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FROM THE AFRICAN PSALTER AND LITURGY

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1. THE AMULET P. HEID. INV. LAT. 5: LOST AND ALMOST FOUND.

That part of Karl Preisendanz' scientific Nachlaß which concerns the magical papyri is housed in the Institut für Altertumskunde of the University of Cologne. When the undersigned editors searched the Nachlaß for material that might be of use for their work on the magical papyri, they came across a typewritten transcription of the hitherto unpublished P.Heidelberg Inv. Lat. 5,¹ a papyrus that still would be our only known instance of a 'magical' Christian papyrus written in Latin, were it not that it disappeared at the end of the war.

Because of the novelty of the piece, its existence has often been brought to the attention of the public. Preisendanz announced its acquisition and briefly described it in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 16 (1940) 409 and in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 61 (1940) 739f.² R.Seider recounted some details of the acquisition in *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 8 (1964) 164f. And several standard reference works now list the text: R.Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum*

- Prof. H.J.Frede of the Vetus Latina Institut in Beuron helped us to recognize the textual affinities of Psalm 20 as cited in lines 7-13, and it is our pleasure to be able to thank him for this here. The present publication is connected with our research on the Greek magical papyri that is supported by the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung.

¹ Previously inv. 1005, and before this *s.n.*

² Here we learn that Preisendanz planned to publish the papyrus in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Heidelberg Academy. Preisendanz also described the text in a survey of magical papyri that were published after the completion of the second volume of PGM; see "Zur Überlieferung der griechischen Zauberpapyri," *Miscellanea Critica. Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Verlages B.G.Teubner*, Bd. 1 (Leipzig 1964), p.213, no. xciv. He also referred to the text briefly in *Chronique d'Égypte* 24 (1951) 409; PGM, vol. II, intr., p.vii note 2; *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 80 (1959) 311 (a review of CPL; see the following note).

Latinarum, no. 316;³ E.A.Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* VIII 1222; R.A.Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* (2nd ed., Ann Arbor 1965), p.2 (a list of magical papyri); and J.van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris 1976), no. 1213. No facsimile of the papyrus is known to exist, and so the transcription that turned up in the Nachlaß is and probably will remain our only indication of the contents of the text. This transcription is a copy made by Preisendanz⁴ of Guéraud's transcription combined with Preisendanz' revised readings (see footnote 3).

The following is known about the movements of the papyrus. It was purchased in Cairo by the Berlin Coptologist C.Schmidt in the summer of 1937. O.Guéraud transcribed the text in Cairo, and on July 15 of the same summer this transcription was sent by Schmidt to Preisendanz, then director of the University Library in Heidelberg, who agreed to purchase the piece for the library. The papyrus was delivered shortly afterwards. It was glassed by R.Ibscher and officially entered the Heidelberg papyrus collection on 10 September 1937. The next thing we know is that the papyrus was lost in the war; Lowe (*loc.cit.*, *supra*), who corresponded with Preisendanz about the document, is quite specific about the date: "stolen or destroyed in 1945."

The papyrus consisted of a single sheet inscribed on one side only. It measured 19.1 x 10.2 cm.⁵ The hand was a "late and debased majuscule" (Lowe) of the V or V/VI century. The papyrus is said to have been found in Fustat.⁶ There were 21 lines of writing, i.e. the 21 lines as shown on Preisendanz' transcription. The writer punctuated with dicolon twice (lines 8 and 19), and he used a pair of oblique strokes to indicate word-division at the end of line 5. The papyrus also had magical characters.⁷ Preisendanz' transcription provides no way to determine with certainty where the signs were. Perhaps they were written above or below the text. If they were within the text, then quite possibly in lines 2 and 3 where Preisendanz gives blank space without indicating traces or lacunae.

³ The description in CPL 316 consists of a quotation from J.Bidez' summary (*Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 15, 1940, 213f.) of Preisendanz' description in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 16 (1940) 409. In his review of CPL (see footnote 2), Preisendanz corrected some minor mistakes in the quoted description, and he noted: "Eine Abschrift des Textes von O.Gudraud mit meiner Revision der Erstlesung ist vorhanden." The same information is to be read in Preisendanz' notice below his typed transcription; see plate XII.

⁴ The typed transcription shows no revisions, and it is typed on the back of a book-offer from a publisher in Stuttgart dated to June 1937. A carbon-copy of this transcription is to be found on the back of a book-offer from a publisher in The Hague dated to July 13, 1937.

⁵ This information was supplied by D.Hagedorn from the inventory card of the Heidelberg papyrus collection.

⁶ See Seider, *Heidelberger Jahrb.* 8 (1964) 164.

⁷ Preisendanz, *DLZ* 61 (1940) 739: "Magische Charaktere verstärken die 'Energie' dieses Phylakteriums."

2. THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TEXT.

The composer of the amulet calls upon God (4-5) and Jesus Christ in his capacity of *medicus caelestis* (13-14), perhaps for general protection, perhaps specifically for the immediate or future curing of illness (see comm. on 5 *çū* [*Jnis*]). To the extent that the request is embedded in a cento-like combination of citations from Scripture and liturgy, it differs little from many of the Greek papyrus amulets that are collected at the end of the second volume of Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*. Closer inspection of the text, however, shows that it is clearly a cultural product of the Occident. As such, the document is of value in that it provides evidence for an aspect of popular, practical religiosity in the Christian West that is much better documented for the East.

The amulet is of even greater interest, because the excerpts from Psalm 20 in lines 7-13 reflect the north Italian - African tradition of the Psalter (see section 4), and so the document should be of value for a strand in the history of the *Vetus Latina*. For so short a piece, it documents many characteristics of late vulgar Latin. Finally, since the reference to Christ as *medicus caelestis* (13f.) may stem from liturgy and since the collocation of Scriptural passages in 19-21 certainly does, the text provides a glimpse into the ancient liturgy.

3. TEXT.

The first transcription is a 'diplomatic' rendering of Preisendanz' transcription. The second one contains normalized spelling, punctuation and identification of passages of Psalms cited. Other Scriptural or liturgical references are dealt with in the commentary.

Preisendanz' typewriter obviously lacked square brackets, and so he used round ones to indicate lacunae. In lines 4 and 5 appear to be two smaller lacunae (1 or 2 letters ?), but this is not certain, for Preisendanz did not indicate their size. In these and other places where it is not clear to us what Preisendanz saw or meant, the reader is invited to examine the photograph of his transcription that is published here (plate XII).

DIPLOMATIC TRANSCRIPTION

- 1 † In nomine patris et filii et spir[it]us sa[m]nti l̄ amen in principio
erat deus et deus . . . tl . . n sic[] ut
et b vtorin
m̄seçulo t̄ t̄ domine deus [6] []e çeli et ter[re co]nditor et [c]onser
5 vt̄or peccatorum postulamus çū []nis interpellantes per gisum cri[s]//
tum filium tum deum et dominum nos[trum i]n cuius nomine et bir̄tute scribo ut
domine in birtute tua letabitur res et super salutare tum exsultabit

benemter quoniam prebenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis : posuisti in capiteius coronam de lapide pretioso bitam petit et dedisti lo
 10 longitudinem dierum in eternu et in seculum seculi magna est gloria eius in salute tua letificabis eum [in] gauzio cum bulutu tuo delectationes in dextera tua usque in f[inem quoni]am prebenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis et bulumtate l[abiorum d]edisti ei ego iscripsi et tu medicus celestis in cuius nomine e[t bir tute] scribo per angelu micaelu
 15 u coniuro et per angelu gebrielu e[t] per [ang]elu rafelu coniuro et per angelu azazielu et per angelu urie[lu] coniuro et per angelu gremielu et per angelu fotuelu et per [b]iginti quatuor seniores qui astant ante dominum et quatuorque alimalia qui regent tronu domini et dicut : samtus samtus samtus dominus deus sambaoc beneditus qui
 20 benit in nomine domine res isra[e]l osanam in ecelsis deo <pax> ominibus bone bolumtatis

NORMALIZED TRANSCRIPTION

1 † In nomine patris et filii et spir[itus sa]ncti !. amen. "In principio erat deus et deus ęrat !...n." sic[] ut
 et b utorin
 m saecu!o .t.t. domine deus, [6] []e caeli et ter[rae co]nditor et [c]onser-
 5 u<a>tor peccatorum, postulamus ęu []nis interpellantes per Iesum Chri[s-]tum, filium tuum, deum et dominum nos[trum, i]n cuius nomine et uirtute scribo ut "Ps.20.2 Domine, in uirtute tua laetabitur rex et super salutare tuum exsultabit uehementer. 20.4 quoniam praeuenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis, posuisti in capit<e> eius coronam de lapide pretioso. 20.5 uitam petit et dedisti {lo}
 10 longitudinem dierum in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi. 20.6 magna est gloria eius in salute tua. 20.7 laetificabis eum [in] gaudio cum uultu tuo. 15.10 delectationes in dextera tua usque in f[inem. 20.4 quoni]am praeuenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis. 20.3 et uoluntate l[abiorum d]edisti ei." Ego scripsi. et tu, medicus caelestis, in cuius nomine e[t uirtute] scribo, per angelum Michaelum
 15 {u} coniuro et per angelum Gabrielum e[t] per [ang]elum Rafaelum coniuro et per angelum Azazielum et per angelum Urie[lum] coniuro et per angelum Ieremielum et per angelum Fotuelum et per [u]iginti quattuor seniores qui astant ante dominum et quattuorque animalia qui regunt thronum domini et dicunt: "Sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth. Benedictus qui
 20 uenit in nomine domini rex Isra[e]l. Hosanna in excelsis deo <et in terra pax> hominibus bo-nae uoluntatis."

Translation.

