



The text, which is delimited by an oblique stroke (l. 1) and a cross (l. 23), is a consecratory prayer for (the wine in) the chalice (ll. 12–15) in the presence of already consecrated bread (ll. 2–3), and was thus pronounced by the priest. It is addressed to God Almighty (l. 1) and has a tripartite articulation by means of the same petitionary formula,  $\tau\bar{\nu}\sigma\bar{\omega}\pi\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\lambda\gamma\omega$   $\tau\bar{\nu}\pi\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\kappa}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\lambda}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\iota}$   $\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\kappa}$  (ll. 1–2, 12 and 17). It includes a summary of Christ's earthly life (ll. 4–12) which culminates in his crucifixion and the pouring forth of blood and water from his pierced side (ll. 10–12) which provides the crucial link with the pouring forth of the Holy Spirit over the chalice (ll. 3 and 13–14). The last part contains a request for worthy communion (ll. 18–20) which leads up to a 'preface' to the Lord's Prayer (ll. 20–23) although that prayer, which was recited by the congregation, is not contained on this sheet. The last part of the 'preface' involves code switching from Coptic into Greek (l. 23). In a liturgical setting the switch would presumably signal to the people their imminent part, i.e. the oral recitation of the Lord's Prayer.

The prayer presents close similarities in structure and in wording to the consecratory prayer in the Coptic rite of the filling of the chalice. The rite serves to consecrate extra wine if during communion it is found insufficient or corrupted, see Īris Habṭb Al-Maṣṣrī, "The Rite of the Filling of the Chalice," *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte* 6 (1940): 77–90. The reference to "already sanctified sacrament" in ll. 2–3 suggests that the prayer may also have connections to the liturgy of the presanctified, see Stefanos Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite. A Comparative Analysis of its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components* (Liturgia Condenda 21; Leuven: Peeters, 2009) 113–17. Moreover, a service is attested in which additional bread and/or wine is consecrated after the anaphora in case more is needed for the communion. The earliest mention of this practice is found in two sources from the seventh century Thebaid: in a pastoral epistle, P.Berol. 11346 (edited by Alberto Camplani, "A Pastoral Epistle of the 7th Century Concerning the Eucharist (Pap. Berol. P. 11346)," in *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung. Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum. Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin*, hrsg. von V.M. Lepper, Bd. 1 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2012), 377–386, which provides instructions in case the priest runs out of bread during the communion, and in the newly discovered Sahidic redaction of Canon 99

of Basil, which provides instructions for both bread and wine.<sup>2</sup> The prayer on P.Oslo inv. 1665 could also have served similar purposes. For more details concerning the liturgical *Sitz im Leben* of this prayer, see the liturgical commentary appended to this edition.

From a theological point of view the prayer reflects a period in the history of the church when the description of the Spirit as co-substantial ( $\delta\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$ ) with the Father and the Son had become accepted after having been hotly debated in the latter part of the fourth century (see comm. on l. 4). The prayer text also emphasizes the will of Christ and the voluntary aspect of his incarnation and suffering, thereby illustrating theological debates which were going on in the wider church in the same period (see com. on ll. 6–7 and 9).

The language is standard and correct Sahidic (with the exception of possible haplography, ll. 9 and 10). *Nomina sacra* include  $\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}$   $\bar{\pi}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma}$ ,  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\nu}\bar{\alpha}$ , the noun and verb for crucifixion (ll. 10 and 16) in Coptic and  $\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}$   $\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\rho}\bar{\omega}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$  in Greek. The Greek seems somewhat garbled. Not only is the abbreviation of the adjective messed up. An entire infinitive is missed out (see commentary on l. 23). The scribe uses high point to divide cola and semicolon to signal code switching (l. 23). Apart from the usual supralinear strokes (sometimes oblique due to the speed of writing), a shorter stroke is employed to indicate sequences of vowels. Supralinear dots whose function is not entirely clear have been noted on first syllables of certain words (ll. 3, 19 and 22).

The scribe has worked with confidence and increasing speed and has produced a piece of writing that gives a neat but informal overall impression. Its major traits are slight letter inclination, modular contrast between letters, pronounced downward traits ( $\iota$ ,  $\kappa$ ,  $\tau$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\varphi$ ,  $\omega$ ) and pseudo-ligatures. Characteristic letter forms: small, very rounded  $\lambda$  and  $\omicron$ , both raised above the baseline; narrow  $\epsilon$  and  $c$  with straight left part;  $\kappa$  with pronounced right strokes firmly attached to the left vertical;  $\lambda$  with the top of the right stroke projecting over to a "hooked" top; compressed  $m$  with the middle

<sup>2</sup> Thanks to Alberto Camplani for having shared his and Federico Contardi's preliminary transcription of this manuscript. On the manuscript, see Alberto Camplani and Federico Contardi, "The Canons Attributed to Basil of Caesarea. A New Coptic Codex, in Coptic Society, Literature and Religion, from Late Antiquity to Modern Times," in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17–22, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15–19, 2008* (ed. P. Buzi, A. Camplani and F. Contardi (Peeters: Leuven, 2016), 979–992.

curve at a level with the right and left curves; n with right leg sometimes raised above the baseline; γ with long and straight right arm. The overall impression is close to the letter P. Mon. Epiph. 162 (see photo in P. Mon. Epiph. II, plate VI) which in view of the mention of Epiphanius may be dated in the early seventh century. A documentary letter form right under the last dot in the text written with the fibres on the back of the sheet may be a δ the upper part of which has a looped form and meets the rounded lower part in the middle.<sup>3</sup> If the identification is admissible, this letter form would entail dating the liturgical text no earlier than the seventh century. Remarkable are the palaeographical similarities with P. Berl. Sarisch. 7 → written in a slightly sloping bookhand assigned to the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century: these include the forms of the letters α, β, ε, κ, λ, ρ and the long descenders of ι, κ, ρ, τ. The back, P. Berol. 21324↓, contains a Coptic text which presents characteristics, as the large interlinear space and the huge β, that point towards the 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup> All these considerations suggest a date in the seventh or eighth century, but nothing weighs decisively in favour of any of the two centuries.

P. Oslo inv. 1665<sup>5</sup> → + ↓  
Unknown provenance

ca. 31.2 x 18 cm

Seventh–eighth century

Fr. A: 14.1 x 4.5 cm; Fr. B: 2.1 x 2.4 cm;  
Fr. C: 17 x 6.4 cm; Fr. D: 13.7 x 4.5 cm;  
Fr. E: 3.5 x 1.5 cm; Fr. F: 31 x 12 cm;  
Fr. G: 8.2 x 3.5 cm; Fr. H: 4.1 x 2.5 cm;  
Fr. I: 3.8 x 3.4 cm; Fr. J: 2.7 x 0.4 cm;  
Fr. K: 0.5 x 0.2 cm; Fr. L: 0.3 x 0.3 cm;  
Fr. M: 0.4 x 0.8 cm

<sup>3</sup> The identification is Lajos Berkes'.

<sup>4</sup> Image of both sides are available under <<http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/>> by searching for inventory number 21324.

<sup>5</sup> Inv. nos. 1663–1668 were purchased by the Norwegian historian of religion Hermann Ludin Jansen from the Maurice Nahman estate in Cairo in January 1954. Of these, inv. 1666 is a Coptic letter from a female to a monastic by the name apa Hermantinou (edition in preparation by Ágnes T. Mihálykó). Inv. 1668 (Greek) preserves a series of incoherent notes from a homily or other theological text, and has connections with similar pieces of writing in the collection of the Abbey of Montserrat, see Anastasia Maravela and Glenn Ø. Wehus, "In the Workshop of a Preacher-Scholar? Christian Jottings on an Oslo Parchment," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 182 (2012): 87–97. Inv. 1667 (edition in preparation by Joanne V. Stolk mentions a topos of Apa Apollo, probably that in Bawit). The documentary texts in the lot seem to come from the Hermopolite.

- / ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ Π[ΕΙΩ]Τ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC  
ΑΥΩ ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΤΝCΟΠC  
ΑΥΩ ΤΝΠΑ[ΡΑΚ]ΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ ΠΜΑΪΡΩΜΕ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΪΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΚΗ  
ΕΖΡΑΪ ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΥ[ΤΒ-]  
ΒΟC ΑΥΩ ΑΥΩΡΠ ΖΑΓΙΑΖΕ ΜΜΟC ΖΙΤΝ ΤCΙΝΠΩCΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΩC  
ΜΠΕΚΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥΔΔ[Β]  
ΝΡΕCΤΑΝCΟ ΑΥΩ ΝΖΟΜΟΟΥCΙΟΝ Ν[Μ]Μ[Α]Κ ΜΝ Π[ΕΚ]ΜΕ[ΡΙΤ]  
ΝΩΗΡΕ Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC Π[Ε-]  
5 ΧΠΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΚ Ν..... ΟC Ζ[.....], ΚΟCΜΟC ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ  
ΚΟΥΝΓ ΕΤΡΕCΑ[ΝΑ-]  
ΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΑCΖΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΑΥΩ Ζ[Μ ΠΤΡΕCΩΤ]Μ ΝCΩΚ ΝΤΟΚ  
ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΙΩΤ ΑCΕΪ Ε-  
ΧΜ ΠΚΑC ΖΙΤΜ ΠΕCΟΥΩC ΑΥΩ ΖΜ [Π.....], ΑΧΜ ΠΩΩΝΕ ΕΒΟΛ  
ΖΜ ΠΕΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΕΤΟΥ-  
ΔΔΒ ΑΥΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΕΤΟ ΜΠΑΡΘΕ[ΝΟC ΝΟΥΟΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ ΤΕ]ΘΕ[Ο-]  
ΤΟΚΟC ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΖΑΓΙΑ ΜΑ-  
ΡΙΑ ΑCΩΠΕ ΝΡ[ΩΜΕ – ca. 30 – ], [.] ΖΝΑC ΖΑΡ[ΟΝ] ΖΝ ΤΕCΑΡΞ-  
10 ΑΥΩ ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕ[C]ΡΙΚΕ ΝΤΕCΑΠΕ <Ν>ΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΖΙΧΜ ΠΩΕ] ΜΠΕCΤ(ΑΥ-  
Ρ)ΟC ΑΥΟΥΩΝ [ΜΠ]ΕCΠΙΡ ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ  
ΖΙΤΝ ΤΛΟΓ[ΧΗ Μ]ΠΜΑΤΟΪ ΜΝΝCΑ ΤΡ[ΕCΤ ΜΠΕCΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α] ΑΤΠΥΓΗ  
ΜΠΩΝΞ ΒΕ[Ε]Β[Ε] ΜΠΜΟΟΥ  
ΜΝ ΠΕCΝΟΥC ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΤΝCΟΠC ΑΥΩ ΤΝ[ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ Μ]ΜΟΚ ΠΕΙΩΤ  
ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΑΥΩ ΠΜΑΪΡΩΜΕ  
ΕΤΡΕΚΤΝΟΟΥ ΝΑΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α [ΕΤΟΥΔΔΒ ΑΥ]Ω ΜΠΑΡΑ-  
ΚΛΗΤΟΝ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΜΠΗΥΕ ΕΠΕ-  
CΗΤ ΕΧΜ ΠΕΪΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΝΓCΜΟΥ ΕΡΟC ΝΓΤΒΒΟC ΑΥΩ  
ΝΓΖΑΓΙΑΖΕ ΜΜΟC ΝΓ-  
15 ΔΑC ΝCΝΟΥC ΝΡΕCΤΙΩΝΞ ΑΥΩ ΕCΤΑΙΝΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗC ΝΩΗΡΕ  
Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC  
ΠΑΪ ΝΤΑΥCΤ(ΑΥΡ)ΟΥ ΜΜΟC ΖΑΡΟΝ ΖΙ ΠΟΝΤΙΟC ΠΙΛΑΤΟC ΑΥΩ ΑC-  
ΖΟΜΟΛΟΓΕΙ ΝΘΟΜΟΛΟ-  
ΓΙΑ ΕΤΝΑΝΟΥC ΤΝCΟΠC ΑΥΩ ΤΝΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΜΟΚ  
↓ ΧΕΚΑC ΕΚΕΤΒΒΟ ΟΝ ΤΕΝΟΥ ΝΝΕΝCΩΜΑ [Μ]Ν ΝΕΝΨΥΧΗ ΜΝΝΕΝ-  
ΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Α ΝΝΑΞΡΝ  
[Τ]CΙΝΩΠ ΕΡΟΝ ΝΝΕΚΜΥCΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΕΤΟΥΔ[Α]Β ΑΥΩ ΕΤΖΑΕΘΟΥC  
ΑΥΩ ΝΓΤ ΘΕ ΝΑΝ ΤΗΡΝ  
20 [Ζ]Ν ΟΥΠΑΡΡΗCΙΑ ΕΤΡΕΝΤ ΜΠΕΝΟΥΟΪ ΤΝΧΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΖΝΟΥΩΠ  
ΖΜΟΤ ΑΥΩ ΝΓΑΑΝ



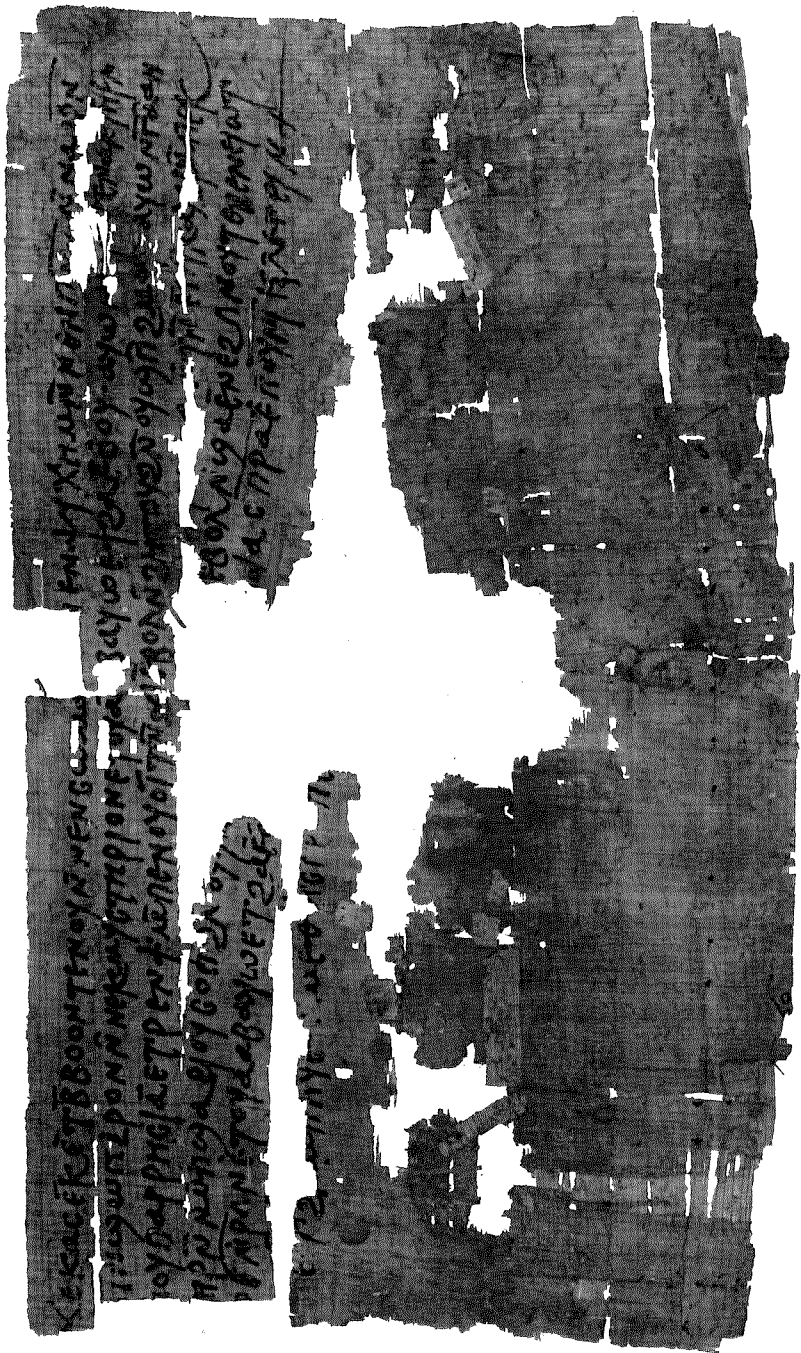
P.Oslo inv. 1665r

[Τ]ΗΡΝ ΝΜΠΩΑ ΖΙ ΟΥСОΠ ΖΝ ΟΥΤΟ[ΛΜΗ ΑΥΩ ΖΝ ΟΥΠΑΡ]ΡΗ[СΙ]Δ  
 ΝΤΝΕΠΙΚΑΛΕΙ ΜΠΕΚ-  
 [Ν]ΟС ΝΡΑΝ ΕΤΟΥΓΛΑΒ ΑΥΩ ΕΤΖΑΕΘ[ΟΥ [...]] ΕΒΟΛ ΝΩΑ ΕΝΕΖ  
 ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΕΝΕΙΩΤ  
 ΕΤΖΜ ΜΠΗΥΕ: μεθ' ἧς πρ[έ]πε[ι μετα]νοίας π(ατέ)ρα έπου(ρά)νι<ον>  
 κ(αί) λέγειν †

1 παντοκράτωρ, σωτήρ, ἰηс πεсс pap. 2 παρακαλεῖν, μυστήριον 3 ἀγιάζειν, πᾶν pap.  
 4 ὁμοούσιον, ἰηс πεсс pap. 5 κόσμος 5-6 ἀνακαλεῖν 7 πᾶν pap. πνεῦμα 8 παρ-  
 θένος, θεοτόκος 8-9 ἀγία 9 σάρξ 10 с-рос pap., σταυρός 11 λόγῃ, πᾶν pap.  
 πνεῦμα, πηγὴ 12 παρακαλεῖν 13 πᾶν pap. πνεῦμα, παράκλητος 14 ποτήριον,  
 ηΓСМОУ согг. from ηССМОУ, ηГТВВОС согг. from ηЧТВВОС, ἀγιάζειν, ηΓΖΑΓΙΑΖЕ согг. from  
 ηЧΑΓΙΑΖЕ 14-15 ηΓΛΛΑЧ согг. from ηЧΛΛАЧ 15 μονογενής, ἰηс, хс pap. 16 с-росоу  
 pap., σταυρόν, ὁμολογεῖν 16-17 ὁμολογία 18 σῶμα, ψυχὴ, πᾶν pap. πνεῦμα  
 19 μυστήριον 20 παρρησία 21 τόλμη, παρρησία, ἐπικαλεῖν 23 πρᾶ ἐπουνι pap.

