina, *Le martyre d'Apa Epima* (Cairo, 1937)
- P. van Minnen, 'The Roots of Egyptian Christianity', *AfP* 40 (1994) 71-85
- P. van Minnen, 'The Earliest Account of a Martyrdom in Coptic', *AB* 113 (1995) 13-38

- P. van Minnen, 'Saving History? Egyptian Hagiography in Its Space and Time', in J.H.F. Dijkstra and M. van Dijk (eds.), *The Encroaching Desert: Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West* (Leiden, 2006) 57-91
- E. Mitchell, 'Osservazioni topografiche preliminari sull'impianto urbanistico di Antinoe', *EVO* 5 (1982) 171-9
- G. Modena, 'Il cristianesimo ad Ossirinco secondo i papiri', *BSAA* 9 (1937) 254-69
- S. Morenz, 'Fortwirken altägyptischer Elemente in christlicher Zeit', in O. Barthol and T. Krause (eds.), *Koptische Kunst: Christentum am Nil* (Essen, 1963) 55-9
- S. Morenz, 'Die koptische Literatur', in B. Spuler et al. (ed.), *Handbuch der Orientalistik: Der nahe und der mittlere Osten, Literatur* (Leiden, 1970) 239-50 ('Die koptische Literatur', 1952')
- S. Morenz, *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten. Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Weimar, 1975) 590-5 ('Altägyptischer und hellenistisch-paulinischer Jenseitsglaube bei Schenute', 1953')
- C.R. Moss, *The Other Christs: Imitating Jesus in Ancient Christian Ideologies of Martyrdom* (New York, 2010)
- C.R. Moss, *The Myth of Persecution: How Early Christians Invented a Story of Martyrdom* (New York, 2013)
- H. Munier, 'Les actes du martyre de Saint Isidore', *BIFAO* 14 (1918) 97-190
- H. Munier, 'Un nouveau martyre copte, saint Nabraha', *BIFAO* 15 (1918) 227-59
- H. Munier, 'Les monuments coptes d'après les explorations du Père Michel Jullien', *BSAC* 6 (1940) 141-68
- H.A. Musurillo, *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Oxford, 1954)
- G. Nachtergaele and R. Pintaudi, 'Inscriptions funéraires grecques d'Antinoé', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis I* (Florence, 2008) 163-73
- G. Nachtergaele and R. Pintaudi, 'Inscriptions funéraires grecques d'Antinoé. II', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis III* (Florence, 2017) 675-14
- S.A. Naguib, 'Martyr and Apostate: Victor Son of Romanos and Diocletian. A Case of Intertextuality in Coptic Religious Memory', *Temenos* 29 (1993) 101-13
- S.A. Naguib, 'The Era of the Martyrs. Texts and Contexts of Religious Memory', in N. van Doorn-Harder and K. Vogt (eds.), *Between Desert and City. The Coptic Orthodox Church Today* (Eugene, 1997) 121-41
- S.A. Naguib, 'The Martyr as Witness. Coptic and Copto-Arabic Hagiographies as Mediators of Religious Memory', *Numen* 41 (1997) 223-54
- K. Nelson (ed.), *Narratives from the Crib* (Harvard, 2006)
- O. Nicholson, 'Preparation for Martyrdom in the Early Church', in M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey (eds.), *The Great Persecution, AD 303: The Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference* (Dublin, 2009) 61-90
- H. de Nie, 'Een Koptisch-Christelijke Orakelvraag', *JVEG* 8 (1942) 615-8
- P. Nora, 'Between Memory and History', *Representations* 26 (1989) 7-24
- M. Norsa, 'Martirio di Santa Cristina nel cod. Messin. 29', *SIFC* 19 (1912) 316-27
- G. Ochała, *Chronological Systems of Christian Nubia* (Warsaw, 2011)
- O'Leary, De L., *The Saints of Egypt* (London, 1937)
- J.K. Olick and J. Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998) 105-40
- J.K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi and D. Levy, 'Introduction', in J.K. Olick, V. Vinitzky-Seroussi and D. Levy (eds.), *The Collective Memory Reader* (Oxford, 2011) 3-62
- T. O'Loughlin, 'Eusebius of Caesarea's Conceptions of the Persecutions as a Key to Reading his *Historia Ecclesiastica*', in M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey (eds.), *The Great Persecution, AD 303: The Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference* (Dublin, 2009) 91-105