In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost --- amen. In the beginning was God and God was light (?). - - - Lord God, sempiternal (?) creator of heaven and earth and savior of sinners, we request healing (?), appealing through Jesus Christ, your son, God and our Lord, in whose name and strength I write: "(Ps.20.2) Lord, in your strength the king will rejoice and in your help he will exult greatly. (20.4) For you anticipated him with the blessing of kindness: you placed on his head a crown of precious stone. (20.5) He sought life and you gave (him) length of days in eternity and for all times. (20.6a) Great is his glory in your salvation. (20.7b) You will make him glad with joy by your countenance. (15.10 fin.) Pleasures are in your right hand until the end. (20.4a) For you anticipated him with the blessing of kindness. (20.3b) And you gave him the wish of his lips (?)." I wrote this. And you, heavenly doctor, in whose name and strength I write, I conjure you by the angel Michael, and by the angel Gabriel and by the angel Raphael I conjure you, and by the angel Azazel and by the angel Uriel I conjure you, and by the angel Jeremiel and by the angel Photuel and by the twenty-four elders who stand before the Lord and the four creatures who bear the throne of the Lord and say, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Sabaoth. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the king of Israel. Hosanna in the highest to God <and on earth peace> to men of good will."

4. FROM AN AFRICAN PSALTER.

So that scholars may easily survey the citations from Psalms 15 and 20, we first present them in their proper order and with corrected spelling:

15.10 (lines 11 fin. - 12) *delectationes in dextera tua usque in finem*

20.2 (lines 7-8) *domine in uirtute tua laetabitur rex et super salutare tuum exultabit uehementer*

20.3 (line 13) *et uoluntate [labiorum d]edisti ei*

20.4 (line 8 = lines 12-13) *quoniam praeuenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis (+ lines 8-9) posuisti in capite eius coronam de lapide pretioso*

20.5 (lines 9-10) *uitam petit et dedisti longitudinem dierum in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi*

20.6 (lines 10-11) *magna est gloria eius in salute tua*

20.7 (line 11) *laetificabis eum [in] gaudio cum uultu tuo*

These passages come from a Latin Psalter that was neither the Gallican Psalter nor the "iuxta Hebraeos." Consequently we have collated the text with R. Weber, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Collectanea Biblica Latina X, Vatican City 1953). The text of the papyrus differs from Weber's Roman Psalter in six places, virtually all of which are attested in a few manuscripts that belong to the "other" ancient Latin Psalters. The most

notable affinity is with the bilingual (Greek and Latin), north Italian Veronensis I (α) and with the related, north Italian Sangallensis 912 (β). It was such a north Italian Psalter that Augustine introduced into Africa,⁸ and it is such an African tradition in turn that is preserved in the Latin Psalter that was discovered in 1950 in the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai (Slav. ms. 5)⁹ and that served as the basis of the Psalms cited in the Antiphonary from the same monastery (Gr. ms. 567).¹⁰ Consequently, in the survey of the variants in the papyrus text of Ps.20 that is given below, the following abbreviations for testimonies and mss. are added to Weber's siglae for the "other" Psalters: "Aug." = Augustinus, *Enarrat. in Psalm.* (CC 38, p. 11); "Quodv." = Quodvultdeus, *Liber promiss.* II 57 (CC 60, p. 126, 478);¹¹ "Psalt.Sin." = Sinai Slav. ms. 5; "Ant.Sin." = Sinai Gr. ms. 567.

20.3 *et uoluntate [labiorum d]edisti ei : dedisti ei et uoluntate labiorum* $\alpha\beta$ [ut vid.] Aug. Psalt.Sin. Ant.Sin. : *tribuisti ei et uoluntate labiorum* cett. The inversion of *dedisti ei* and *et uoluntate labiorum* appears to be unique to the papyrus,¹² but that *dedisti* agrees with α , apparently β , Augustine and the Sinai texts is noteworthy.

20.4 *benedictione* with $\gamma\delta\eta$ moz med Ga: *benedictionibus* cett.

*in capit<e>*¹³ *eius* with $\alpha\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta\eta$ moz med Ga Aug. : *super caput eius* Psalt.Sin. Ant. Sin. : *in caput eius* β .

20.5 *petit* with $\alpha\gamma\delta^*\eta^*$ moz Quodv. Psalt.Sin. Ant.Sin. : *petiit* cett.

dedisti : dedisti ei $\alpha\eta^2$ moz^c Aug. Quodv. Psalt.Sin. Ant.Sin. : *tribuisti ei* cett.

in aeternum et in saeculum saeculi with α^*e Psalt.Sin. Ant.Sin. : *in saeculum et saeculum saeculi* γ : *in saeculum et in saeculum saeculi* $\delta\eta^*$ moz^c Ga: *in saeculum saeculi* cett.

