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P. Naqlun inv. 10/95 : Greek excerpts from a liturgy with their Coptic translation

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P. NAQLUN INV. 10/95:
GREEK EXCERPTS FROM A LITURGY
WITH THEIR COPTIC TRANSLATION*

Deir el-Naqlun is a monastic site excavated since 1986 by an archaeological mission of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo; the mission from the beginning of its activity has been directed by prof. Włodzimierz Godlewski. This site is important for the history of Egyptian monasticism. It has yielded hundreds of texts written on papyrus, parchment, ostraca and paper in Greek, Coptic and Arabic.[1] Among the finds there are texts important for studies on Coptic liturgy; one of them is P. Naqlun inv. 10/95.

It was found in October 1995. It is a parchment sheet coming from a codex. The state of preservation of the parchment is not particularly good. The upper corners of the sheet are lost. There is a considerable lacuna in the upper middle part. In some other places, especially in the upper part of the hairside (*recto*), the letters are hardly visible.

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[1] On the history of Deir el-Naqlun and on the excavations of that site, see T. DERDA, *Deir el-Naqlun: The Greek Papyri*, Warszawa 1995, pp. 19-40; preliminary reports for successive seasons of excavation are published by members of the mission in: *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*.

P. Naqlun inv. 10/95 is a palimpsest; the *textus prior* can be seen only in places. It was in Coptic, written in a very careful and handsome hand, the so-called Coptic uncial. In our opinion, the *textus prior* can be dated as early as the VIIth cent.[2] On the hairside we read:[3]

... / ... ϫⲉ ⲉϥⲉ ... / ... ⲁ ⲉ ... / ... / ...ⲧⲣⲉⲕⲁⲓⲉⲓⲙⲓ ... /
... ⲧⲉⲓ ... / ... ⲉⲕⲉ ... ... / ⳾ⲛⲁ ... / ... ⲉ⳾ϫⲉ ... / ...

The *textus posterior*, which is the main subject of our paper, is bilingual; it was written upside down in respect to the *textus prior*, in a regular, rather narrow, not very big and sloping uncial. Both components of the text, the Greek and the Coptic, have been written by the same hand — a hand which was not unexperienced. Wherever the scribe switched from one language to the other, he marked the place with double slash or in some places with a dot in mid-line. There are no other punctuation marks or diacritics. At the beginning of some lines, the initial letters are moved a bit onto the left margin and evidently bigger than the other letters (*recto*, line 27, *verso*, lines 16 and 18).

Palaeographically, the *textus posterior* of P. Naqlun inv. 10/95 may be dated to the IXth-XIth cent.[4] Some features of its hand seem to suggest rather later date, for instance the shape of *beta*, written with small upper oval and lower element big and trigonal. Similarly, the scribe usually connected *delta* and *djandja* with the following character. Sometimes he did the same in case of *alpha* of which sloping stroke touches the following letter if this starts with a horizontal stroke (*iota*, *nu* and *rho*). The scribe never wrote stroke over consonants; only sporadically he noted trema — both is also in favour of the Xth-XIth rather than the IXth cent. date.

On both sides of the sheet there is a bilingual, Greco-Bohairic text of liturgical character.[5] Two words were written in their Sahidic version (*recto*, line 7:

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[2] V. STEGEMANN, *Koptische Paläographie*, Heidelberg 1936, pl. 8.

[3] We print the text without numbering lines and without determining what portion of the text has been lost.

[4] Cf. V. STEGEMANN, *op. cit.* (n. 2), plates 15 (*Hermeniae*), 17, 19, 21; see also a Vatican codex of A.D. 1014 (P. Bibl. Vat. N° 68, fol. 162 v°; see H. HYVERNAT, *Album de paleographie copte*, repr. Osnabrück 1972, pl. XV).

