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P.MON.EPIPH. 607: GREAT DOXOLOGY AND *TRISAGION*

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Metropolitan acq. n. 14.1.209
Monastery of Epiphanius, Cell A

w 10 × h 7.5 cm
TM 65221

6th/7th cent.
ostrakon, pottery¹

P.Mon.Epiph. 607 recto (concave side) was tentatively identified by the first editor, H. G. Evelyn White, as the Greek redaction of the early Christian hymn called the Great Doxology or *hymnus angelicus*. This paper confirms the contents of the recto of the ostrakon as verses 29 to 42² of the Great Doxology. The remnants of faded ink visible on the verso (convex side) are moreover identified as the *Trisagion*. The paper provides a re-edition of both sides based on autopsy.

The Greek redaction of the Great Doxology, used in the Byzantine and Coptic rites, consists of a variant of the 2nd century hymn (verses 1–28), with the addition of a series of Psalm quotations (verses 32–46). This form is first attested in its entirety in the Codex Alexandrinus in the 5th century. Greek and Coptic manuscripts from Egypt contain some extra verses. For a list of witnesses and a detailed discussion of the textual history, see H. Quecke, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet*. Louvain 1970, 274–299, for more recently published witnesses see F. Maltomini, *ZPE* 60 (1995) 267–272 and N. Gonis, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 172–174. P.Mon.Epiph. 607 adds little to the textual history of the hymn. The preserved fragment corresponds almost exactly to the text of P.Berol. 364 (ostrakon, Thebaid, 5th/6th cent.),³ of IGChrEg 237 (White Monastery), and of the manuscript Copt. 68 of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fol. 85^r (White Monastery, 13th/14th century).⁴ The only major variation present is in ll. 7–10, which probably contain the verbs δίδαξον – φώτισον – συνέτισον instead of δίδαξον – συνέτισον – συνέτισον on the Berlin ostrakon and δίδαξον – συνέτισον – φώτισον in the Paris manuscript, see discussion.

The ink on the verso of the ostrakon is faded. Nonetheless, ισχυρος in l. 5 and ημας ελεη in l. 4 are discernible, and were already read by the first editor. This supports an identification as the monophysite *Trisagion*, which also fits the traces of ink in the rest of the lines. The identification is further supported by the fact that the *Trisagion* is attested together with the Great Doxology on P.Berol. 364, in the Coptic manuscript M574 of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Fayyum, 894/95 or 897/98) p. 138–140,⁵ in the BnF Copt. 68 fol. 85^v and in the Coptic manuscript inv. 924.68.2 of the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto fol. 18–22 (13th/14th cent.).⁶ They also appear together in the current Coptic rite in the morning offering of incense and the morning prayer.⁷ The monophysite *Trisagion* is characterized by the insertion of additions, short clauses summarizing events in Christ's life, which are introduced between ἅγιος ἀθάνατος and ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.⁸ These additions, especially the ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς were important statements of monophysitism, as they expressed the belief in the single divine and human nature of Christ through the combination of a hymn addressed to his divinity and affirmations about his earthly life. The present-day Coptic rite uses four such additions: ὁ ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθεὶς, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ

¹ A high resolution image of the object is available on the website of the Metropolitan Museum, <http://www.metmuseum.org> by searching the acquisition number 14.1.209 (accessed on 03/12/2014).

² Verse numbering as found in A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Septuaginta Vol. X. Psalmi cum Odis*. Göttingen 1967², 364–365.

³ Edited by K. Treu, *AfP* 24/25 (1976) 114–117.

⁴ Edited by Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 488–505.

⁵ Edited by Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 394–445, here especially 416–421 and 426–427. The pages of the manuscript edited by Quecke contain an early version of the later Psalmodia book, which assembles the sung pieces of the liturgy of the hours, and is designed for the singer (ψάλτης).

⁶ Edited by Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 468–487.

⁷ O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church*. Le Caire 1967, 39 and 101.

⁸ The history and dogmatic importance of these additions is summarized in L. Koenen, Ein christlicher Prosahymnus des 4. Jhdts (O.Zucker 36), in: E. Boswinkel et al. (ed.), *Antidoron Martino David oblatum. Miscellanea papyrologica (P. Ludg. Bat. 17)*, Leiden 1968, 34–38.

τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνελθῶν εἰς οὐρανοῦς, and exclusively for Epiphany season ὁ Ἰορδάνη βαπτισθεῖς.⁹ In current practice, the *Trisagion* is repeated thrice with the first three additions (in festal periods with only the relevant additions). It is continued with an extension containing the Lesser Doxology and other verses in Greek and Coptic or Arabic. Parts of this extension are already present, in various combinations, in the earliest manuscripts.¹⁰ The sequence of the Great Doxology and the monophysite *Triagion* is recited in the Coptic liturgy of the hours and the morning offering of incense, the first witness to this practice being P.Berol. 364.