⁸ See A.Vaccari, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* I (Rome 1952), pp.207-55, esp. 238-50 and II (Rome 1958), pp.229-43. D.De Bruyne (*Saint Augustin reviseur de la bible* [Miscellanea Agostiniana II, Rome 1931], pp.521-606, esp. 544-78) regarded the north Italian text as Augustine's redaction, but Vaccari (*loc. cit.*) demonstrated that Augustine introduced the north Italian text into Africa and that he changed very little. See also B.Fischer, "Zur Liturgie der lateinischen Handschriften vom Sinai," *Revue Bénédictine* 74 (1964) 291f. (= B.Fischer, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltex-te* [Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 12, Freiburg 1986], pp. 149f.).

⁹ The text has not yet been edited, but it can be consulted in the facsimile-edition of M.Altbauer, *Psalterium Latinum Hierosolymitanum. Eine frühmittelalterliche Handschrift, Sin. Ms. no. 5* (Vienna - Cologne - Graz, 1978). For literature on it, see K.Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores* I, 2nd ed. (Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 1.1, 1968), p.37f. no. 009. E.A.Lowe assigned the hand to the beginning of the 10th century. On its African origins, see now Fischer, *Beiträge* (*cit.*, footnote 8), pp. 149-155.

¹⁰ Edited by E.A.Lowe, "Two New Latin Liturgical Fragments on Mount Sinai," *Revue Bénédictine* 74 (1964) 252-279 (p.273 for the verses from Ps. 20); reprinted in E.A.Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers* II (Oxford 1972), pp.520ff. (p.537 for Ps.20) and in B.Fischer, *Beiträge* (*cit.*, footnote 8), pp.106-140 (p.128 for Ps.20). Literature in Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores* I, p.55 no. 024. Lowe dated the hand to the beginning of the 10th century.

¹¹ Quodvultdeus cites only Ps.20. 5 *vitam petit et dedisti*.

¹² This may reflect nothing more than a textual corruption, but it could be that the writer intended "You gave him the wish of his lips." In this case *bulumtate* is another instance of loss of final *-m*.

¹³ The papyrus has *in capiteius*. Just possibly this is for *in caput eius*, in which case the agreement is with β .

20.6 *salute tua* with $\alpha\gamma\delta$ *moz*^x Aug. Psalt.Sin. Ant.Sin. : *salutem tuam* η^2 : *salutari tuo* cett.

It is clear that the papyrus reflects the north Italian - African tradition. Furthermore, it is not without interest to note how the papyrus agrees with the Sinai documents in consequently substituting b for v, but not v for b. This phenomenon was discussed by Lowe as being one of the Greek symptoms in the Sinai documents.¹⁴ We do not feel competent to say whether the betacism of the papyrus reflects Greek influence or the habit of a native Latin speaker. In any case, on the basis of this similarity alone one should probably not posit a direct connection between the papyrus and the Sinai texts. There may be no closer relationship other than the common use of the north Italian - African Psalter: one cannot rule out, for example, that a traveller from northern Italy left this amulet in the sands of Egypt. However, the presence of the Latin texts on Mt. Sinai bears witness to a movement from West to East, and so we regard it as more likely that the papyrus is evidence of an intermediate moment in this movement.¹⁵

¹⁴ See E.A.Lowe, "An Unknown Latin Psalter on Mount Sinai," *Scriptorium* 9 (1955) 192f. (repr. in Lowe, *Palaeographical Papers* II, p.433f.): "I now come to a phenomenon which puzzled me greatly. I refer to the regular, almost constant substitution of b for v in our manuscript. Now, betacism is not at all rare in Latin manuscripts. To some extent it is found in most manuscripts: to a moderate extent in Insular, to a greater extent in Italian and French manuscripts, but to a conspicuous extent in Visigothic. It would thus seem reasonable to argue that it is Visigothic influence that accounts for the exaggerated amount of this type of misspelling in our manuscript. But this supposition must be rejected. For if we assume that our scribe was reflecting Spanish practice followed in his scriptorium or that he was faithfully reproducing a Visigothic exemplar, then we are at a loss to explain how it happens that he does not simply *confuse* b and v regardless, as do Spanish scribes, but nearly always substitutes a b for a v and rarely vice versa. Whereas in Visigothic manuscripts one may encounter such grotesque spellings as 'bovis' for 'vobis', this type of error I should not expect in the Sinaiticus. His way of writing 'vobis' would surely be 'bobis'. The Sinai manuscript actually has such strange-looking words as 'belut', 'birgo', 'birtus', and even 'nebe' ('neve'). This practice of writing b for nearly every v (I am assuming that he had before him an old, well-spelled exemplar) requires an explanation. Here again I venture to think that it is his thinking as a Greek that furnishes the explanation. To a scribe used to the Greek pronunciation of beta as v it would be very easy and natural to make the distinction between the consonantal and vowel sounds of Latin u by using b for the first and the normal u for the second. Psychologically, too, this would be furthered by the fact that minuscule b in Greek had a form very much like Latin u. This also would explain why our scribe hardly ever changes b to v. There was no need since the b form already had the v sound. This is the only explanation I can offer of a phenomenon which is manifestly not governed by mere chance." Cf. also Lowe's remarks on this phenomenon in all of the Sinai Latin documents in "Two Other Unknown Latin Liturgical Fragments on Mount Sinai," (*Scriptorium* 19 (1965) 7, 12 and 15 (= *Palaeographical Papers* II, pp. 551, 556 and 558f.).