1 Eph 1:3, 1 Pet 1:3, 2 Cor 1:3 5 John 1:18 10-11 John 19:30 10-12 John 19:34  
 15-16 1 Tim 6:11-12 18 1 Thess 5:23 22-23 Matt 6:9

1 ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ Π[ΕΙΩ]Τ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC ΑΥΩ  
 ΠΕΝCΩΤΗΡ Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C: Typical address of the divine person  
 prayed to in the Coptic liturgy. It is found already in the 4<sup>th</sup> century e.g. in  
 BKT VI.6 1.62-63, or without 'Father' in P.Monts. Roca 154b.6-7, see  
 Michael S. Zheltov, "The Anaphora and the Thanksgiving Prayer from the  
 Barcelona Papyrus: An Underestimated Testimony to the Anaphoral Hi-  
 story in the Fourth Century," *VigChr* 62 (2008): 484 and 487 (note 64).  
 By the sixth century it acquired such prominence as the appropriate  
 address to God that it was also used in oracular tickets and amulets  
 (*Pap.Graec. Mag.* P1 and P9 as well as P.Köln VIII 340 and MPER N.S.  
 XVII 10). It is well attested in later liturgical texts, in the White Mona-  
 stery (e.g. in the anaphora of St. Matthew, see Emmanuel Lanne, *Le  
 Grand Euchologe du Monastère Blanc* [Turnhout: Brepols, 1958], 356),  
 and in the current liturgy (see *The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, edited by the  
 Committee Formed by His Holiness Pope Shenouda III [Cairo: St. John the  
 Beloved Publishing House, 1993], 5). It results from combining two fre-  
 quent addresses of God, ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΠΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ "Lord God  
 Almighty" and ΠΕΙΩΤ ΜΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C "Father of Our  
 Lord Jesus Christ" (see Achim Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora:  
 Text-Kommentar-Geschichte* [Münster: Aschendorff, 2004], 250). The  
 latter stems from the Biblical expression τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς κυρίου  
 ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Eph 1:3, 1 Pet 1:3, 2 Cor 1:3). The formulaic string



P.Oslo inv. 1665v

can be expanded by adding various attributes to the name of Christ. Many sources, as our text does, add only σωτήρος ἡμῶν / ΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ “our Saviour,” already in the fourth century, e.g. in the Euchologium of Sarapion, prayer 17, see Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis: A Literary, Liturgical, and Theological Analysis* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1995), 66. The combination κυρίου καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν / ΠΕΝΧΘΕΙΣ ΑΥΩ ΠΕΝΣΩΤΗΡ “our Lord and our Saviour” is found also later, e.g. in O.Petr. Mus. 19 (late fifth cent.), P.Moscow Copt. 95, BM EA 54036.22 (seventh–eighth cent.?, see Hans Quecke, “Ein saïdischer Zeuge der Markusliturgie (Brit. Mus. Nr. 54036),” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 [1971]: 44), Q.I. fr. III a/c = Pap.Colon. XXVIII 6 (tenth–eleventh cent.), Q.I. fr. 4/12 = Pap.Colon. XXVIII 8 (tenth–eleventh cent.), as well as in *Pap.Graec. Mag.* P9 (sixth cent.) and *Pap.Graec. Mag.* P1 (fifth–sixth cent.). The full form with a threefold series of attributes, “our Lord, our God and our Saviour,” goes back to at least P.Ryl. III 465.2 (sixth cent.), and becomes standard in the medieval manuscripts. In the prayers stemming from the White Monastery, however, all three versions are found contemporarily (one attribute: see Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*, 366, 372, 392; two attributes: Paris, BnF Copte 129<sup>20</sup> fol. 137v.18–20 and 157 r.12–15; three attributes: Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*, 356).

The repetition of πχθεις reflects an original Greek Δέσποτα Κύριε, which is translated into Bohairic as φνηβ φνουϥ, e.g. in the prayer of thanksgiving of the morning rite, see John P. Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day* (London: J. Masters & Co, 1882), 3 and William F. Macomber, “The Greek Text of the Coptic Mass and of the Anaphoras of Basil and Gregory according to the Kacmarcik Codex,” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 43 (1977): 315. As the Sahidic did not have two synonyms for the word, it repeated πχθεις as here, in BM EA 54036.22 (see Quecke, “Ein saïdischer Zeuge”, 44), and in Prague, Or.Inst. MS I p. 1 l. 15 (see Valerie Hažmuková, “Miscellaneous Coptic Prayers I,” *Archiv Orientalni* 8 [1936]: 325).

2–3 παῖ νταϥ[τβ]βωϥ αυω αυωρη ραγιαζε μμοϥ: This phrase has a close parallel in the consecratory prayer of the rite of the filling of the chalice, εβολ ριτενπεκσωμα εθουαδβ νρεϣτανσο φαῖ εταϣεωρη ντουβο ουος εχωκ εβολ “through Thy Holy Life-giving Body, which is already sanctified and perfected” (Habīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 81–2). A reference to the “previously sanctified piece” (προη-

γιασμένη μερίς) is made in the first consecratory prayer of the chalice in the Nubian texts (Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*, 116). The pastoral epistle P.Berol. 11346 (the seventh cent., Thebaid), prescribes the call I. x+27 ΤΑ ΠΡΟΑΓΙΑΘΕΝΤΑ {ΤΑ} ΑΓΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ “the presanctified holies to the holies”<sup>6</sup> after the consecration of the additional bread.

3 ΖΙΤῆ ΤΡΙΝΠΩΣΤ̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΧΩΦ ΜΠΕΚΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ ΕΤΟΥΔΔ[Β]: This is a key-expression, picked up by the description of the pouring out of water and blood from Jesus’ pierced side (ll. 10–12) and the request to send the Spirit to hallow the chalice (ll. 12–14).

The phrase has a parallel in the main fraction prayer of the liturgy of St. Basil, and is contained in the Greek manuscripts (ὁ ἀγιάσας τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου Πνεύματος, see Roshdi W.B. Dous, “Ἡ Ἀλεξανδρινὴ θεία Λειτουργία του Μεγάλου Βασιλείου κατὰ την Κοπτική Παράδοση. Κριτικὴ Ἐκδόση” [Ph.D. diss., Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki, 1998], 158), and in the Bohairic textus receptus (ΦΗ ΕΤΑΘΕΡΑΓΙΑΖΙΝ ΝΝΑΙΔΩΡΟΝ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΣΡΗ ΖΙΤΕΝ ΠΧΙΝΙ ΕΣΡΗ ΕΧΩΟΥ ΝΤΕ ΠΕΚΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΕΘΟΥΔΔΒ, see *The Coptic liturgy*, 267). The Sahidic version of the same prayer in the Great Euchologium contains only the first half ΠΕΝΤΑΦΕ|ΑΓΙΑ ΝΝΕΙΔΩΡΟΝ ΝΑΙ ΕΤΚΗ ΕΣΡΑΙ ΜΠΕΚΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ, Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*, 388 ll. 14–16.

4 ΝΡΕΦΤΑΝΣΟ ΔΥΩ ΝΣΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΝ· Ν[Μ]Μ[Δ]Κ̄ Μῆ Π[ΕΚ]ΜΕ[ΡΙΤ] ΝΩΗΡΕ Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ ΠΕΝΧΘΕΙΣ: As is well known, the epithet ὁμοούσιον (“co-substantial”) had a turbulent history in the dogmatic disputes of the early church, starting from its inclusion in the 325 Nicene Creed concerning the relationship of the Son to the Father. For a survey of the history of the term see Pier F. Beatrice, “The Word ‘Homousios’ from Hellenism to Christianity,” *Church History* 71.2 (2002): 243–272. From the 360s onward, the related question of the status of the Holy Spirit also came to the fore. In the Nicene Creed the Holy Spirit had been mentioned only by the short phrase “And (we believe) in the Holy Spirit” without any qualifications or elaborations. Starting with Athanasius and his *Letters to Serapion*, probably from 359 or 360, we find the Church Fathers engaging in polemics with diverse groups over the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son. The most prominent of these groups were the so-called Pneumatomachians (“Spirit-fighters”), also

known as the Macedonians, who rejected the divinity of the Spirit and claimed that there was no biblical basis for regarding the Holy Spirit as equal in essence to the Father and the Son. Instead the Spirit was placed in various lower ontological categories, for example as a creature or as intermediate between God and angels, see Richard P.C. Hanson, *The Search for the Christian Doctrine of God: The Arian Controversy 318–381* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1988), 768–769. The two most comprehensive defences of the deity of the Spirit were produced by the two Cappadocians, Basil of Caesarea in *On the Holy Spirit* (375) and Gregory of Nazianzus in the *Fifth Theological Oration* (known as Oration 31; from 380).<sup>7</sup> The issue was debated at the council in Constantinople in 381, and the assembly decided upon a creedal statement (the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed) about the Spirit which was most probably intended as a confirmation of the full deity of the Spirit, but stopping short of using the term ὁμοούσιον, and instead using more biblically based non-philosophical language (συμπροσκυνούμενον συνδοξαζόμενον). The most probable reason for the assembly not to express their pneumatology in more explicit terms was their wish to tread carefully vis-à-vis the sentiments of their opponents in the hope of reaching a joint statement.<sup>8</sup> Even though the disputes concerning the nature of the Son and his place within the Trinity continued into the following centuries, as the statements from the later councils show, the debate over the Holy Spirit seems to have settled more quickly, in broad sense being over already by the fifth century (see Joel C. Elowsky, *We Believe in the Holy Spirit* [Madison, WI: InterVarsity Press, 2009], xxxi).