- T. Orlandi, *Storia della Chiesa di Alexandria. Testo copto, traduzione e commento*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1968-1970)
- T. Orlandi, *Papyri copti di contenuto teologico* (Vienna, 1974)
- T. Orlandi, *Il dossier copto del martire Psote* (Milan, 1978)
- T. Orlandi, 'Il dossier copto di S. Filoteo di Antiochia', *AB* 96 (1978) 117-20
- T. Orlandi, 'Coptic Literature', in B.A. Pearson and J.E. Goehring (eds.), *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (Philadelphia, 1986) 51-81
- T. Orlandi, *Paolo di Tamma. Opere* (Rome, 1988)
- T. Orlandi, 'Aphu', in *Copt.Enc.* I (1991) 154-5
- T. Orlandi, 'Cycle', in *Copt.Enc.* III (1991) 666-8
- T. Orlandi, 'Hagiography, Coptic', in *Copt.Enc.* IV (1991) 1191-7
- T. Orlandi, 'Tolemaeus', in *Copt.Enc.* VII (1991) 2271
- T. Orlandi, 'Letteratura copta e cristianesimo nazionale egiziano', in A. Camplani (ed.), *L'Egitto cristiano. Aspetti e problemi in età tardoantica* (Rome, 1997) 39-120
- T. Orlandi, 'The Coptic Ecclesiastical History: A Survey', in J.E. Goehring, J.A. Timbie (eds.), *The World of Early Egyptian Christianity. Language, Literature, and Social Context. Essays in Honor of David W. Johnson* (Washington, 2007) 3-24
- J. Padró, 'Recent Archaeological Work', in A.K. Bowman (ed.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London, 2007) 129-38
- J. Padró, J.J. Martínez and C. Piedrafita, 'Historia de un edificio religioso en Oxirrínco, desde el siglo IV a.C. hasta el siglo VII d.C.', in A. Guzmán Almagro and J. Velaza (eds.), *Miscellanea Philologica et Epigraphica Marco Mayer Oblata* (Barcelona, 2018) 702-718
- O. Panagiotidou and R. Beck, *The Roman Mithras Cult: A Cognitive Approach. Scientific Studies of Religion: Inquiry and Explanation* (London, 2017)
- A. Papaconstantinou, 'Oracles chrétiens dans l'Égypte byzantine: Le témoignage des papyrus', *ZPE* 104 (1994) 281-66
- A. Papaconstantinou, 'La liturgie stationale à Oxyrhynchus dans la première moitié du 6^e siècle. Réédition et commentaire du P.Oxy. XI 1357', *RÉG* 54 (1996) 135-59
- A. Papaconstantinou, 'Sur les évêques byzantins d'Oxyrhynchus', *ZPE* 111 (1996) 171-4
- A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides: l'apport des inscriptions et des papyrus grecs et coptes* (Paris, 2001)
- A. Papaconstantinou, 'Aux marges de l'Empire ou au centre du monde? De l'Égypte des Byzantins à celle des historiens', *JJP* 35 (2005) 195-236
- A. Papaconstantinou, 'La reconstruction de Saint-Philoxène à Oxyrhynchus: l'inventaire dressé par Philéas le tailleur de pierres', *T&MByz* 15 (2005) 183-92
- A. Papaconstantinou, 'Historiography, Hagiography, and the Making of the Coptic "Church of the Martyrs" in Early Islamic Egypt', *DOP* 60 (2006) 65-86
- A. Papaconstantinou, 'The Cult of Saints: A Haven of Continuity in a Changing World?', in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300-700* (Cambridge, 2007) 350-67
- A. Papaconstantinou, 'Hagiography in Coptic', in S. Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography*, 2 vols. (Farnham, 2011-2014) 1.323-43
- L. Papini, 'Due biglietti oracolari cristiani', in M. Manfredi (ed.), *Trenta testi greci da papiri letterari e documentari* (Florence, 1983) 68-70
- L. Papini, 'Biglietti oracolari in copto dalla Necropoli Nord di Antinoe', in T. Orlandi and F. Wisse (eds.), *Acts of the Second International Congress of Coptic Studies* (Rome, 1985) 245-56
- L. Papini, 'Struttura e prassi delle domande oracolari in greco su papiro', *APapyrol* 2 (1990) 11-20