¹⁵ See Lowe, *Scriptorium* 19 (1965) 20-223 with note 61 (= *Palaeographical Papers* II, pp.564-567 note 3). On Latin speaking travellers and enclaves in the Orient, see G.Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'Église ancienne* I (Paris 1948), ch. 3 "La culture latine dans l'Orient chrétien au IV^e siècle" (for Egypt pp. 143-6). Note, however, that according to Fischer, *Beiträge* (cit., footnote 8), p.155, the Latin texts might have been brought directly from Africa to Sinai.

5. FROM AN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITURGY.

In lines 19-21, the four creatures do not sing the song of praise of the Apocalypse (Vulg.: *Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat, et qui est, et qui venturus est*), but that of the liturgy; cf. the conclusion of the Praefatio: *Sanctus Sanctus Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis*. The divergences of the papyrus are probably the result of free citation. The papyrus omitted *pleni sunt coeli et terra gloria tua* and the first *hosanna in excelsis*. Its addition of *rex Israel* reflects Joh. 12.13 *hosanna, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, rex Israel*, whereas the liturgical text is closer to Matth. 21.9 *hosanna filio David, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, hosanna in altissimis*. The addition of *deo <et in terra pax> hominibus bonae voluntatis* is ultimately from Luc. 2.14 *gloria in altissimis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis*. Both divergences were probably triggered by the similar beginnings of the respective passages.

Our knowledge of the liturgical history of the *Sanctus-Benedictus* is sketchy. Recent studies, however, allow us to confirm that in the West the *Sanctus* began to be incorporated into the eucharistic liturgy starting in the early 5th century.¹⁶ The earliest attestation of the adjunction of the *Benedictus* to the *Sanctus* was till now from 6th century Gaul; cf. Caesarius of Arles († 542), *serm.* 73.2 (p.307 Morin). According to Jungmann, its adoption in Rome was perhaps gradual and probably later.¹⁷ The *Benedictus* does not appear in the Egyptian liturgy.¹⁸

¹⁶ See especially L.Chavoutier, "Un Libellus Pseudo-Ambrosien sur le Saint-Esprit," *Sacris Erudiri* 11 (1960) 136-192, esp. 148, 174-192; see also G.Kretschmar, "Neue Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Ostergottesdienstes II. Die Einführung des Sanctus in die lateinische Meßliturgie," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 7 (1962) 79-86; J.A.Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia. Eine genetische Erklärung der Römischen Messe* II (5th ed., Vienna 1962), p.166; P.-M.Gy, "Le sanctus romain et les anaphores orientales" in: *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte* (Louvain 1972), pp. 167-174; K.Gamber, *Missa Romensis* (Regensburg 1970), pp.63-66; R.Cabié, *L'Eucharistie* (l'Eglise en prière. Introduction à la Liturgie II, Paris 1983), pp. 112-13; E.Mazza, *Le odierne preghiere eucaristiche* I (Bologna 1984), pp.70-72.

¹⁷ Jungmann, *op.cit.* (footnote 16), p.170 with n.41. A different view was proposed by A.Baumstark, "Trishagion und Qeduscha," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 3 (1923) 18-32, namely that the *Hosanna-Benedictus* was joined to the Trishagion considerably earlier in Palestine; but see the refutation of this theory by Jungmann, *op.cit.*, p.166 n.26.

¹⁸ See A.Hänggi - I.Pahl, *Prex eucharistica* (2nd ed., Freiburg 1962), pp. 110, 124, 130, 136, 348; cf. Jungmann, *op.cit.* (note 16), p.166 n.26. According to J.Magne, "Carmina Christo I. Le Sanctus de la Messe latine," *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 100 (1986) 18f., 21, the *Benedictus* was suppressed in Egypt for dogmatic reasons.

6. LANGUAGE.

For the convenience of the general reader and the specialist alike we list the numerous phenomena characteristic of late vulgar Latin that are found in the text.¹⁹

SIMPLE VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS.

e for a: 15 *Gebrielu*.

e for ae: 4 *celi*, *ter[re]*; 7 *letabitur*; 8 and 12 *prebenisti*; 10 *eternu*, *seculum seculi*; 11 *letificabis*; 14 *celestis*; 20-21 *bone*.

i for e: 5 *Gisum*.

u for o: 13 *bulumtate*.

(*domine* in 20 *nomine domine* is due to attraction).

VOWEL DEVELOPMENT (ANAPTYXIS).

11 *bulutu* (= *uultu*); 6 *bir.tute* and possibly 14 [*bir.tute*], but the latter might be a false restoration (cf. 7 *birtute*).

PROTHETIC VOCALIZATION.

13 *iscripsi*.

VOWEL LOSS.

6 and 7 *tum*; 8 *benemter*; 15 *Rafelu*.