A Trinitarian use of ὁμοούσιος is also attested in documentary papyri from the seventh century. Under the reign of the Byzantine emperor Mauritius it was decided (probably sometime around 591) that legal documents were to include an invocation of Christ attached to the regnal for-

<sup>7</sup> Gregory had in his *Fifth Theological Oration* explicitly both called the Spirit God and applied to it the term ὁμοούσιον (τί οὖν; θεός τὸ πνεῦμα; πάνυ γε; τί οὖν; ὁμοούσιον; εἴτεπ θεός. “What, then? Is the Spirit God? Most certainly. Well, then, is he co-substantial? If he is God, yes,” Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio* 31, 10,1–2 [SC 250, 292,16–17 Gallay]).

<sup>8</sup> See Lewis Ayres, *Nicaea and its Legacy. An Approach to Fourth-Century Trinitarian Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 257–258 although Deno J. Geanakoplos, “The Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381): Proceedings and Theology of the Holy Spirit,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 27.4 (1982): 419 has objected that this explanation presupposes that the symbol was discussed before the withdrawal of the Macedonian faction.

<sup>6</sup> Reconstructed by Á.T. Mihálykó on the basis of a high resolution photo kindly provided by Alberto Camplani. Ed. pr. ΤΑ[±2]ΓΙΑΘΕΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΑΓΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ.

mula at the head of the document. The Christological invocation was changed to a Trinitarian one under emperor Phocas in the early seventh century. The latter Trinitarian formula is attested in different variants, listed in Roger S. Bagnall and Klaas A. Worp, *Chronological Systems in Byzantine Egypt* (2nd edition; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 100–102. Many of these include the phrase *τριας ὁμοούσιος* and several also add the epithet *ζωοποιός*, as in the present papyrus, a term which ultimately is derived from the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed. During the reign of Heraclius a more diverse geographical practice seems to have developed: the earlier Christological invocation comes back into use in Middle Egypt while the Trinitarian invocation continues to be employed in Upper Egypt, see Bagnall and Worp, *Chronological Systems*, 103–104.

These adjectives *ζωοποιός* and *ὁμοούσιος* are frequently applied to the Holy Spirit in medieval Coptic liturgical texts. Thus for example the Bohairic translation of the anaphora of Saint Gregory adds the adjectives *νρητγανθο ογορ νομοογσιος* in five doxologies where it is missing in the Greek redaction (Stephen J. Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice: Incarnation and Divine Participation in Late Antique and Medieval Egypt* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008], 98). The two adjectives are also regular in the doxologies of the Bohairic textus receptus of the liturgy of Saint Basil (see *The Coptic Liturgy*, 7, 212, 219), as well as in the Greek medieval redaction of the text in the Kacmarcik codex (Macomber, “The Greek Text of the Coptic Mass” 315, 316, 320).

4–5 *η[ε]||χο ε̅βολ̅ ν̅ζητκ*: The expression is contained in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed in Sahidic in New York, MLM, M574 p. 148 l. 13, see Hans Quecke, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet* (Louvain: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, 1970), 436.

5 Possibly *λογος*.

5–6 *ετρεα̅[να]||καλει̅ μπρωμε̅ ν̅ταγε̅ εβολ*: Another option is to supply the verb *ἀποκαλεῖν*, which also has the meaning “call back from exile,” see *LSJ* s.v. *ἀποκαλέω* I.1. But *ἀνακαλεῖσθαι* has a few parallels in patristic authors in connection with God calling back man, e.g. Ps.-Chrysostomus, *Νικᾶ καὶ μόνῃ ἢ ὄψις* l. 19 (ed. Pauline Allen and Cornelis Datema, “Text and Tradition of Two Easter Homilies of Ps.Chrysostom,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 30 [1981]: 99). The argument of Jesus’ coming to recall the fallen man is a frequent topic in the

*Post-Sanctus* parts of the anaphoras of Syrian type, see Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 274.

6 *ε[μ̅ π̅τρε̅σ̅ωτ̅]̅μ̅ ν̅σ̅ωκ̅ ν̅τ̅οκ̅ η̅η̅ο̅υ̅τε̅ η̅ε̅ι̅ω̅τ̅: ν̅σ̅ωκ̅ ν̅τ̅οκ̅* are discernible if the two parts of the broken papyrus are juxtaposed correctly but this cannot be done physically as the two halves of the sheet have suffered different degree of shrinkage.

This is the first of a series of parallel constructions consisting of a prepositional construction with *ε̅μ̅* that governs a substantivized inflected infinitive which is followed by verbs in the perfect tense, used to narrate the salient points in Jesus’ life (ll. 6–7, 7–9, 10–12).

6–7 *α̅ρε̅ι̅ ε̅ι̅χ̅μ̅ π̅κα̅ς̅ ζ̅ιτ̅μ̅ η̅ε̅ο̅υ̅ω̅*: The papyrus mentions the willingness of Christ twice, the first one here in connection with the incarnation, and the other one in l. 9 in connection with his suffering.

The emphasis on Christ’s willingness – and implicitly on his sharing of and obedience to the Father’s will – is probably based primarily on the general description of the unity between the Father and the Son in the New Testament, particularly its portrayal in the priestly prayer of Jesus in John 17 (for example John 17:21–2 *καθὼς σύ, πάτερ, ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ γὰρ ἐν σοί, (...) καθὼς ἡμεῖς ἐν*). In John 4:34 this unity and mutuality is expressed in terms of volition “my food is to do the will of him who sent me” (*ἐμὸν βρῶμά ἐστιν ἵνα ποιήσω τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με*). The specific topic of Jesus being willing to become a human being is not found explicitly in the New Testament, but may be seen as an elaboration on the image of Christ given in the *Carmen Christi* of Phil 2:6–11. Here the pre-existent Son is said to have become a human being by having “emptied himself and taken the form of a servant” (Phil 2:7 *ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν*) even though he originally “was in the form of God” (Phil 2:6 *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων*). The Son is portrayed as the active and self-determining subject of this change of status, thereby indicating that the incarnation came about as a result of his own will.

The weight on the will of Jesus and the Father in connection with the incarnation is also attested in the *Post-Sanctus* of the anaphora of Severus of Antioch, see *Anaphorae Syriacae quotquot in codicibus adhuc repertae sunt* (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1939), vol. I.1, 67.

7 The reconstruction  $\lambda\gamma\omega \bar{z}\bar{m}$  [πτρεϥχικαρ]z̄ can be proposed since the text here follows the sequence “took flesh (from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary) – became man” of the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, as do the short versions of Jesus’ life contained in the *aspasmos* prayer and in the final inclination of the liturgy of St. Gregory (see Ernst Hammerschmidt, *Die Koptische Gregoriosanaphora: Syrische und griechische Einflüsse auf eine Ägyptische Liturgie* [Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957], 12–17 and 74–7), as well as in the fraction prayer of Severus of Antioch in the Great Euchologium (Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*, 370). Similar constructions are attested in the fraction prayer of the liturgy of St. Gregory  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{z}\bar{i}\tau\epsilon\bar{n}$  πεκχινσικαρz̄ (Hammerschmidt, *Die Koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, 66 l. 339), and in an *aspasmos* prayer from the euchologium MONB.VF of the White Monastery Leiden, RMO Copte 71 (Insinger 28) ll. 5–6  $\bar{z}\bar{n}$  τεϥλινσικαρz̄ (W. Pleyte and P.A.A. Boeser, *Manuscripts coptes du Musée d’antiquités des Pays-Bas à Leide* [Leiden: Brill, 1897], 123). This expression, together with the ensuing  $\lambda\chi\bar{m}$  πω̄νε finds a parallel in the consecratory prayer of the rite of the filling of the chalice  $\phi\eta \epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\iota \sigma\alpha\rho\bar{z} \epsilon\theta\beta\eta\tau\epsilon\bar{n}$   $\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{n}\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\omega\iota\bar{b}\dagger$  “who took Flesh for our sake, without corruption” (Ḥabīb Al-Masrī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 81).

$\lambda\chi\bar{m}$  πω̄νε: The fraction prayer attributed to Severus of Antioch in the Great Euchologium has  $\bar{z}\bar{n}$  οϥμντατω̄ιβε  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$  in connection with the incarnation; see Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*, 370. The Greek version of the same prayer is in the liturgy of St. Gregory in Paris, BnF Gr. 325 (Eusèbe Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio* [Paris: J.B. Coignard, 1716], 114–116), and while it does not have the equivalent expression in the same position, it has ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀσυγχύτως a few phrases later in a theological exposition of the two *hypostaseis* of Jesus, which is shortened in the Sahidic redaction where the two adverbs are left out. A very similar expression qualifies the incarnation in the *aspasmos* prayer of the liturgy of St. Gregory in Bohairic ( $\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{n}\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\omega\iota\bar{b}\omega\bar{n}\bar{z}$  ακσι  $\sigma\alpha\rho\bar{z}$  “without change he took flesh,” Hammerschmidt, *Die Koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, 14 l. 15). A series of statements about the indivisible nature of Christ are found also in the confession of the people before communion, which has the same form in the three Bohairic liturgies, and contains the following three words  $\bar{z}\epsilon\bar{n}\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\tau\mu\omicron\upsilon\chi\tau$   $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{m}$  οϥμετατω̄ωz̄  $\bar{n}\epsilon\bar{m}$  οϥμετατω̄ιβ† “without mixing, without being mixed, and without change” (Hammerschmidt, *Die Koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, 70 l. 367).