- L. Papini, 'Osservazioni sulla terminologia delle domande oracolari in greco', in M. Capasso, G. Messeri Savorelli and R. Pintaudi (eds.), *Miscellanea papyrologica in occasione del bicentenario dell'edizione della Charta Borgiana*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1990) 2.463-9

- L. Papini, 'Domande oracolari: Elenco delle attestazioni in greco e copto', *APapyrol* 4 (1992) 21-7
- L. Papini, 'Fragments of the *Sortes Sanctorum* from the Shrine of St. Colluthus', in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (Leiden, 1998) 393-401
- L. Papini, 'L'oracolo di San Colluto', in L. Del Francia Barocas (ed.), *Antinoe sett'anni dopo. Catalogo della mostra Firenze, Palazzo Medici Riccardi, 10 luglio – 1 novembre 1998* (Florence, 1998) 100-1
- R. Parker, 'Commentary on *Journal of Cognitive Historiography*, Issue 1', *Journal of Cognitive Historiography* 1 (2014) 186-92
- G. Pfeilschifter, 'Oxyrhynchus: Seine Kirchen und Klöster auf Grund der Papyrusfunde', in A.M. Gietl (ed.), *Festgabe, Alois Knöpfler zur Vollendung des 70. Lebensjahres gewidmet von seinen Freunden und Schülern* (Freiburg, 1917) 248-64
- C. Piedrafita, 'El prior Menas i una inscripció amb l'era de Diocleciana a Oxirinc', in N. Castellano, M. Mascort and C. Piedrafita (eds.), *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia. Homenatge al professor Josep Padró Parcerisa* (Barcelona, 2015) 455-66.
- A. Pietersma, *The Acts of Phileas Bishop of Thmuis* (Geneva, 1984)
- A. Pietersma and S.T. Comstock, 'Cephalon. A New Coptic Martyr,' in G.E. Kadish and G.E. Freeman (eds.), *Studies in Philology in Honour of R.J. Williams* (Toronto, 1982) 113-26
- C. Pietri, *Christiana respublica. Éléments d'une enquête sur le christianisme antique*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1997)
- J. Pinio, G. Cupero and J. Stilingo, *Acta sanctorum: Augusti tomus sextus* (Paris, 1868)
- R. Pintaudi, 'Gli scavi dell'istituto papirologico "G. Vitelli" di Firenze ad Antinoe (2000-2007) – prime notizie', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis I* (Florence, 2008) 1-40
- R. Pintaudi, 'Graffiti e iscrizioni sulle colonne e i capitelli della chiesa D3 ad Antinopolis', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis III* (Florence, 2017) 459-488
- R. Pintaudi, 'Introduzione', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinopolis III* (Florence, 2017) 521-5
- S. Porter, J.C. Yuille and D.R. Lehman, 'The Nature of Real, Implanted, and Fabricated Memories for Emotional Childhood Events: Implications for the Recovered Memory Debate', *Law and Human Behavior* 23 (1999) 517-37
- S. Price, 'Memory and Ancient Greece', in B. Dignas and R.R.R. Smith (eds.), *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 2012) 15-36
- H. Quecke, '"Ich habe nichts hinzugefügt und nichts weggenommen": Zur Wahrheitsbeteuerung koptischer Martyrien', in J. Assmann et al. (ed.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977) 399-416
- H. Quentin, 'Passio S. Dioscori', *AB* 24 (1905) 321-42
- C. Rapp, 'Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians, Seventh to Tenth Centuries', in S. Efthymiadis, C. Rapp and D. Tsougarakis (eds.), *Bosphoros. Essays in Honour of Cyril Mango* (Amsterdam, 1995) 31-44
- C. Rapp, 'Storytelling as Spiritual Communication in Early Greek Hagiography: The Use of *Diegesis*', *J ECS* 6 (1998) 431-8
- C. Rapp, '"For Next to God, You Are My Salvation": Reflections on the Rise of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', in J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward (eds.), *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999) 63-81
- D.W. Rathbone, 'Preface,' in E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from New Fieldwork* (London, 2014) xi-xiv
- S. Rebenich, *Theodor Mommsen und Adolf Harnack* (Berlin, 1997)