(8-9 *in capiteius* is probably due to haplography, if it is not for *in caput eius* [see footnote 13]; 4-5 [*conserytor* is just a mistake).

CONSONANTS.

b for u²⁰: 6 and 7 *birtute*; 8 *benemter*; 8 and 12 *prebenisti*; 9 *bitam*; 11 *bulutu*; 13 *bulumtate* and 21 *bolumtatis*; 20 *benit*.

c, loss of before t: 19 *beneditus*.

c for xc: 20 *ecelsis*.

g' for j: 5 *Gisum*; ²¹ 16.47 *Geremielu*.

h, loss of: 5-6 *Cristum*; 8 *benemter*; 14 *Micaelu*; 18 *tronu*; 20 *osanam*, *ominibus*.

l for n: 18 *alimalia*.

¹⁹ When this paper was close to completion, we sent a copy of it to J.Kramer, who volunteered to make a systematic survey of the text's phonetic phenomena; his contribution follows directly after this article.

²⁰ On the betacism, see section 4.

²¹ Cf. the spelling *Gisus* in E.Diehl, *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*, no. 2360 B (Rome).

m, loss of final: 10 *eternu*; 14 *angelu Micaelu*; 15 *angelu Gebrielu*, [*ang*] *Jelu Rafelu*, 16 *angelu Azazielu*, *angelu Urie[lu]*; 16-17 *angelu Geremielu*; 17 *angelu Fotuelu*; 18 *tronu*.
 m, incorrect addition of: 19 *Sambaoc*; 20 *osanam*.
 m and n, confusion of by metathesis: 8 *benemter*.
 mt for nt and n(c)t: 1, 19 (ter) *samtus*; 8 *benemter*; 13 *bulumtate*; 21 *bolumtatis*; 18 *amte*.
 n, loss of: 19 *dicut*.
 n for nn: 20 *osanam*.
 x for s : 7 and 20 *res*; 12 *destera*.
 zi for (c)ti, ti and di: 8 and 12-13 *benedizione*; 11-12 *delectaciones*; 11 *gauzio*.²²

DECLENSION.

Second decl. endings added to normally undeclined Semitic names: 14 *Micaelu*; 15 *Gebrielu*, *Rafelu*; 16 *Azazielu*, *Urielu*; 16-17 *Geremielu*; 17 *Fotuelu*.

CONJUGATION.

2nd and 3rd conj. confused: 18 *regent* for *regunt*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

anacoluthon: see comm. on 13.

et ---que, pleonastic : see comm. on 18 et *quatuorque*.

regere as 'to support': see comm. on 18.

ut, introducing a quotation: see comm. on 6.

7. COMMENTARY.

11 *I..... amen : laleluja* (r. *alleluia*) *amen* ?

1-2 *in principio erat deus et deus erat I... n*: a misquotation or summary of the beginning of John. *erat* was suggested by Preisendanz. No doubt Preisendanz tried to recover *berbum*, but was unable to read this, and so one might consider *lumēn*. As is well known, Christian amulets show a predilection for the incipits of the Gospels, especially the prologue of John.

2-3. If these lines did not contain unread or lost text, they might have had magical characters that Preisendanz had not yet drawn in (see section 1 with footnote 7).

3 init. b : *bita = uita* ? (Preisendanz).

²² Cf. *Gauziosus* in CIL VIII 16396 and 25237.

3 fin.]utor̄ : a]utor̄ = a]uctor̄ (A.Carlini) ? adi]utor̄ ?

4-5 *domine deus*, [6] [] *caeli et ter[rae co]nditor et [c]onseru<a>tor peccatorum*: perhaps *aeterne* or *sempiternae caeli et terrae conditor*; cf. Ambr., *Hymn.* 1.1 *Aeterne rerum conditor*.

caeli et terrae conditor: cf. e.g. *Epist. Paul. et Cor.* II rec. B 9 (ed. Harnack, *Sitzungsb.* Berlin 1905, p.10), cited in *TLL* IV,147,4; A.Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* I, Freiburg Br. 1909 (repr. Graz 1960), p.386 *domine, caeli et terrae conditor*.

conditor et conseruator: for God as creator-savior, see the references cited in A.Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin des principaux thèmes liturgiques* (Turnhout 1966), p.263 and cf. A.Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen* I, p.562 *domine deus, pater omnipotens, statutor elementorum omnium et conservator humani generis*.

conseruator: on the use of this word in Christian texts see Ch.Mohrmann, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens* I p.3W7, II p.106, III pp. 136ff., 182f., 188, IV p.204.

5 *postulamus --- interpellantes*: on the semantic relationship between the two words, cf. Aug., *Ep.* 149.2.14 *nosti aliud esse interpellare, aliud postulare. Non enim solemus dicere: Postulant interpellaturi, sed: Interpellant postulaturi*.

çu []nis: perhaps çur[atio]nis (r.-nes). This would suit what one expects from a request to Jesus in his capacity of *medicus caelestis* (13-14), and it is possible that the lacuna may have been larger than it appears to be in Preisendanz' transcription: note that c. 8 letters appear to be lost in the lacuna in the preceding line and that 5 letters seem to be needed for the lacuna in the following line.