According to Athanasius, Arius had claimed that the Son of God (the *Logos*) was “not incapable of a change (ἀτρέπτος), like the Father, but He is by nature mutable, like the creatures” (οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτρέπτος ὡς ὁ πατήρ, ἀλλὰ τρεπτός ἐστι φύσει ὡς τὰ κτίσματα καὶ λείπει αὐτῷ εἰς κατάληψιν τοῦ γνῶναι τελείως τὸν πατέρα, Athanasius, *Oratio I contra Arianos* 9,7, ed. Karin Metzler and Kyriakos Savvidis, *Athanasius: Werke*, Band I: *Die dogmatischen Schriften, Erster Teil, 2. Lieferung: Orationes I et II contra Arianos* [Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 1998], 118.21–22). The point of Arius was mainly in reference to the moral aspects of the Son. In his view the Son could have decided to act counter to the will of the Father just as other creatures, but he decided by the power of his will not to do so, thereby remaining sinless in all his actions. This Arian view of the inferiority of the Son compared to the Father, and his placement in the sphere of the created substances was condemned in the anathemas appended to the Nicene Creed of 325. The theme of unchangeableness re-occurs in the following centuries when the dispute moved more towards a purely Christological argument (the relationship between the two natures in Christ) rather than a Trinitarian one (the relationship between the Father and the Son). For example in the sixth ecumenical council in Constantinople in 680–681 which dealt with the Monothelite conflict, the two natures of Christ and, in conjunction with this, the two wills or volitions of Christ, are said to undergo no change (οὐτῶ καὶ δύο φυσικὰ θελήματα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας ἀδιαρέτως ἀτρέπτως ἀσυγχύτως ἀμερίστως πρεσβεύομεν, *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium (680–681)* 22 [ACO Series secunda, 2,2, 890,10–11 Riedinger]; see also Jaroslav Pelikan and Valerie R. Hotchkiss, *Creeeds and Confessions of Faith in the Christian Tradition* [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003], vol. 1, 225). The perfect union of the two natures of Christ without change into an indivisible single nature was one of the cardinal points of Cyril of Alexandria’s theology, which was taken up and elaborated upon by Severus of Antioch as well (Davis, *Coptic Christology in Practice*, 50–52).

7–9  $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{z}\bar{m}$  πεπν(εϥμ)ᾱ ε̄τογῶ̄λαβ  $\lambda\gamma\omega \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \bar{z}\bar{n}$  τετο̄  $\bar{m}$ παρθε̄[νος νοϥοειω̄  $\bar{n}\bar{i}\bar{m}$  τε̄]θε̄[ο]τοκος̄ ε̄τογῶ̄λαβ  $\bar{z}$ ᾱγιᾱ  $\bar{m}$ ᾱριᾱ: This is a usual statement in the creeds. In the Sahidic Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed it reads  $\lambda\chi\chi\iota \sigma\alpha\rho\bar{z} \bar{z}\bar{n}$  οϥπ̄νᾱ ε̄τογῶ̄λαβ  $\bar{z}\bar{m}$   $\bar{m}$ ᾱριᾱ †παρθενος̄ (Quecke, *Untersuchungen*, 436 ll. 20–22).



ΤΕΤΟ ΜΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ is one of the Sahidic translations of the Greek adjective ἀειπαρθενος, e.g. in the Sahidic translation of the anaphora of St. Mark/Cyril in the Great Euchologium, p. 39.15–17 (Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*, 292). Another possibility is ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΩ ΝΙΜ, as e.g. in Louvain, ms. Lefort s.n. fol. 6r.16–v.1, see Jean Doresse and Emmanuel Lanne, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de S. Basile* (Louvain: Université catholique de Louvain, Institut orientaliste, 1960), 26.

9 ΛΑΩΩΠΕ ΝΡ[ΩΜΕ. Cf. ΛΑΡ ΡΩΜΕ in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed (Quecke, *Untersuchungen*, 436 l. 22). This translation of the Greek ἐνανθρωπήσας is also attested in the first *aspmos* prayer of the Bohairic liturgy of St. Gregory (Hammerschmidt, *Die Koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, 14 ll.15–16; see also Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium*, 96).

[ . [ . ] ΖΝΔΑ ΖΑΡ[ΟΝ] ΖΝ ΤΕΘΑΡΖ may be restored as [ζ]ι[σε] <ε>ΖΝΔΑ ΖΑΡ[ΟΝ] ΖΝ ΤΕΘΑΡΖ in the light of the Sahidic redaction of the final inclination prayer of the liturgy of St. Gregory preserved in the White Monastery euchologium MONB.VF on BnF, Copte 129<sup>20</sup> fol. 138r.4–5 which has ΛΑ[ΩΠ] ΖΙΣΕ ΕΖΝΑΖ ΖΑΡΟΝ ΖΝ ΤΑΡΖ.<sup>9</sup> The long descendant of what is probably an ι is visible above the staurogram, so that there would not be enough space for σε ε. An ε may have been dropped due to haplography.

The willingness of Christ to undergo suffering again finds a New Testament basis in the *Carmen Christi* of Phil 2:6–11, where in v. 8 the pre-existent and now incarnate Son is said to have “humbled himself and become obedient to death” (ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου). The Son chose and accepted his own humiliation and death. On the other hand, Jesus’ attitude of accepting death is somewhat differently portrayed in parts of the synoptic tradition. In Mark 14:36 (// Matt 26:39) Jesus in Gethsemane is described as praying to the Father for the possibility not to suffer death (παρένεγκε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ· ἀλλ’ οὐ τί ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλὰ τί σὺ). In the first part of the prayer, about the removal of the cup, Jesus seems to want something else than the Father, while in the second part he yields to the paternal plan. This image of Jesus became a

<sup>9</sup> <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b525015068/f54.image>> (last accessed 12/01/2016).

source of embarrassment to some of the church fathers<sup>10</sup> and gave rise to debates whether the will of the Son and the will of Father were not one or in unison.

10 ΖΜ ΠΤΡΕ[Α]ΡΙΚΕ ΝΤΕΑΠΕ <Ν>ΝΟΥΤ[Ε ΖΙΧΜ ΠΩΕ] ΜΠΕΣΤ(ΑΥΡ)ΟΣ. Cf. John 19:30c ΛΑΡΙΚΕ ΝΤΕΑΠΕ and the final inclination prayer in the White Monastery Great Euchologium, p. 216.28–9: ΚΣΜΑΜΑΔΑΤ ΕΚΝΑΡΙΚΕ [ΝΤΕΚΑ]ΠΕ ΖΙΧΜ ΠΕΣΡΟΣ (Lanne, *Le Grand Euchologe*, 378). The reading <Ν>ΝΟΥΤ[Ε is uncertain. If admissible, it involves a haplography. It is supported by the qualification of Jesus’ hands and feet in the Great Euchologium as “divine,” p. 216.26–27: ΠΕΘΟΥ ΝΑΚ ΕΥΕΥΤ ΕΙΥΤ [ΝΝΕΚ-] ΣΙΧ ΜΝ ΝΕΚΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΝΝΟΥΤ[Ε]. If the reading is correct, it once more echoes Cyril’s theology of the perfect and indivisible unity of the divine and the human nature of Christ through suggesting that Jesus died on the cross in his divinity as well as in his humanity.

10–12 ΛΥΟΥΩΝ [ΜΠ]ΕΡΦΠΙΡ ΕΤΟΥΔΑΒ | ΖΙΤΝ ΤΛΟΓ[ΧΗ Μ]ΠΜΑΤΟΙ ΜΝΝΝΣΑ ΤΡ[ΕΥΤ] ΜΠΕΦΠΝ(ΕΥΜ)Δ ΑΤΠΥΓΗ ΜΠΩΝΖ ΒΕ[Ε]Β[Ε] ΜΠΜΟΟΥ | ΜΝ ΠΕΣΝΟΥ. Compare John 19:34. The consecratory prayer of the rite of the filling of the chalice has ΦΗ ΕΤΑΥΤ ΝΑΝ ΣΕΝΠΕΦΦΙΡ ΝΑΤΩΛΕΒ ΝΟΥΜΟΥΜΙ ΝΤΕ ΠΩΝΣ (“he who gave us from his immaculate side a source of life,” Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 81). The image of blood and water flowing from Jesus’ side are particularly appropriate to a consecration prayer of the cup as it was interpreted as a prefiguration of the Eucharist already by ancient commentators, see e.g. Ambrosius, *De Virginibus* 3,5,22 (FC, 81,308 Dückers); Augustinus, *Ennarratio in Psalmum* 65,7 (PL, 36,793 Migne) and *Ennarratio in Psalmum* 127,11 (PL, 37, 1684 Migne), and Theodoretus, *Eranistes* Dial. 1 (ed. Gérard H. Ettliger, *Theodoret of Cyrus: Eranistes* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975], 77–8).