P.Mon.Epiph. 607 comes from a lot of liturgical and Biblical ostraca found in Cell A of the Monastery of Epiphanius, a number of which were copied by a scribe named Moses, see S. Bucking, *JCS* 9 (2007) 27–36. At least four other texts from this lot can be connected to the liturgy of the hours. Three odes, which also appear in the Psalmodia manuscript M574, are attested among the ostraca of Moses. P.Mon.Epiph. 3 contains the Canticle of Moses (Ex. 15:1–21, the first ode of the Coptic rite) in Coptic, P.Mon.Epiph. 19 has Ps. 135:5–24 (the second ode) in Coptic, and P.Mon.Epiph. 582 the Canticle of the Three Children (Dan. 3:57–66 and 71ff., the third ode) in Greek. P.Mon.Epiph. 602 is a troparion for Epiphany, which ends by citing the *incipit* of the third ode, probably indicating that the canticle is to follow the hymn in the service. The presence of the three odes, the Great Doxology and the *Trisagion* in one lot makes it likely that they were already sung together in the liturgy of the hours at the end of the 6th or beginning of the 7th centuries. It also establishes a link between the activity of Moses and the performance of the liturgy of the hours. As Moses copied and collected so many texts that later were included in the book of the Psalmodia, the book intended for the ψάλτης or ψαλμοδός (the cantor), it is possible that either he had this function in the community, or he was copying for the ψάλτης.¹¹ One more text by his hand, P.Mon.Epiph. 15 (Ps. 50:1–4) might also relate to the liturgy of the hours. Though absent from M574, this psalm is said in every hour in the current Coptic practice.¹²

P.Mon.Epiph. 607 is fragmentary, only the right margin is preserved. The restoration of the Great Doxology on the recto suggests an original width of ca. 28 cm, but the potsherd tapers towards the bottom. At least 9 lines from the top have been lost, which would add an additional ca. 5 cm to the height. The writing on the recto is clearly that of Moses, though here it is more cursive. The hand on the verso is similar to that on the recto, only larger and thicker, with more interlinear space. It is likely to be the same hand, though the traces do not allow us to determine this with confidence. The recto and the verso apply slashes (r 7, v 2 and 3) and a dot (r 6) to divide verses.

The restoration of the text of the Great Doxology is based on P.Berol. 364. Punctuation is added only in the restored part, in the extant text the original punctuation is presented.

r

- 1 [εὐλόγησω σε καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα
 τοῦ αἰῶ[νος. καταξίωσον, κ(ύρι)ε, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην ἀναμαρτήτους
 φυλαχθῆν[αι ἡμᾶς. εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κ(ύρι)ε ὁ θ(εὸς) τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,
 5 καὶ αἰνετὸν κ[αὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

⁹ Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 302.

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of the textual variants and the manuscripts, see Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 299–308.

¹¹ On the ψάλτης and his relationship to the book of the Psalmodia, see Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 74–76. Another argument may reinforce this suggestion. Quecke, *Stundengebet*, 77–78 speaks of a certain CΔ2, meaning in liturgical context probably ‘Vorsänger’, ‘Lehrer und Leiter des Kirchengesangs’, which probably translates the Greek ψάλτης, though the exact meaning of the word is speculative. This CΔ2 was, according to the typika of the White Monastery, in charge of intoning the so called *hermeniae*, hymns composed of Psalm verses that usually contain the same word (e.g. P.Lond.Copt. 144 fol. b 15). A book of *hermeniae* is bound together with the Psalmodia in M574, suggesting that the two types of texts were recited by the same person. A *hermenia* is found among Moses’ ostraca as well (P.Mon.Epiph. 16). The general meaning of CΔ2, “scribe”, also fits well with the fact that he received a letter requesting the copy of a text (P.Mon.Epiph. 386). Moses could of course have had other responsibilities in the community as well.

¹² *Copt.Enc.* II 448a.

ἀμήν· γένοιτο κ(ύρι)ε [τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καθάπερ ἐλπία-
μεν ἐλπὶ σε | εὐλο[γητὸς εἶ, κύριε, δίδαξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου.
εὐλογητὸς εἶ κύριε φώτι[σόν με τοῖς δικαιώμασί σου. εὐλογη-
τὸς εἶ κ(ύρι)ε, συνέτισόν? με τὰ δικαιώματά

10 σου κ(ύρι)ε [καταφυγὴ ἐγενήθης ἡμῖν
εἰς γε[νεὰν καὶ γενεάν. ἐγὼ εἶπα κ(ύρι)ε
ἐλέ[ησόν με, ἴασαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ὅτι ἦ-
μ[αρτόν σοι. κ(ύρι)ε, πρὸς σὲ κατέ-
φ[υγα?