- E. Reese, *Tell Me a Story: Sharing Stories to Enrich Your Child's World* (Oxford, 2013)
- R. Rémondon, 'L'Édit XIII de Justinien a-t-il promulgué en 539?', *CdE* 30 (1955) 112-21
- R. Rémondon, 'L'Église dans la société égyptienne à l'époque byzantine', *CdE* 47 (1972) 254-77
- G.H. Renberg, *Where Dreams May Come*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2017)

- E. Revillout, 'La vie du bienheureux Aphou, évêque de Pemdje (Oxyrinque)', *RevEg* 3 (1883) 27-33
- E.A.E. Reymond and J.W.B. Barns, *Four Martyrdoms from the Pierpont Morgan Coptic Codices* (Oxford, 1973)
- J.B. Rives, 'The Decree of Decius and the Religion of **Empire**', *JRS* 89 (1999) 135-54
- L. Robert, *Le martyre de Pionios, prêtre de Smyrne*, revised and completed by G.W. Bowersock and C.P. Jones (Washington, 1994)
- H.L. Roediger and J.V. Wertsch, 'Collective Memory: Conceptual Foundations and Theoretical Approaches', *Memory* 16 (2008) 318-26
- H.L. Roediger, F.M. Zaromb and A.C. Butler, 'The Role of Repeated Retrieval in Shaping Collective Memory', in P. Boyer and J.V. Wertsch (eds.), *Memory in Mind and Culture* (Cambridge, 2009) 138-70
- F. Rossi, *Trascrizione di tre manoscritti copti del museo egizio di Torino* (Turin, 1885)
- F. Rossi, 'Martirio di Ptolomeo, frammenti,' in F. Rossi and E. Loescher (eds), *I papiri copti del Museo egizio di Torino: trascritti e tradotti* (Turin, 1887) 70-3
- F. Rossi, 'Frammenti del martirio di Ptolomeo, da una copia dello Schwartz', *Memorie della Reale accademia delle scienze di Torino* 38 (1888) 279-81, 301-3
- P. Rousseau, *Pachomius. The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley, 1999²)
- P. Rousseau, 'Monasticism', in *CAH²* XIV (2001) 745-80
- W. Saletan, 'Neuro-Liberalism', *New York Times* (22 June 2008) available online at <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/06/22/books/review/Saletan-t.html>
- M. Salmi, 'I dipinti paleocristiani di Antinoe', in M. Salmi (ed.), *Scritti dedicati alla memoria di Ippolito Rosellini. Nel primo centenario della morte* (Florence, 1945) 159-69
- J.-M. Sauget, 'Pafnuzio di Denderdah', in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, 13 vols. (1961-1970) 10.29-35
- S. Sauneron and J. Jacquet, *Les ermitages chrétiens du désert d'Esna* (Cairo, 1972)
- V. Saxer, 'Les actes des martyrs chez Eusèbe de Césarée et dans les martyrologues syriaque et hiéronymien', *AB* 102 (1984) 85-95
- G. Schenke, 'P.Köln. 354. Über Ägyptens Sonderstatus vor allen anderen Ländern', in M. Gronewald, K. Maresch and C. Römer, *Kölner Papyri. Band 8* (Opladen, 1997) 183-200
- G. Schenke, 'Ein koptischer Textzeuge der Acta Phileae', in H. Knuf, C. Leitz and D. von Recklinghausen (eds.), *Honi soit qui mal y pense. Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen* (Leuven, 2010) 609-15
- G. Schenke, 'P.Köln 492: Das Martyrium des Phileas von Thmuis', in C. Armoni et al. (ed.), *Kölner Papyri Band 12* (Paderborn, 2010) 209-13
- G. Schenke, 'Das Orakel des Heiligen Severus', *APF* 57 (2011) 65-72
- G. Schenke, *Das koptisch hagiographische Dossier des Heiligen Kolluthos: Arzt, Märtyrer und Wunderheiler* (Leuven, 2013)
- G. Schenke, 'The "Ode" to Egypt, P.Köln 354: Egypt as the Holy Land of Martyrs', *Journal of Coptic Studies* 20 (2018) 165-72
- G. Schenke, 'Places and Modes of Cult in Egypt', in B. Ward-Perkins (ed.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, forthcoming)
- H.-M. Schenke, 'Bemerkungen zum P. Hamb. Bil. 1 und zum altfayumischen Dialekt der koptischen Sprache', in G. Schenke Robinson, G. Schenke and U.-K. Plisch (eds.), *Der Same Seths. Hans-Martin Schenkes Kleine Schriften zu Gnosis, Koptologie und Neuen Testament* (Leiden, 2012) 744-71 at 763-5 ('Bemerkungen zum P. Hamb. Bil. 1 und zum altfayumischen Dialekt der koptischen Sprache', 1991)