11 The supplement in the second lacuna is based on John 19:30d ΛΑΤ ΜΠΕΠΝΑ, which also in the Gospel follows the bending of the head. ΠΝΕΥΜΑ is abbreviated, as expected (cf. l. 3). Traces of the supralinear stroke above the λ are just about visible. The supplement is also supported

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Origenes, *Exhortatio ad martyrium* 29 [GCS 2, 25,3–26,19 Koetschau]; Johannes Chrysostomus, *Homilia in Matthaicum* 83,1 (on Matt 26:36–8) [PG, 58, 745,27–746,44 Migne] and *Homilia in Joannem* 67,1–2 (on John 12:25–26) [PG, 59, 371,29–372,6 Migne]. See Karl O. Sandnes, *Early Christian Discourses on Jesus’ Prayer at Gethsemane. Courageous, Committed, Cowardly?* (Leiden and Boston: Brill) 2016.

by a parallel in the first fraction prayer of the liturgy of St. Gregory: φαί ετε μενεσα ορεφ† μπιπνευμα αφσα† ναν εβολ νσητη νχε ουμωου νεμ ουανοφ “he who after he gave his spirit, water and blood flowed from him for us” (Hammerschmidt, *Die Koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, 66 l. 341). A similar theme is found in the anaphora of the Arabic redaction of the *Testamentum Domini* (see Anton Baumstark, “Eine ägyptische Mess- und Tauf liturgie vermutlich des 6. Jahrhunderts”, *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1901): 13) *nobis regenerationem largitus sit per aquam puram et salutem nobis dederit per sanguinem suum vivificantem, qui in crucem ex latere eius profluxerunt, postquam spiritum suum tradidit.*

13–14 ετρεκτνοου ναν τενου μπεκπν(εγμ)α [ετογλαβ αγ]ω μπαρακλητον εβολ 2μ μπηγε̄ επελσht εχμ̄ πειποτηριον ετηκ εεραϊ: Typical wording of the epiclesis. A rather close parallel can be found in the anaphora of Barcelona P.Monts. Roca inv. 155a.2–5: αἰτούμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε ὅπως καταπέμψης ἐπ’ αὐτὰ τὸ ἅγιόν σου | καὶ παράκλητόν σου Πνεῦμα ἐκ τῶν | οὐ(ραν)ῶν. The consecratory prayer of the rite of the filling of the chalice, as well as those of the Syrian presanctified of Severus of Antioch (see H.W. Codrington, “The Syrian Liturgies of the Presanctified,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 4 [1903]: 75) and of John Chrysostom (see H.W. Codrington, “Liturgica Praesantificatorum Syriaca S. Ioannis Chrysostomi,” *Χρυσσοστομικά: Studi e Ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo* [Roma: Libreria Pustet, 1908], 725–726) do not contain any explicit epiclesis of the Holy Spirit; the last one refers in passing to the “operation of the Holy Spirit”. The consecratory prayer of the Nubian presanctified on the other hand contains an explicit epiclesis: “send down the power of the Holy Spirit on the mixture which is in this cup” (Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*, 116).

14–15 ν̄Γςμοϋ εροϋ ν̄Γτββοϋ· αγω ν̄Γαγιαζε̄ μμοϋ· ν̄Γ̄λαϋ̄ ν̄ςνοϋ ν̄ρεϋ†ιωνε̄ αγω εϋταιηϋ̄ ν̄τε πεκμονογενης ν̄ωηρε̄ ι(ησοϋ)ς̄ πε-χ(ριστο)ς̄ πενχοεις̄: The subjunctives have been corrected from the third to the second person, the confusion being between the Holy Spirit who is the closest referent and the correct agent of the verbal action, the Father. In the scholarship on the epiclesis-prayer of the early Egyptian church there has been a debate on who was originally the referent of this prayer and thereby the effector of the transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. In the Euchologium of Sarapion of

Thmuis (prayer 1), dated in the middle of the fourth century,<sup>11</sup> it is the Logos – the second member of the Trinity – that is portrayed as being sent from God and consecrating the elements, while for example in Peter II, patriarch of Alexandria 373–380, an invocation of the Spirit seems to be presupposed.<sup>12</sup> With both of these two options God the Father would be seen as the sender and intimately participating in the Eucharistic actions. The verbal corrections in P.Oslo inv. 1665 from third person (the Spirit) to second person (the Father) do not seem to be a part of this theological fluidity between the Son and the Spirit, and should probably be seen as a mere scribal error. Having first directed his prayer to God the Father (in second person verbs) for sending the Spirit, and adding a few words specifying whence and whither this Spirit should descend (in third person verbs), he then went on to describe (still in third person verbs) the anticipated effects of this sending (the transformation of the elements), and only when he reached the second person possessive marker in the phrase “the life-giving and honoured blood of your only-begotten son” (l. 15 πεκμονογενης) did the scribe realize his mistake and went back and changed the prior verbs so that they referred to the Father and not to the Spirit.

ν̄Γςμοϋ-ν̄Γτββοϋ-ν̄Γαγιαζε̄ The three verbs of consecration do not find an exact parallel, but they come close to the triad of the anaphora of St. Mark in the Vat. Gr. 2281 (see Geoffrey J. Cuming, *The Liturgy of St. Mark* [Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990], 46) and in the Kacmarcik codex (Macomber, “The Greek Text,” 96) εὐλογήση καὶ ἁγιάση καὶ τελειώση, and to the triad of the consecratory prayer of the rite of the filling of the chalice ϋμοϋ εροϋ αριαγιαζιν εροϋ ουονεϋ εβολ νοϋςνοϋ εϋογλαβ “bless it, sanctify it and manifest it as a holy blood” (Habīb Al-Maṣṣī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 81).

<sup>11</sup> This represents the traditional dating of the text. This dating has been contested, with some regarding it as a product of the fifth century after the pneumatological disputes of the second half of the fourth century, but the pendulum seems to have swung back to the traditional dating. For this and a discussion of the Logos or Spirit epiclesis see Maxwell E. Johnson, “The Archaic Nature of the Sanctus, Institution Narrative, and Epiclesis of the Logos in the Anaphora Ascribed to Sarapion of Thumis,” in *Essays on Early Eucharistic Prayers* (ed. Peter F. Bradshaw; Collegeville, Min.: The Liturgical Press, 1997), 73–107.

<sup>12</sup> See Theodoretus *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4:19 (GCS 19, 251, 11–18 Parmentier). According to Johnson this “invocation of the Holy Spirit in the eucharist is the first such explicit reference to be found anywhere in the Egyptian tradition” (Johnson, “The Archaic Nature,” 97).

16 παῖ ἡ̅ταγστ(αγρ)οῦ ἡ̅μοσ̅ ζαρὸν ζι ποντιὸς πιλᾶτος. The wording coincides with that of the Nicene–Constantinopolitan Creed (Quecke, *Untersuchungen*, 436).

16–17 ⲁϣⲱ ⲁϣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟϥ. Cf. 1 Tim 6:11–12 ⲁϣⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲓ ⲛⲉⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟϥ ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲉⲁⲛ ⲙⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ. †ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲓⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲧⲧⲁⲛⲟ ⲙⲡⲛⲧⲣⲁ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲉϣⲟ ⲓϥ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲁϥⲣ ⲙⲛⲧⲣⲉ ζι ποντιὸς πιλᾶτος ἡ̅μοσ̅ⲁ ⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟϥ. The phrase is part of the confession of faith before the communion, which is common to the three liturgies of the Coptic Church (Hammerschmidt, *Die koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, 70 l. 368; *The Coptic Liturgy*, 274 and Frank E. Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies: Being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church* [Piscataway NJ: Gorgias Press, 1896/2002], 185). The confession of faith was part of the Egyptian liturgy since the fifth century, see Heinzgerd Brakmann, “Le déroulement de la messe copte: Structure et histoire,” in *L’eucharistie: célébrations, rites, piétés* (ed. A.M. Triacca and A. Pistoia; Roma: C.L.V. Edizioni liturgiche, 1995), 128, although probably not with the same wording.

17 ⲧⲛⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲁϣⲱ ⲧⲛⲡⲁⲣⲁⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ: The rite of the filling of the chalice joins the epiclesis to the request for the fruits of communion more smoothly by ζιⲛⲁ ⲟϥⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲉⲟⲛⲁⲃⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲛⲧⲟϥⲧⲟϥⲃⲟ “in order that all who shall partake of It may be purified” (Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 81). Similar connection between the epiclesis and the requests for the fruits of communion is made in several anaphoras, e.g. Mark (Cuming, *The Liturgy*, 48), James (Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 54), Chrysostom (Brightman, *Eastern Liturgies*, 331), as well as in the consecration prayer of the Syrian presanctified of John Chrysostom (Codrington, “Liturgica Praesantificatorum Syriaca,” 726) and of Severus of Antioch (Codrington, “The Syrian Liturgies,” 75).

The arrangement that the scribe left half a line empty at the end of l. 15 was probably intended to make the use of the leaf during the recitation of the liturgy easier, as this way the celebrant can turn the leaf over while pronouncing a well-known formula.

18 ϣⲉⲕⲁϥ ⲉ̅ⲕⲉ̅ⲧ̅ⲃⲱ ⲟⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲛⲉⲛϥⲱⲙⲁ [ⲙⲛ] ⲛⲉⲛϥϥϣϣⲛⲛ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲛⲛⲛⲉϥⲙⲁ: This comes close to the wording of the consecratory prayer of the rite of the filling of the chalice, ⲛⲧⲟϥⲧⲟϥⲃⲟ ϣⲉⲛⲧⲟϥϥϣϣⲛⲛ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲟϥϥⲱⲙⲁ ⲛⲉⲙⲡⲟϥⲛⲛⲁ “in their souls, and their bodies, and their spirits” (Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 81) but similar phrases are

common in liturgy. Both reflect 1 Thess 5:23 τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα, although in reverse order. The order represented by the prayer for the filling of the chalice is in agreement with the usual order of the phrase in Egyptian liturgical texts, for a survey see Frank E. Brightman, “Soul, Body, Spirit,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 2 (1901): 273–274.