6 *scribo ut*: we know of no parallel for *ut* introducing a quotation or, more generally, direct discourse. But the phenomenon does not seem surprising when one considers that in late Latin one often finds *ut* used in place of *quod*, *quia* in an explicative function (see Hofmann - Szantyr, p.645f.) and that *quod* and *quia* in turn are well attested as introducing direct discourse or a quotation (see Hofmann - Szantyr, p.578f.).

7-13. For the citations from Psalms 15 and 20, see section 4.

13 *tu*: one should not alter *tu* to *te* so that the thrice repeated *coniuro* in the following lines has an object. We have a true nominative that became an accusative in the mind of the writer later on: a typical case of anacoluthon.

13-14 *medicus caelestis*: *TLL* VIII 1, 551, 62f. refers to Orig., in *Lev.* 8.1 (GCS Orig. 6, 394, 4) *ueni nunc ad lesum, coelestem medicum*; Rufin., *Apol. Hier.* 1.1 (CC 20, 37) *et ideo conuertit me ad lesum, caelestem medicum*; Ennod., *Epist.* 8.24 (p.216,3 Hartel) *continuo me cum lacrimis ad caelestis medici auxilia conuertit*. Cf. also Greg. Magn., *Hom. ev.* 32.1 (PL 76, 1232 D) *caelestis medicus singulis quibusque uitii obuiantia adhibet medicamenta* (cf. also 33.4 [1241 C], 34.3 [1247 B]); Caesar., *Serm.* 24.2 (p.109 Morin),

36.4 (p.158), etc. (cf. Morin, p.1086, index *s.v. medicus*); Petrus Chrysol., *Serm.* 30.4 (CC 24, 176) *audi caelestem medicum etc.* (cf. also *Serm.* 35.1 [p.201], 38.3 [p.218], 41.2 [p.233], 84.8 [24A, 521], 94.3 [p.581]). The expression also occurs in liturgical texts: in line 53 of the Ravenna rotulus (P.Suitbert Benz, *Der Rotulus von Ravenna*, Münster 1967, p.7), in a Mozarabic text (cf. M.Férotin, *Le "Liber Ordinum" en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne*, Paris 1904, p.366) and in a prayer in the Bobbio Missal (cf. E.A.Lowe, *The Bobbio Missal. A Gallican Mass-Book*, London 1920, p.27). See G.Manx, *Ausdrucksformen der lateinischen Liturgiesprache bis ins elfte Jahrhundert* (Beuron 1941), pp.291-292, nos. 587-591; P.Suitbert Benz, *op.cit.*, p.146f. For the metaphor of Christ as doctor, see H.Leclercq, *DACL* XI.1, coll. 157-60 *s.v. Médecins* and A. von Hamack, *Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums I* (Leipzig 1924), pp. 129-150.

15ff. *coniuro* --- : giving credit to the piety of our Christian one could translate 'I beseech', which is in fact a well-attested meaning of the verb in late Latin; cf. *TLL* IV, 340, 1-4; J.F.Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden 1976) *s.v.* 9. Nevertheless, the sequence *te* (i.e. *Iesum Christum*) --- *coniuro per angelum* --- might have been regarded as 'magical', especially because one normally *coniurat* someone or something *per Iesum Christum* (or *per deum*), not vice versa. For *coniurare* (or *adiurare*) *aliquem* (or *aliquid*) *per aliquem* as a technical formula in magical and exorcistic texts, see e.g. E.Bartsch, *Die Sachbeschwörungen der Römischen Liturgie* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 46, 1967), pp.Sff., 334ff.

14-17. As often, the number of the angels mentioned is seven; see J.Michl in *RAC* V, col. 184; G.Davidson, *A Dictionary of the Angels* (New York 1967), pp.268, 338f.

16 *Azazielum* : cf. Davidson, *op.cit.*, p.64.

16-17 *Ieremielum* : cf. Michl, *RAC* V, col.217 no. 108 and col.228 no. 182; Davidson, *op.cit.*, p.159 (cf. also p.148 for Ierimiel and p.142 for Hierimiel); E.Peterson, "Engel- und Dämonennamen. Nomina barbara," *Rheinisches Museum* 75 (1926) 403 no.51.

17 *Fotuelum* : perhaps the name is based on φῶς and -el. Cf. Phôta, one of the nine guardians of paradise in Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* II, no. LXI 2 and Phôthamel in V.Stegemann, *Die Koptischen Zaubertexte der Sammlung Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer in Wien* (Heidelberg 1934), no.XVI, 15-16. Cf. also Pyruel (probably based on Πῶρ and -el) in Michl, *RAC* V, col.227 no. 173. Both Photuel and Pyruel may be Greek calques on Uriel 'fire of God' (see Davidson, *op.cit.*, p.298).