[5] At the beginning of the presentation of P. Naqlun inv. 10/95 it should be stressed that this is only a first attempt at its reading and interpretation. Although we are not specialists in Greek and Coptic liturgy, we have decided to publish this unique text because of its importance. We aimed to give a new piece of evidence for real liturgists interested in the development of God's service in medieval Egypt. In our comments we included some suggestions for the interpretation of P. Naqlun inv. 10/95.
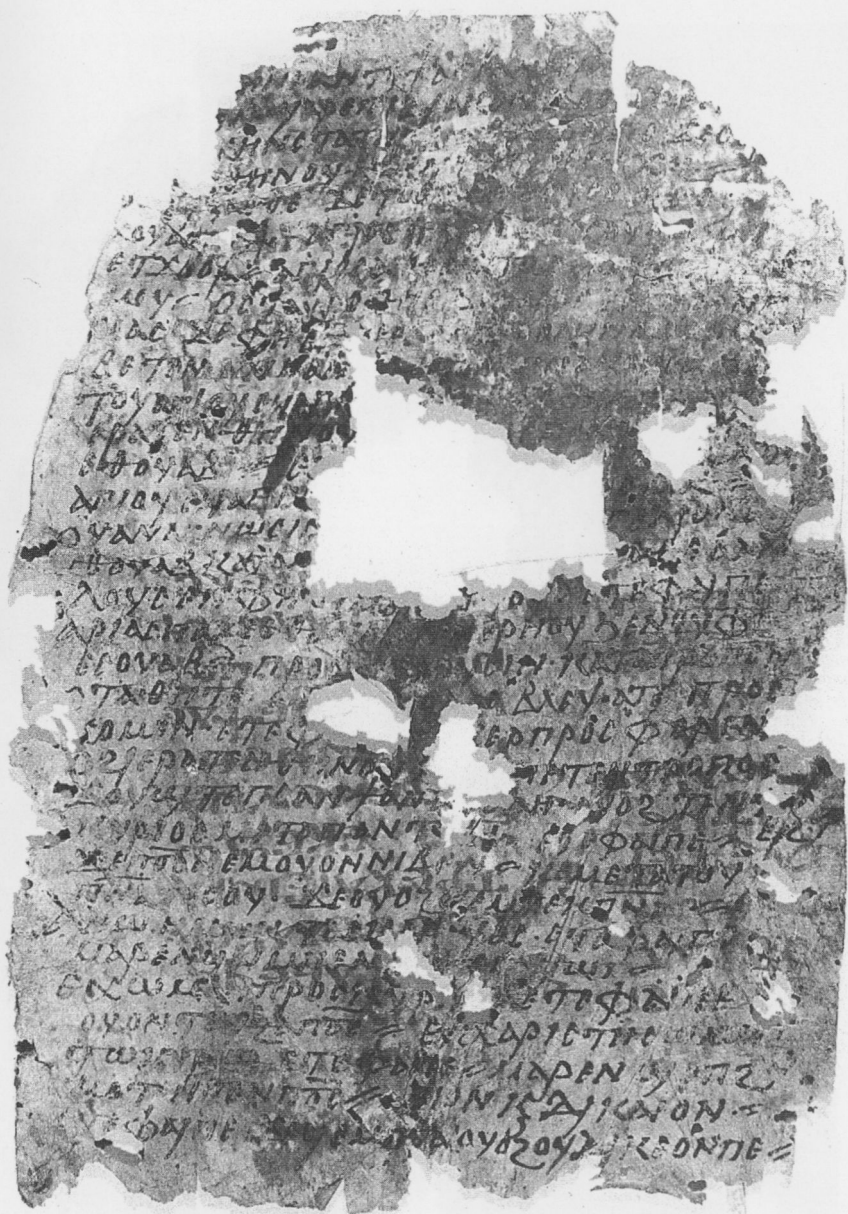
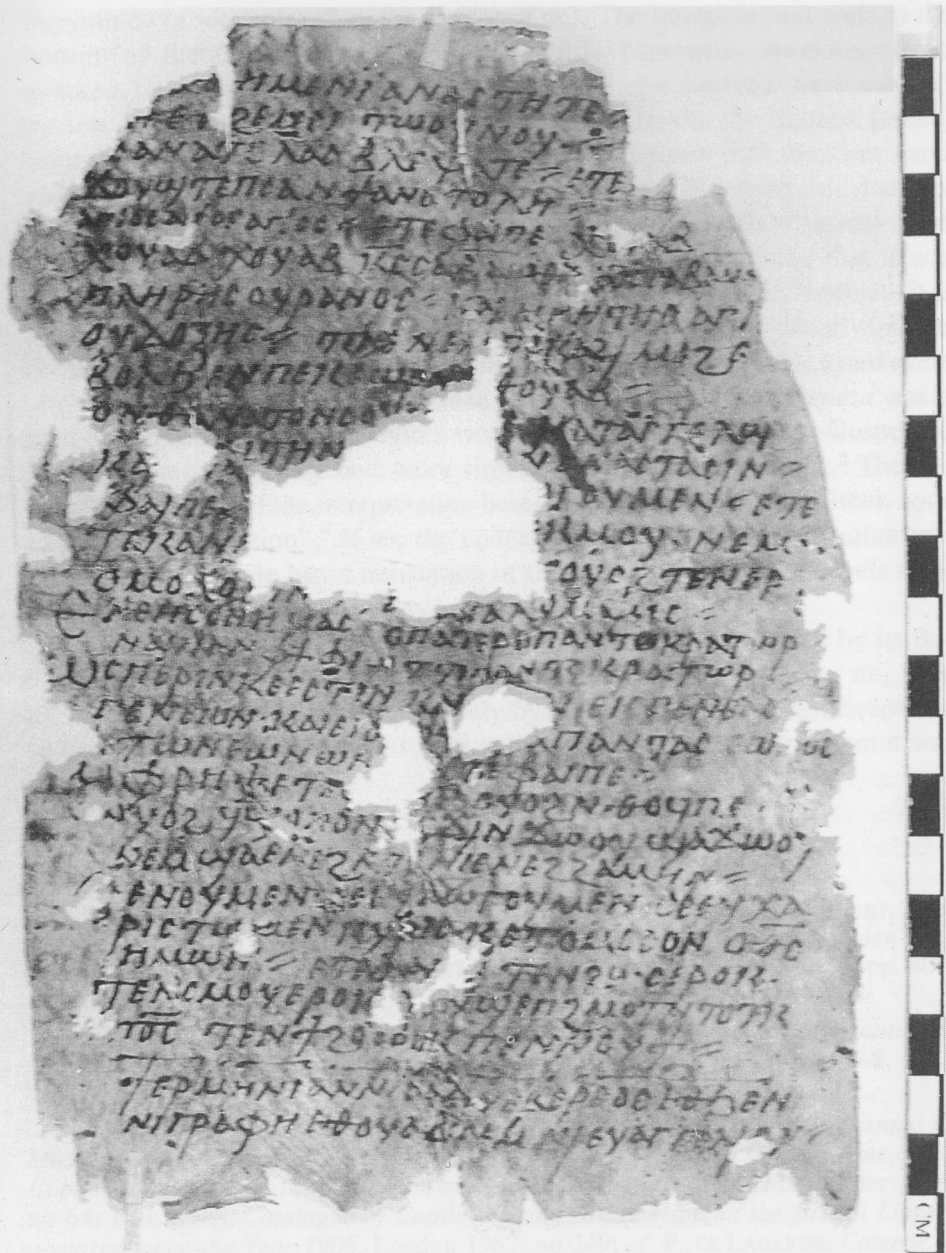Plate I. P. Naqlun inv. no 10/95 hairside (*recto*)