20–22 ⲛⲉ̅ⲁⲁⲛ | [ⲧ]ⲛⲣⲛ ⲛⲙⲡⲱⲁ ζι ⲟϥϥⲟⲛ ζⲓⲛ ⲟϥⲧⲟ[ⲁⲙⲛ ⲁϣⲱ ζⲓⲛ ⲟϥⲛⲁⲣ]ⲣⲛ[ϥⲓ]ⲁ ⲛⲧⲛⲉⲡⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲕ[ⲛ]ⲟϥ ⲛⲣⲁⲛ ⲉ̅ⲧⲟϥⲁⲁⲃ: Requests for worthy recitation of the Lord’s Prayer usually serve as introductions to it in fraction prayers, and have various forms. In l. 21 ζⲓⲛ ⲟϥⲧⲟ[ⲁⲙⲛ] is conjectured since the verbal form of the word is frequent in the final phrases of the fraction prayers, e.g. ⲛⲧⲛⲧⲟⲗⲙⲁ ζ[ⲓⲛ] ⲟϥⲛⲁⲣⲣⲛⲥⲓⲁ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲉⲡⲉⲓⲕⲁⲗⲉⲓ ⲙ[ⲙⲟⲕ] “so that we dare call upon you openly” (P.Lond. Copt. I 152 β). However, here a noun is necessary, and we may assume that a variant of this expression with the noun form was used instead. The second noun, of which only the last letter can be seen with confidence, is customary and present in almost all introductory phrases to the Lord’s Prayer.

22 ⲁϣⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲉ̅ⲟ[ⲟϥ .....] ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̅ⲱⲁ ⲉ̅ⲛⲉⲉ: What may have stood in the lacuna is another attribute to God’s name or a prepositional phrase denoting a starting point, e.g. ϣⲓⲛ (ⲛ̅) ϣⲟⲣⲛ, ϣⲓⲛ ⲉ ϣⲟⲣⲛ or similar.

22–23 ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲉⲓⲱⲧⲓ ⲉⲧ ζⲓⲛ ⲙⲡⲛⲛⲉ. The fact that the phrase starts with ⲡⲛⲟϥⲧⲉ implies that this is not part of the ensuing Lord’s Prayer which is anyway regularly introduced by ⲉⲛϣⲱ ⲙⲙⲟϥ ϣⲉ or similar, but a realization of the situation envisaged in ll. 21–2, i.e. mentioning God’s name and an address to God.

23 ⲙⲉⲟ’ ἧ̅ς ⲡⲣ[ἔ]ⲡⲉ[ι ⲙⲉⲧⲁ]ⲛⲟⲓⲁϥ ⲡⲁⲧⲉⲣⲁ ⲉ̅ⲡⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲟⲛⲟⲛ <ἑπικαλεῖσθαι> ⲕⲁⲓ ⲗⲉ̅ⲓⲃⲉⲓⲛ. The Greek phrase does not seem to continue the Coptic text. It is somewhat garbled as it lacks the infinitive which is the counterpart of λῆγειν (probably ἑπικαλεῖσθαι). In terms of content it repeats the invocation of God as heavenly father and functions as a preface to the ensuing recitation of the Lord’s Prayer. While the Coptic Church kept many sentences in Greek, especially acclamations of the people and the dialogue of the priest and the deacons with the people (Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora*, 597–8), such an instance of bilingualism within one prayer, and, if it is intended as the continuation of the previous phrase, in the same structure, is unique. In a liturgical setting it is conceivable that the Greek coda alerted the faithful that their turn was approaching.

## Translation

(Front) Lord, Lord, God Almighty, the Father of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, we pray | and beseech you, the Lover of Man, over this sacrament which is put forth. It is this that has been purified | and already sanctified through the pouring over it of your Holy Spirit, | the life-giving and co-substantial w[ith] you (?) and [your] beloved(?) son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, the <sup>15</sup> one begotten of you ... [...] the world out of your breast so that he would | recall man who had fallen; and in [obeying] you, God the Father, he came | to the earth willingly, and [in taking flesh] without corruption from the Holy Spirit | and the [ever-]virgin [holy mother of God], the holy Mary, | he became man [...], suffered willingly in his flesh |<sup>10</sup> and, as he inclined his god(?) -head [on the wood] of the cross, his holy side was pierced open | by the spear of the soldier, after [he gave up his spirit,] the spring of life poured forth for us(?) the water | and the blood. Therefore(?) we pray and [beseech you], holy and man-loving Father, | to send us now your Holy Spirit, the Advocate, from heavens down | upon this chalice which is put forth; so that you may bless it, purify it, hallow it, |<sup>15</sup> make it the life-giving and honoured blood of your only-begotten son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, | he who was crucified for us under Pontius Pilatus and professed the faith | which is good. We pray and beseech you

(Back) so that now again you may purify our bodies and souls and spirits before | we receive to us your holy and glorious sacraments and grant us all means |<sup>20</sup> to advance with confidence and receive (of) them in gratitude; and make us all together worthy to dare with confidence to invoke your | great name, which is holy and glorious [...] to eternity, God, our heavenly Father: | (in Greek) <to invoke?> the heavenly father in the due sense of repentance and say ...

## Liturgical Commentary

The task of a detailed liturgical assessment of the prayer is best left to the scholars who specialize in the study of early Christian liturgy. Suffice it here to point out some possible connections in order to orient the reader of this edition.

The reference to the “already sanctified mystery” (l. 2) implies a relationship to the liturgy of the presanctified. This rite involves the consecra-

tion of the chalice through signing it with the already consecrated bread, reserved from a previous Eucharist, on a day when the mass is not celebrated but communion is administered. Since communion necessitated wine, but consecrated wine could not be kept overnight for fear an accident might happen to it, the liturgy of the presanctified was introduced to cover for the need of subsequent consecration of wine only. For a detailed discussion of this service see Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*. The liturgy of the presanctified is still celebrated in the Byzantine rite and is also known from the West and East Syrian rites. Some scattered evidence suggests moreover that the Egyptian rite once had a presanctified as well (Alexopoulos, *The Presanctified Liturgy*, 113–117). To this a story from *The History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* (ed. Aziz Suryal Atiya, Yassa 'Abd al-Masih, and O.H.E. Burmester, [Cairo: Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte, 1959], vol. II pt. 3, 262) can be added, which reports the custom of the reservation of the Eucharist from Palm Sunday to the first three days of the Holy Week in the Monastery of St. Macarius and in the churches of Alexandria, abolished by the patriarch Christodoulos (1047–1077). The prayer of P.Oslo inv. 1665 may be interpreted as another witness to the presanctified in Egypt.

However, there is yet another possibility. The wording and the structure of the prayer on P.Oslo inv. 1665 finds a striking parallel in the consecratory prayer of the rite of the filling of the chalice. This was first printed in the Euchologium of Raphael at-Ṭūkhī, *ΠΙΧΩΜ ΝΤΕ ΠΙΨΟΜΤ ΝΑΝΑΦΟΡΑ* (*Book of the Three Anaphoras*) (Roma, 1736), fol. ΤΝΒ-ΤΟΔ. It was then edited from two codices by Īris Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī (Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Filling”), and it was described in Oswald H.E. KHS-Burmester, *The Egyptian or Coptic Church. A Detailed Description of Her Liturgical Services and the Rites and Ceremonies observed in the Administration of her Sacraments* (Cairo: Publications de la Société d'archéologie copte, 1967), 88–90. The rite is supposed to be celebrated above the chalice if at the point of the communion the wine is found to be missing, or turned sour, or contaminated. It is first attested in the liturgical commentary of Ibn Kabar (thirteenth/fourteenth cent., see Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 78). It gives the same incipit for the consecratory prayer as the one printed by Ṭūkhī (Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 88). During the rite, a consecratory prayer is pronounced over the chalice, which leads on to the Lord's Prayer. It reads as follows:

ΦΗΝΒ ΠΟΣ ΙΗΣ ΠΧΣ ΠΙΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΨΗΡΙ ΟΥΟΣ ΝΛΟΓΟΣ ΝΤΕΦ† ΦΙΩΤ ΦΗ  
ΕΤΑΥΘΙΣΑΡΞ ΕΘΒΗΤΕΝ ΞΕΝΟΥΜΕΤΑΤΨΙΒ† ΕΤΑΥΘΙΜΚΑΞ ΞΕΝΠΕΘΟΥΩΨ

ΣΕΝΤΣΑΡΞ ΕΦΟΙ ΝΑΤΕΜΚΑΥΣ ΖΩΣ ΝΟΥΤ ΦΗ ΕΤΑΥΤ ΝΑΝ ΣΕΝΠΕΥΣΦΙΡ  
 ΝΑΤΘΛΕΒ ΝΟΥΜΟΥΜΙ ΝΤΕΠΩΝΣ. ΤΕΝΤΣΟ ΟΥΟΣ ΤΕΝΤΩΒΣ ΝΤΕΚΜΕΤΑ-  
 ΓΑΘΟΣ ΠΙΜΑΙΡΩΜΙ ΕΖΡΗΙ ΕΧΕΝΠΙΘΩΤ ΕΤΣΕΝΠΙΑΙΑΦΟΤ ΦΑΙ. ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΧ  
 ΔΡΙΑΓΙΑΖΙΝ ΜΜΟΧ ΟΥΟΝΣΧ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΟΥΣΝΟΧ ΕΦΟΥΑΒ ΝΤΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΕΝΠΕΚ-  
 ΣΩΜΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΡΕΥΤΑΝΣΟ. ΦΑΙ ΕΤΑΥΕΩΡΠ ΝΤΟΥΒΟ ΟΥΟΣ ΕΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ  
 ΖΟΠΩΣ ΝΤΕΥΕΡΟΥΑΙ ΝΕΜΑΧ ΖΙΝΑ ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΒΕΝ ΕΘΝΑΔΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΟΧ ΝΤΟΥ-  
 ΤΟΥΒΟ ΣΕΝΤΟΥΨΥΧΗ ΝΕΜΠΟΥΣΩΜΑ ΝΕΜΠΟΥΠΝΑ ΝΤΟΥΕΡΠΙΕΜΠΩΑ ΜΠ-  
 ΧΩ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΤΕΝΟΥΝΟΒΙ. ΕΥΤΩΟΥ ΜΠΕΚΡΑΝ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΕΜΠΕΚΙΩΤ ΝΑΓΑ-  
 ΘΟΣ ΝΕΜΠΠΝΑ ΕΘΟΥΑΒ ΝΡΕΥΤΑΝΣΟ. ΔΡΙΤΕΝ ΝΕΜΠΩΑ ΤΗΡΕΝ ΠΕΝΝΗΒ  
 ΕΘΡΕΝΕΡΤΟΛΜΑΝ ΣΕΝΟΥΠΑΡΡΗΣΙΑ ΝΑΤΕΡΣΟΤ ΕΤΩΒΣ ΜΦΤ ΦΙΩΤ ΠΙ-  
 ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΣΕΝΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ ΟΥΟΣ ΕΧΟΣ ΧΕΠΕΝΙΩΤ ΕΤΣΕΝΝΙΦΗΟΥΙ