- W. Schenkel, *Kultmythos und Märtyrerlegende. Zur Kontinuität des ägyptischen Denkens* (Wiesbaden, 1977)
- J.M. Schott, *Eusebius of Caesarea. The History of the Church: A New Translation* (Oakland, 2019)
- P. Schubert, 'On the Form and Content of the Certificates of Pagan Sacrifice', *JRS* 106 (2016) 172-98

- J. Schwartz, 'Dioclétien dans la littérature copte, *BSAC* 15 (1958-1960) 151-66
- A. Serfass, 'On the Meaning of *stotes* in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1951', *ZPE* 161 (2007) 253-9
- A. Serfass, 'Wine for Widows: Papyrological Evidence for Christian Charity in Late Antique Egypt', in S. Holman (ed.), *Wealth and Poverty in Early Church and Society* (Grand Rapids, 2008) 88-102
- H.G. Severin, 'Zur Bauskulptur und zur Datierung zweier Kirchenbauten in Antinoupolis', in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Antinoupolis II* (Florence, 2014) 379-414
- M. Sheridan, *From the Nile to the Rhone and beyond. Studies in Early Monastic Literature and Scriptural Interpretation* (Rome, 2012) 47-87 ('The Spiritual and Intellectual World of Early Egyptian Monasticism', 2002¹)
- K. Sier, 'Zum Text der Martyrien von Petrus und Paulus', *ZPE* 173 (2010) 35-44
- P.J. Sijpesteijn, 'P.Mich. inv. 33: A Fragment of a Martyrology?', *BASP* 31 (1994) 121-4
- T.C. Skeat, 'Two Byzantine Documents', *British Museum Quarterly* 18 (1953) 71-3
- I. Sluiter, 'Anchoring Innovation: A Classical Research Agenda', *European Review* 25 (2017) 1-19
- S.A. Stephens, 'A Eulogy for Christian Martyrs?', *BASP* 22 (1985) 333-48
- S.A. Stephens, 'An Epicrisis Return and Other Documentary Fragments from the Yale Collection', *ZPE* 96 (1993) 221-6
- C. Strauss and N. Quin, *Cognitive Theory of Cultural Meaning* (Cambridge, 1997)
- A. Struiber, 'Heidnische und christliche Gedächtniskalender', *JbAC* 3 (1960) 24-33
- E. Subías, 'Oxyrhynchos: Metropolis and Landscape', in E. Subías et al. (eds.), *The Space of the City in Graeco-Roman Egypt: Image and Reality* (Tarragona, 2011) 93-116
- E. Subías, 'La fortaleza bizantina del suburbio noroccidental de Oxirrínco (El-Minia, Egipto)', in L.M. de Araújo and J. Das Candeias Sales (eds.), *Novos trabalhos de Egiptologia ibérica. IV Congresso ibérico de Egiptologia*, 2 vols. (Lisbon, 2012) 2.1163-78
- E. Subías, 'A Byzantine Domain in the Suburbs of Oxyrhynchos', in P. Buzi, A. Camplani and F. Conrardi (eds.), *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times. Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 2016) 2.1381-94
- M. Suk-Young Chwe, *Rational Ritual. Culture, Coordination, and Common Knowledge* (Princeton, 2001)
- J. Sutton, *Philosophy and Memory Traces: Descartes to Connectionism* (Cambridge, 1998)
- M.N. Swanson, 'The Copto-Arabic Synaxarion', in D. Thomas and A. Mallett (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, 4 vols. (Leiden, 2012) 4.937-45
- T. Takeuchi et al., 'Locus Coeruleus and Dopaminergic Consolidation of Everyday Memory', *Nature* 537 (2016) 357-62
- N.M. Takla, 'Healing and Salvation in Early Egyptian Christianity', *Coptica* 1 (2002) 161-8
- H.C. Teitler, *The Last Pagan Emperor. Julian the Apostate and the War against Christianity* (New York, 2017)
- K. De Temmerman (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Biography* (Oxford, 2020)
- J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, 1987)
- H. Thompson, 'The Coptic Inscriptions', in J.E. Quibell (ed.), *The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo, 1912) 47-125
- S. Thompson, 'Encomium on St. Coluthus, Attributed to Isaac of Antinoe', in L. Depuydt (ed.), *Encomiastica from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1993) 1.46-83 (text), 2.35-64 (tr.)