17-20 [*u*]iginti quattuor seniores --- quattuorque animalia --- : based ultimately on *Apoc.* 4.4ff. For the 24 elders, see especially J.Michl, *Die 24 Ältesten in der Apokalypse des Hl. Johannes* (Munich 1938); *idem*, *RAC* V, coll. 114 and 176; Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* III §§ 144-147, 225-227; C.D.G.Müller, *Die Engellehre der Koptischen Kirche* (Wiesbaden 1959), pp.85-87. On the four creatures, see J.Michl, *Die Engelvorfstellungen in der Apoka-*

lypse des Hl. Johannes I. Die Engel um Gott (Munich 1937), pp.91-103; Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* III § 120-124, 221; Müller, *Engellehre*, pp.83-84. For the medieval Occident, cf. e.g. A.Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter* II, pp.55, 79, 103 (*adiuro vos per viginti duo patriarchas et per duodecim apostolos et per quattuor evangelistas et per viginti quattuor seniores, qui ante deum stant, qui quotidie non cessant sed semper clamant: sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus omnipotens, qui est, qui erat et qui venturus est*), and p.587

18 *et quattuorque* : for pleonastic *et ---que*, see E.Löfstedt, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der späteren Latinität* (Stockholm 1907), p.37f.; *idem*, *Vermischte Studien zur lateinischen Sprachkunde und Syntax* (Lund 1936), pp.56-58; further literature in Hofmann - Szantyr, p.523f.

regent (r. *regunt*) : the sense ought to be 'support, bear, carry', and so, if this is not a mistake for *gerunt* (see *TLL* VI 2, 1929, 60ff.), the text provides an interesting example of *regere* on its way to becoming the equivalent of It.'reggere'. See E.Löfstedt, *Philologischer Kommentar zur Peregrinatio Aetherae* (Uppsala 1911; repr. Darmstadt 1962), p.276.

That the four creatures 'support' the throne of God is not in the Apocalypse, and it is normally the Cherubim and Seraphim who enjoyed the prerogative of being the divine throne-bearers. When the four creatures fulfill this function, this is due in part to Ezekiel 1 and in part to the fact that the Apocalypse describes the four creatures with the characteristics that in the O.T. are assigned to the Cherubim and Seraphim; see Müller, *Engellehre*, p.138 no. 15 and p. 145f. no. 32; Kropp, *Koptische Zaubertexte* III §120-124.

19-21. See the remarks in section 5.

19 *Sambaoc* (r. *Sabaoth*): the final *-c* is quite possibly due to miscopying. Note, however, that one can find e.g. $\text{C}\alpha\theta\alpha\omega\chi$ in D.R.Jordan, "Defixiones from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54 (1985) 205ff., no. 7, line 14 (p.223) and no. 8, line 12 (p.226). Michl, *RAC* V col.229 no. 191 lists a variant form *Sabaoc*, but does not indicate where it occurs.

20 *<et in terra pax>*: we prefer to restore the text completely with Luke rather than to give just *<pax>*. Preisendanz penciled in the angular brackets over typed round brackets.

+ In nomine patris et filii et spir(itus sa)nti 1. in principe
 ← ^{Joh. I?} erat deus et deus et sig() ut
 ← et b ytoria
 ← in seculo et domine deus (6B)() e celi et ter(re conditor et (e)onse
 5 vtor peccatorum postulamus cu(m)is interpellantes per gisum eri(s)
tum, filium tuum, deum et dominum nos(trum, i)a cuius nomine et vir(tute scrib
 Ps 20, 2 domine in vir(tute tua letabitur res et super salute tua exsultabit o, ut
 utramque 20, 4 benemer quoniam prebenisti eum in benedictione dulcedinis: posuisti in
 exiens capiteius coronam de lapide pretioso bitam petit et dedisti le
 10 longitudinem dierum in eternam et in seculum seculi magna est glo-
 salutari + 20, 7 helle ria eius in salute tua letificabis eum (in) gausio cum bulutu tuo. delecta
 Ps 135, 11 siones in dextera tua usque in f(inem quoni)am prebenisti eum in benedi
 Ps 20 sione dulcedinis et buluntate l(aborum d)edisti ei ego is(e)ipsi et tu, ma
dius celestis, in cuius nomine e(t) vir(tute) scribo, per angela micaelu
 15 u coniuo et per angela Gebriela e(t) per (ang)elu Rafelu coniuo et per
angela asasielu et per angela urie(lu) coniuo et per angela gere-
 7 mielu et per angela fotuelu et per (b)iginti quatuor seniores, qui
 4, 3 stant ante dominum et quatuorque animalia qui regent tronu domi
 4, 6 ni et dicunt: santus santus santus dominus deus sambaoe, be(n)editus qui
 20 benit in nomine domine res israel osanam in ecelsis deo <par> omnibus bo
ne voluntatis

 Papyrus, Sommer 1937 von C Schmidt in Kairo erworben, von O Guéraud
 abgeschrieben und mit Stellenachweisen versehen. Mir in Guérauds Ab-
 schrift am 15. Juli übersandt und zum Kauf angeboten!