“Master, Lord Jesus Christ, the Only-Begotten Son and Word of the  
 Father, who took Flesh for our sake, without corruption, who accepted  
 suffering in the flesh of His own will, being impassible as God; who hath  
 given to us from His immaculate side a spring of life. We beseech and  
 pray Thy Goodness, Lover of Man, for the mixture which is in this  
 Chalice. Bless it, sanctify it, manifest it as Thy Holy Blood, through Thy  
 Holy Life-giving Body. Which is already sanctified and perfected, so that  
 It may be one with It, in order that all who shall partake of It may be puri-  
 fied in their souls, and their bodies, and their spirits, (and) may be made  
 worthy of the forgiveness of their sins, (and) may glorify Thy Holy Name  
 with Thy Good Father, and the Holy Life-giving Spirit. Make us all  
 worthy, our Master, to dare with confidence, (and) without fear to pray to  
 God the Father Almighty (who is) in the Heavens, and to say: ‘Our Father  
 who (art) in the Heavens’, etc.” (Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Fill-  
 ing,” 82–83 and 87).

This prayer exhibits many similarities in structure, expressions and top-  
 ics to our prayer. Both contain a short version of the life of Jesus, with  
 reference to his sufferings by his own will, and in particular to the source  
 of life that came forth from his opened side. Then both move on to a  
 request to the addressee of the prayer to bless the chalice, and finish with a  
 list of the effects of communion, which terminates in the Our Father. This  
 last point is particularly significant, as we know of no other prayers which  
 combine a consecratory element directly with the Lord’s Prayer. Common  
 is moreover the phrase “which is already sanctified” with reference to the  
 bread. However, there are some major differences as well. Our prayer is  
 directed to the Father, even though a large part of it focuses on the Son,  
 and requests the coming of the Holy Spirit on the chalice, without a refe-

rence to the physical contact between the body and the blood (which of  
 course could happen without a mention in the text). In fact, the text may  
 be considered as a variant of the consecratory prayer of the rite of the  
 filling of the chalice, directed to the Father instead of the Son, filled with a  
 longer version of Jesus’ life, and brought in line with the theology of the  
 Eucharist through the inclusion of an epiclesis of the Holy Spirit (just as  
 Tūkhī, member of the United Coptic Church brought his version of the  
 filling of the chalice in line with the Catholic theology of the Eucharist by  
 placing the institution narrative of the chalice and an epiclesis before it,  
 see Ḥabīb Al-Maṣrī, “The Rite of the Filling,” 78). However, this parallel  
 does not necessitate that our prayer was used precisely in the rite of the  
 filling of the chalice.

One more related practice can be drawn into the discussion. In 2012  
 Alberto Camplani edited a pastoral epistle, P.Berol. 11346 (seventh cent.,  
 Thebaid), in which instructions are provided in the event that the priest  
 does not have enough consecrated bread for the communion and needs to  
 introduce some after the anaphora. According to it after the priest has per-  
 formed the manual acts, he should call out to the people: I. x+27 ΤΑ ΠΡΟ-  
 ΑΓΙΑΣΘΕΝΤΑ {ΤΑ} ΑΓΙΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ “the presanctified holies to the  
 holies”. A similar rite is mentioned in the Sahidic redaction of the *Canons*  
 of Basil, Canon 99. According to the text of a recently discovered manu-  
 script in the rubbish dump of a Western Theban hermitage MMA 1152, in  
 case the amount of bread and wine does not suffice for the communicants,  
 the priest can consecrate additional bread and wine by bringing it in  
 contact with the already consecrated element. The two testimonies suggest  
 that in the Thebaid in the seventh century a practice of consecrating  
 additional bread and wine after the anaphora was known. A similar  
 practice was recorded centuries later by the liturgical commentator Ibn  
 Siba (thirteenth century, Vincentius Mistrīh, *Jūhannā ibn Abī Zakarīā ibn*  
*Sibā*, *Pretiosa margarita de scientiis ecclesiasticis*. [Cairo: Centrum  
 Franciscanum Studiorum Orientalium Christianorum, 1966], 538–539).  
 His description concerns only additional wine introduced at the point of  
 the communion because of the multitude of communicants. The new  
 chalice could be consecrated through an exchange of wine between the  
 already consecrated chalice and the additional one, accompanied by the  
 acclamation εἰς πατῆρ ἅγιος, εἰς υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἐν πνεῦμα ἅγιον. Furthermore,

pieces of the already consecrated bread are dropped in the new chalice.<sup>13</sup> None of the three descriptions of this practice refer to prayers. However, this does not exclude that the prayer on P.Oslo inv. 1665 belonged to a similar rite. The fact that only this practice is attested in the period to which our papyrus is dated may weigh in favour of this interpretation.

This having been said, there are no definitive arguments for any of these three options. The lack of instructions in P.Oslo inv. 1665 makes it impossible to decide whether the prayer belonged to a liturgy of the presanctified, to an early version of the rite of the filling of the chalice, or to a service to consecrate additional wine in case of shortage during communion. At the same time, it is evident that these three practices are closely interconnected. The rite of the filling of the chalice and the service described by Ibn Siba both serve to consecrate extra wine in case it is found lacking at the point of the communion for some reasons. The service of the presanctified is evoked by the call τὰ προαγιασθέντα ἄγια τοῖς ἁγίοις in P.Berol. 11346.x+27. Therefore, these three practices may effectively be seen as variations on a theme, the consecration of additional wine and occasionally bread without the recitation of an anaphora but in the presence of already consecrated elements. Only the reasons that necessitate it vary: communion without a Eucharistic service and the ban on the reservation of wine in the case of the presanctified, an accident in the case of the rite of the filling of the chalice, or the multitude of people in the third case. The prayer on P.Oslo inv. 1665 could be used for any of these needs, and indeed potentially for multiple needs as the practice of the local community required it.

<sup>13</sup> The Canonical Answers of Timothy of Alexandria, answer XXIV, discusses a related practice. The question relates to the possibility of consecrating additional wine if new communicants arrive after the communion and the consumption of the leftovers by the priests. The answer permits the consecration of wine after the anaphora in such cases but does not discuss how the priest should do it (Périerès-Pierre Joannou, *Discipline générale antique. T. II. Les canons des Pères Grecs* [Rome: Tipografia Italo-Orientale «S. Nilo», 1963], 255). The attribution of the answer, which is transmitted in Byzantine canonical collections, to Timothy I is uncertain (Joannou, *Discipline générale antique*, 239), thus it is questionable whether it describes a fourth-century Egyptian custom.

## An Arabic Receipt on Papyrus

Khaled M. Younes\*

**Abstract:** This paper presents the edition of a short Arabic private legal document. The papyrus, P.Cam. Michaelides B 332 recto, records the receipt of sixty one and a half *dīnārs* less a sixth. The document dates to the month of Muḥarram of the year 274/May–June 887.

**Keywords:** Arabic, private legal document, receipt, *dīnār*

DOI 10.1515/apf-2017-0014

P.Cam. Michaelides B 332 recto  
Provenance unknown

24 × 15 cm

274 A.H./887 A.D.

The papyrus document under discussion is a receipt in which the two individuals Muḥammad b. Sufyān and Aḥmad b. Ya'qūb testify that they have received from a certain Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad sixty one and a half *dīnārs* less a sixth. The money has been delivered in three instalments as follows: (1) twenty six less a sixth, (2) another twenty six, (3) and finally nine and a half *dīnārs*. The last instalment is added as an afterthought after the document was completed. The document is written in the hand of one of the two beneficiaries, i.e. Muḥammad b. Sufyān, in the month of Muḥarram 274/May–June 887.

There is no reference to the place where this receipt was drawn up and we are not well informed about the origin of the transaction that took

**Vorbemerkung:** I would like to thank Prof. Geoffrey Khan for allowing me to publish this papyrus in this paper, considering that it was registered in his name for future publication. The papyrological abbreviations used in this paper follow "The Checklist of Arabic Documents," available online at <<http://www.naher-osten.lmu.de/isapchecklist>> (accessed September 1, 2016).

\* **Kontakt:** Khaled Mohamed Younes, University of Sadat City, P.O. Box 32897 Sadat city, Egypt, <[khaled.younes@fth.usc.edu.eg](mailto:khaled.younes@fth.usc.edu.eg)> & <[khaledyounes2100@yahoo.com](mailto:khaledyounes2100@yahoo.com)>