- J. Thurn, *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia* (Berlin, 2000).
- W.C. Till, *Koptische Heiligen- und Märtyrlegenden: Texte, Übersetzungen und Indices*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1935-1936)
- M.A. Tilley, 'The Ascetic Body and the (Un)Making of the World of the Martyr', *JAAR* 59 (1991) 467-78
- S. Timm, *Das Christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, 6 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1984-92)

- E. Tisserant and H. Quentin, 'Une version syriaque de la Passion de S. Dioscore', *AB* 39 (1921) 333-44
- K. Treu, 'Christliche Papyri', *APF* 19 (1969) 169-206; 20 (1970) 145-52; 21 (1971) 207-14; 22 (1973) 367-95; 24/25 (1976) 253-61; 26 (1978) 149-59; 27 (1980) 251-8; 28 (1982) 91-8; 29 (1983) 107-10; 30 (1984) 121-8; 31 (1985) 59-71; 32 (1986) 87-95; 34 (1988) 69-78; 35 (1989) 107-16; 36 (1990) 95-8; 37 (1991) 93-8
- E.B. Tribble, *Cognition in the Globe: Attention and Memory in Shakespeare's Theatre* (New York, 2011)
- E.B. Tribble and N. Keene, *Cognitive Ecologies and the History of Remembering: Religion, Education and Memory in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 2011)
- G. Uggeri, 'La chiesa paleocristiana presso la porta orientale', in S. Donadoni et al. (ed.), *Missione archaeologica in Egitto dell'Università di Roma, Antinoe* (Rome, 1974) 37-67
- M. Van Uytanghe, 'L'empreinte biblique sur la plus ancienne hagiographie occidentale', in J. Fontaine and C. Pietri (eds.), *Le monde latin antique et la Bible* (Paris, 1985) 565-611
- M. Van Uytanghe, 'L'hagiographie: un "genre" chrétien ou antique tardif?', *AB* 111 (1993) 135-88
- M. Van Uytanghe, 'L'origine et les ingrédients du discours hagiographique', *SEJG* 50 (2011) 35-77
- D. Valbelle and G. Husson, 'Les questions oraculaires d'Égypte: histoire de la recherche, nouveautés et perspectives', in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, 2 vols. (Leuven, 1998) 2.1055-71
- J. Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, 1985)
- M. Vassilaki, 'A Painting of Saint Kollouthos', in C. Entwistle (ed.), *Through a Glass Brightly: Studies in Byzantine and Medieval Art and Archaeology Presented to David Buckton* (Oxford, 2016) 5-43
- J. Vergote, 'Eculeus, Rad- und Pressefolter in den ägyptischen Märtyrerakten', *ZNTW* 37 (1938) 239-50
- J. Vergote, 'Les principaux modes de supplice chez les Anciens et dans les textes chrétiens', *BIBR* 20 (1939) 141-63
- J. Vergote, 'Folterwerkzeuge', in *RAC* VIII (1972) 112-41
- J. van der Vliet, 'Bringing Home the Homeless: Landscape and History in Egyptian Hagiography', in H. F. Dijkstra and M. van Dijk (eds.), *The Encroaching Desert: Egyptian Hagiography and the Medieval West* (Leiden, 2006) 39-55
- S. Vyonis, 'The *Panegyris* of the Byzantine Saint: A Study in the Nature of a Medieval Institution, Its Origins and Fate', in S. Hackel (ed.), *The Byzantine Saint* (Crestwood NY, 2001) 196-226
- Q. Wang, *The Autobiographical Self in Time and Culture* (Oxford, 2013)
- B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia, 1982)
- B. Ward-Perkins et al. (eds.), *Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2014-2019)
- J.V. Wertsch, 'Collective Memory', in P. Boyer and J.V. Wertsch (eds.), *Memory in Mind and Culture* (Cambridge, 2009) 117-37
- J. Westerfeld, 'Saints in the Caesareum: Remembering Temple-Conversion in Late Antique Hermopolis', in M. Bommas et al. (ed.), *Memory and Urban Religion in the Ancient World* (London, 2012) 59-86
- H. White, *Metahistory. The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore, 1973)