Plate II. P. Naqlun inv. no 10/95 fleshside (*verso*)

qualitative ϫⲟⲟⲣ; and line 22: ⲡⲁⲓ]ⲣⲏⲧⲉ — see comm.) and one in the
Fayyumic (ⲧⲁⲗⲏ, *recto*, line 9 — see comm.). The liturgical text ends at the
bottom of the fleshside (*verso*) where a title ϯⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲓⲁⲁⲁ (read
ⲛⲛⲁⲁⲁⲁ) ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲣⲟⲥ (read ⲛⲉⲃⲣⲉⲟⲥ) ⲉⲑ⳪ⲉⲛ ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅ-
ⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ appears, i.e. "*Hermeneia* of the [works by] David, the Hebrew [taken]
from the Scripture and the Gospels". The title was written with the same hand
and divided from the preceding text by a row of *obeloi*. Since the title does not
concern the preceding text, it has to be interpreted as a title of a new item
beginning on the following page. It is, however, a bit surprising that it was
written at the very bottom of the page. What such entitled work contained, it is
not clear. *Hermeneia* (ἑρμηνεία) as a title of Greek works usually means
Biblical oracles,[6] but with this term religious texts of some other kinds were
often entitled.[7] It is not to be excluded that in our case the *Hermeneia* was a
kind of commentary on the David's works (i.e., Psalms) and on the Gospels. If
so, our *Hermeneia* would be a work similar to these called *Catenae*.[8] There is
another possiblity of the interpretation based on the meaning of the Greek noun
ἑρμηνεία, "translation";[9] if so, the codex, a leaf of which is P. Naqlun inv.
10/95, would contain just a translation of the Psalms and of the Gospels or of
excerpts from them used in liturgy.

The liturgical text is bilingual. Each phrase in Greek is followed by its Bo-
hairic equivalent which is usually introduced by the words ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ, "that
is", sometimes ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ or only by ϫⲉ. This could be significant and
suggests that the Greek text was not intelligible to the people for whom it was
intended.