2. εὐλο ed.pr. 4. φυλαχθη[ναι ed.pr. 5. αινετω πα[ς ed.pr. 6. corr. ex. γενετο, γενοσ το ed.pr. 7. l. ἐπί
σε, ἐλπις και ed.pr. 8. εὐλογητως, φωτ[ιζων ed.pr. 9. τας εικ ed.pr. 10. σου κ ed.pr. 11. εις γ
ed.pr. 12. ἐλπ ed.pr. 13. ασ ed.pr.

v

1 ἰσχυρ]ός
ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ὁ ca. 10 δι' ἡμᾶς / ἐλ-
ήσον ἡμᾶς. ἅγιος ὁ θ(ε)ός ἅγιος ἰσχυρ]ός / ἅγιος
ἀθάνατος ὁ ca. 10 δι' ἡμᾶς ἐλέη-
5 σον ἡμᾶς. ἅγιος ὁ θ(ε)ός ἅγιος ἰσχυρός

2–3. μας φυλ[αχθηναι ed.pr. 3. τιν ed.pr. 4. σ υμας ed.pr. 5. αγι]ος ἰσχυρος ed.pr. 6.]τε ed.pr.

Commentary

r 6–7. Ps. 32:22. This addition is missing from the Codex Alexandrinus (see Rahlfs) and P.Berol. 17449,¹³ but is common to the later tradition. ἐλπι σε for ἐπί σε is a phonological error due to the preceding ἐλπίασμεν, similar mistakes occur in P.Vindob. G 26030 v 9,¹⁴ M574 p. 143 l. 20, and BnF Copt. 68 fol. 85^r l. 15.

7–10. These three lines are variants of Ps. 118:12. In the Codex Alexandrinus the verse is repeated three times, but other testimonies report variants.¹⁵ Unfortunately some of them are broken here. P.Berol. 364 has, with some certainty, δίδαξον – συνέτισον – συνέτισον; φώτισον would be too short for the lacuna in v 1. The variant δίδαξον – συνέτισον – φώτισον is the most widespread, it figures in all Coptic manuscripts and in BnF Copt. 68 fol. 85^r as well. In P.Mon.Epiph. 607 only the middle φώτισον is certain. However, δίδαξον, the original form in the Psalm verse, is first in every case. The third verb can be a repetition of φώτισον, but it is less likely, as συνέτισον is present so far in all versions that have more than just δίδαξον. φώτισον is also likely to be the last variant added, as it is not in Ps. 118 and is in a different grammatical construction (it governs dative instead of accusative). These considerations speak for a δίδαξον – φώτισον – συνέτισον triad on P.Mon.Epiph. 607.

11. εἰς γε[νεὰν καὶ γενεάν. The Greek Egyptian manuscripts, except for IGChrEg 237, agree on this variant against ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ in the edition of Rahlfs.

v 1. For the initial letter the traces suggest a θ rather than an ο. However, restoring θ(ε)ός would make the next line too long, as in this case ἅγιος ἰσχυρός has to be added there. The number of letters missing in l. 2 speaks rather for restoring ἰσχυρός in l. 1.

2 and 4. Between ὁ and δι' ἡμᾶς the monophysite additions to the Byzantine *Trisagion* are expected. While ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς is constant, the reference to the birth is attested in the manuscripts as ὁ σαρκωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ὁ γεννηθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς or ὁ ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθεὶς, and the resurrection can be simply ὁ ἀναστὰς

¹³ Edited by K. Treu, *AfP* 21 (1971) 75–78.

¹⁴ Edited by F. Maltomini, *ZPE* 60 (1995) 267–272.

¹⁵ On this variation, see K. Treu, *AfP* 21 (1971) 77.

ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, or it can contain a reference to the ascension (καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς οὐρανοῦς). P.Berol. 364 moreover has the Epiphany addition as ὁ βαπτισθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς. P.Mon.Epiph. 607 must have two of the three possible additions containing δι' ἡμᾶς: γεννηθεὶς / σαρκωθεὶς, βαπτισθεὶς and σταυρωθεὶς. If we consider the space above (the equivalent of at least five lines of the recto, even if all the four lines missing at the end of the Great Doxology were written on the verso), a βαπτισθεὶς – σταυρωθεὶς couple is expected, which is attested by the closest parallel in space and time, P.Berol. 364.¹⁶ Here, as opposed to P.Berol. 364, the strophes of the *Trisagion* are always written out in full.

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¹⁶ The abbreviation καὶ in l. 29 of P.Berol. 364 was interpreted by Treu as a mistake for κ(ύρι)ε. However, it is more likely to be resolved as an abbreviation of the second part of the Lesser Doxology (καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων), of which the first part (δόξα πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι) is found in l. 28. Some traces after καὶ, which are only imperfectly visible on the photo available on the website of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/> (accessed on 03/12/2014), seem to read γῶγ; this can be yet another indication that the second half of the Lesser Doxology was intended. κ(ύρι)ε is moreover always in the correct form on the ostrakon; it is unlikely to be mistaken only here. The Lesser Doxology follows the *Trisagion* in later witnesses as in the M574 fol. 140^r, the Toronto manuscript inv. 924.68.2 fol. 21^r and in the current Coptic rite (*Copt.Enc.* VII 2278a). The structure of P.Berol. 364 remains unclear, I cannot offer any plausible explanations for the ‘irregularity’ of the acclamations noted by Treu.