- H. White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore, 1978)
- H. Whitehouse, *Inside the Cult: Religious Innovation and Transmission in Papua New Guinea* (Oxford, 1995)
- H. Whitehouse, *Arguments and Icons: Divergent Modes of Religiosity* (Oxford, 2000)
- H. Whitehouse, *Modes of Religiosity: A Cognitive Theory of Religious Transmission* (Walnut Creek, 2004)

- T. Wilfong, 'Constantine in Coptic. Egyptian Constructions of Constantine the Great', in S.N.C. Lieu and D. Montserrat (eds.), *Constantine. History, Historiography and Legend* (London, 1998) 177-88
- E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV^e au VIII^e siècle* (Brussels, 1972)
- E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome, 1996) 9-61 ('Le nationalisme a-t-il existé dans l'Égypte byzantine?', *JJP* 22 [1992] 82-128)
- E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome, 1996) 281-336 ('Le monachisme égyptien et les villes', 1994¹)
- E. Wipszycka, *Études sur le christianisme dans l'Égypte de l'antiquité tardive* (Rome, 1996) 415-20 ('Un lecteur qui ne sait pas écrire ou un chrétien qui ne veut pas se souiller', 1983³)
- E. Wipszycka, 'L'attività caritativa dei vescovi egiziani', in É. Rebillard and C. Sotinel (eds.), *Évêque dans la cité du IV^e au Ve siècle: image et autorité* (Rome, 1998) 71-80
- E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^e-VIII^e siècles)* (Warsaw, 2009)
- R. Wiśniewski, 'Looking for Dreams and Talking with Martyrs: The Internal Roots of Christian Incubation', in M. Vinzent (ed.), *Studia Patristica LXIX. Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference of Patristic Studies held in Oxford 2011* (Leuven, 2013) 203-8
- R. Wiśniewski, *The Beginnings of the Cult of Relics* (Oxford, 2019)
- D. Woods, 'The Origin of the Cult of St George', in M. Humphries and D.V. Twomey (eds.), *The Great Persecution: The Proceedings of the Fifth Patristic Conference* (Dublin, 2009) 141-58
- K.A. Worp, 'A Checklist of Bishops in Byzantine Egypt (A.D. 325-c.750)', *ZPE* 100 (1994) 283-318
- D. Wyrwa, 'Literarische und theologische Gestaltungselemente in der *Vita Antonii* des Athanasius', in J. van Oort and D. Wyrwa (eds.), *Autobiographie und Hagiographie in der christlichen Antike* (Leuven, 2009) 12-62
- D. Xygalatas, 'On the Way Towards of Cognitive Historiography: Are We There Yet?', *Journal of Cognitive Historiography* 1 (2014) 193-200
- R. Yanney, 'About This Issue', *Coptic Church Review* 5 (1984) 74-5
- A. Yasin, *Saints and Church Spaces in the Late Antique Mediterranean: Architecture, Cult, and Community* (Cambridge, 2009)
- Y.N. Youssef, 'La genèse de la légende sur le roi Dioclétien', *BSAC* 28 (1986-1989) 117-9
- Y.N. Youssef, 'La christianisation des fêtes d'Osiris', *BSAC* 19 (1990) 147-52
- J. Zandee, 'Het patroon der martyria', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 14 (1959-1960) 1-28
- J. Zandee, 'Traditions pharaoniques et influences extérieures dans les légendes coptes', *CdE* 46 (1971) 211-9
- U. Zanetti, 'Les miracles arabes de saint Kolouthos (ms. St-Macaire, hagiog. 35)', in U. Zanetti and E. Lucchesi (eds.), *Aegyptus christiana: Mélanges d'hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du P. Paul Devos bollandiste* (Geneva, 2004) 43-109
- U. Zanetti, 'Abû I-Makârim et Abû Sâlih', *BSAC* 34 (1995) 85-138
- U. Zanetti, 'Note textologique sur S. Colluthus', *AB* 114 (1996) 10-24
- P. Zignani and D. Laisney, 'Cartographie de Dendara, remarques sur l'urbanisme du site', *BIFAO* 101 (2001) 415-47
- C. Zuckerman, *Du village à l'Empire. Autour du registre fiscal d'Aphroditô (525/526)* (Paris, 2004)