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[6] J. VAN HAELST in his *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Paris
1976, encountered a dozen or so of texts of this type; *cf.* also H. QUECKE, "Zu den Joh.-
Fragmenten mit »*Hermeneiai*«", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 40, 1974, pp. 407-
414 and 43, 1977, pp. 179-181.

[7] Cf. H. QUECKE, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Stundengebet* (= *Publications de
l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain* 3), Louvain 1970, pp. 97-99 notes 1 and 6-8; IDEM,
"Koptische »*Hermeneiai*« Fragmente in Florenz", *Orientalia* 47, 1978, p. 215.

[8] H. MUNIER, *Manuscrits coptes* (= *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du
Musée du Caire*, T. LXXIV), Le Caire 1916, no 9271; W. E. CRUM, *Catalogue of the
Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester 1909,
no 64; B. LAYTON, *Catalogue of Coptic Literary Manuscripts in the British Library
acquired since the Year 1906*, London 1987, no 249; *cf.* P. DE LAGARDE, *Catenae in
Evangelia Aegyptiaca quae supersunt*, Göttingen 1886.

[9] *LSJ*, *s.v.* (3); G. W. H. LAMPE, *Greek Patristic Lexicon*, *s.v.*

On both sides of this single parchment sheet there are excerpts from the liturgy, chosen according to some pattern (see below). The scribe wrote down both deacon's and priest's biddings and people's responses, all recited in Greek; the following Coptic translation in some cases, as far as we know, has no parallel in liturgical mss.

As far as we know, our liturgical text, taken as a whole, has no exact parallel either. The closest is to be seen in *diakonika* — liturgical texts containing deacon's biddings and people's responses.[10] All the *diakonika* known by today (Greco-Sahidic and Greco-Bohairic) are bilingual and give the Greek biddings followed by their Coptic translation, as our parchment does.[11] But the priest's biddings and the people's responses to them are of course absent from the *diakonika*, as well as the Trisagion. On the other hand, a part of the title, preserved on the *recto*, line 2, seems to suggest that P. Naqlun inv. 10/95 contains after all *diakonika* (see comm.)

The Naqlun text contains the excerpts taken from the whole liturgy, beginning with the preliminary biddings (ἐπὶ προcευχὴν cτάθητε, προcεύξαcθε) preceding the prothesis (*recto*, lines 3-5). The biddings were not included in the edition of the *Liturgy of St. Mark* published by Geoffrey Cuming[12] but they open the liturgy in Vatican MS gr. 1970 and in the edition by Brightman who in fact reproduced this manuscript. The sequence of the biddings found in P. Naqlun inv. 10/95 is as follows: preliminary dialogue preceding the prothesis (*recto*, lines 3-5), monophysite trisagion (lines 6-10), the biddings concerning the Scripture reading (lines 10-16), the kiss of peace (lines 16-19), introduction to the anaphora (lines 19-23), its opening dialogue (lines 24-34), the deacon's biddings (*verso* lines 1-4), the Sanctus (lines 5-9), the Anamnesis (lines 10-16) and two prayers belonging to the final stage of the anaphora, and the doxology cὲ ὑμνοῦμεν, originally belonging to the Anamnesis.

As we have already suggested, the liturgical text on the Naqlun parchment comes directly neither from the *Liturgy of St. Mark* nor from any other liturgy known from Egypt. The *Liturgy of St Mark*, in the course of centuries influenced by other liturgies (the Byzantine ones were the most important), produced its Coptic equivalent, the *Liturgy of St. Cyril*. The *Liturgy of St. Basil*

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[10] For general characteristic of the *diakonika*, see Th. SCHERMANN, *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien des ersten Jahrtausends* (= *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums* 6, 1-2), Paderborn 1912, pp. 167-168.

[11] Cf. E. LANNE, "Les textes de la liturgie eucharistique en dialecte sahidique", *Le Muséon* 68, 1955, p.12.

[12] G. CUMING, *The Liturgy of St. Mark* (= *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 234), Roma 1990.

also comes from a Greek original, and both these liturgies kept some biddings and prayers in Greek.[13] In the Naqlun parchment we have either short deacon's biddings and people's responses or longer people's prayers which in codices containing the whole text of particular liturgies are usually abbreviated and marked with their incipits. In general, all these elements are hardly significant, if we try to establish the type of liturgy.

An observation important for interpreting P. Naqlun inv. 10/95 is that in the Coptic liturgy (at least in the liturgies of St. Cyril and St. Basil) all the biddings and prayers from our parchment are till today recited in Greek (we used their texts published in the *Euchologium Alexandrinum*: ⲡⲓⲉⲩⲭⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕ-ⲕⲗⲉⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲉⲝⲁⲛⲇⲣⲓⲛⲏ, Rome 1971).[14] The set of the biddings in the Naqlun *liturgica* seems to be complete according to the text of both these liturgies. Their sequence, with only one exception, is also in agreement with that of today. As it was already said, this exception from the standard pattern consists in moving the doxology cὲ αἰνοῦμεν cὲ εὐλογοῦμεν cὲ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, κύριε, καὶ δεόμεθά cου ὁ θεὸc ἡμῶν (fleshside, lines 24-26) to the very end of the anaphora.

With just two exceptions (*recto*, l. 4 and 28 — see commentary to both these places), the Coptic text is an exact equivalent of the Greek one. We found Coptic phrases both known from other mss and unknown. As for the latter, we have to ask if they were translated into Coptic by an unknown scribe of the IXth-XIth who wrote down our parchment as a help for people unfamiliar with Greek and taking part in the liturgy. Among these *new* Coptic translations, the Trisagion is no doubt the most important (*recto*, lines 5-10 — see comm.). It might suggest, however, that among people attending the liturgy there were at least some who did not know what the Trisagion, the opening dialogue of the anaphora and other Greek *kîrugmata* meant.

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[13] On the Greek elements in Egyptian liturgies see, *e.g.*, O. H. E. BURMESTER, "The Greek *kîrugmata*. Versicles, Responses and Hymns in the Coptic Liturgy", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2, 1936, pp. 363-394.

[14] Let us add that the interpretation based on the fact that all these prayers have been used in their Greek form in the Coptic liturgy says nothing about the possibility of conducting the liturgy in Greek in Naqlun in the IXth-Xth cent. This of course would have been nothing strange since in some monasteries, *e.g.* in the monastery of St. Anthony at the Red Sea coast the liturgy in Greek was celebrated as late as the XIVth century. Most if not all of the 13 Greek or Greco-Coptic texts of very late date (XIIth-XIVth cent.), listed in 1976 by J. VAN HAELST in his *Catalogue* (*cit. supra*, n. 6), pp. 413-414, were written for purposes of celebrating liturgy in Greek.

The Greek text of the Naqlun *liturgica* is written with some mistakes, but it is quite understandable. There is only one place where the text's corruption is a real obstacle for its understanding (*verso*, line 25): κε ΤΟΜΟΣΟΝ ὁ θ(εὸ)ς ἡμῶν instead of καὶ δεόμεθά coυ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. In the Greek part of our parchment the *nomina sacra* θεός and πν(εῦ)μα are abbreviated while the noun κύριος usually is not (abbreviated on fleshside, line 6). It is interesting that ἀνάγνωςμα in the Coptic translation is rendered by the noun ογανагνωcιc (*recto*, line 15). Once the scribe wrote the Coptic letter *shai* instead of Greek *omega* (*verso*, line 10).

In our text we have found two places of some interest for the way of transcribing Greek words into Coptic. The adjective δίκαιον had been written in Greek in its correct form while in next line it was noted in Coptic as ΔικεΟΝ (*recto*, lines 32-33). Similarly, the infinitive προσφέρειν was first noted with -ει- (line 19) and then repeated in the Coptic text as προcφεριΝ, with the standard Coptic spelling of the ending -ειν (line 21). This probably means that the scribe had at least a basic knowledge of Greek.[15]

Before we print the text of P. Naqlun inv. 10/95, we should say some words about the way we reconstructed the Coptic text. We did it mostly after the Raphael Tuki's edition (Romae 1736) of a Coptic ms. (Vat. Copt. 27) containing an anaphora, ΠΙΧωΜ ΝΤε ΠΙϢΟΜΤ ΝΑΝΑφΟΡΑ εΤε ΝΑΙ Νε ΜΠΙΑΓΙΟC ΒΑCΙΛΙΟC ΝεΜ ΠΙΑΓΙΟC ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟC ΠΙΘεΟΛΟΓΟC ΝεΜ ΠΙΑΓΙΟC ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟC ΝεΜ ΝΙΚεεΥΧΗ εΘΟΥΑΒ, and *diakonika*, ΠΙΧωΜ †ΜεΤΡεϥϢεΜϢΙ ΝΤε ΠΙΔΙΑΚΟΝΟC, pp. 178-184; *cf*. A. Hebbelynck, A. van Lantschoot, *Codices Coptici Vaticani Barberiniani Borgiani Rossiani*, I. *Codices Coptici Vaticani, Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, Cité du Vatican 1937, Vat. Copt. 27, no 1; see F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*: I. *Eastern Liturgies*, London 1896, pp. LXVII-LXVIII (hereafter: *Liturgies*) and H. Malak, "Les livres liturgiques de l'Église Copte", [in:] *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* (= *Studi e Testi*, 233), III. *Orient chrétien*, Cité du Vatican 1964, 8f.) — both parts of the Tuki's edition are quoted hereafter: Tuki, *Missale copticum*. We used also: E. Hammer-

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[15] This seems to be a good place to ask a question concerning the method of editing texts of this kind. We decided to print this text with Greek characters and give in the apparatus the correct Greek forms according to standard spelling. But if we assume that this text is in fact Coptic (say, a kind of vocabulary of loan words and phrases), should we print it with Coptic characters? and should we follow the traditional Coptic spelling which sometimes is different from Greek? What to do when, as it happens in our text, a standard Coptic spelling is ioticised but a scribe wrote a word keeping its correct Greek form? To correct the correct form into incorrect one?

schmidt, *Die koptische Gregoriosanaphora. Syrische und griechische Einflüsse auf eine ägyptische Liturgie* (= *Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten*, 8) Berlin 1957; ⲡⲉⲩⲭⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲟⲛ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲧⲉⲕⲕⲗⲉⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ̄ⲁⲗⲉⲍⲁⲛⲇⲣⲓⲛⲏ, Rome 1971 (hereafter abbreviated as *Euchologium Alexandrinum*); and the official text of *The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, by Committee Formed by His Holiness Pope Shenouda III, Cairo 1993 (hereafter abbreviated as *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*). Of some help to us, there were *diakonika*-texts published by today, *e.g.* Bohairic fragment Paris Nat. copt. 129/20, f° 139r-v (unpublished, *cf.* R. G. Coquin, "Vestiges de concélébration eucharistique chez les Melkites égyptiens, les Coptes et les Éthiopiens", *Le Muséon* 80, 1967, 37-46); Sahidic ms. British Museum Or. 3580A 12 (ed. W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1905, no 155; see also other texts of similar character: no 154 [Or. 3580A 11] and no 156 [Or. 3580A 13]); Leiden Ms Insinger no 30 and no 31 (ed. W. Pleyte, P. A. Boeser, *Manuscrits coptes du Musée d'Anti-quités des Pays-Bas, Leide*, Leide 1897, 130-132, 133-135); *diakonika* ⲡⲭⲱⲙ ⲛ̄ⲧⲙⲉⲧⲣⲉϥϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲃⲱ̄ⲣⲉⲙ (ed. The Society of Naḥdot Al Kanaïs, Cairo 1951[2] (hereafter: *Diak.*, 1951). On *diakonika* see bibliography in: Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. LXVII-LXXII, especially p. LXX; see also E. Lanne, "Liturgie eucharistique sahidique", *Le Muséon* 68, 1955, pp. 13-00; O. H. E. Burmester, "The Greek *kîrugmata*. Versicles, Responses and Hymns in the Coptic Liturgy", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 2, 1936, pp. 363-394; Schermann, *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien* (*cit. supra*, n. 10), pp. 167-178.

TEXT

P. Naqlun inv. 10/95　　　13.7 cm x 21.0 cm　　　IXth-XIth century
Site D, room 22　　　Plates I-II

hairside (*recto*)

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     [        ]ⲏⲛⲓ ⲁⲛⲧⲓ ⲧⲁⲅⲓⲁ ⲁ....[
     [        ] . ⲛⲁⲩ ⲁⲣⲉⲡⲓⲇⲓⲁⲕⲟⲛ ⲭⲟⲥ ⲭⲉ [ἐπὶ
     [προσευ]χὴν στάτητε · ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲉ ⲟ[ϩⲓ
     ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ]ⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉϣⲗⲏⲗ .... ⲭ. ·
5    [πρ]ο̣ϲ̣ε̣ύ̣ξαϲθε ⲭⲉ ⲧⲱⲃⲋ̣ · ἅγιος ὁ θ(εό)ϲ
     ⲭⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲫ̄ⲧ̄ · ἅγιος ἰϲχυρόϲ · ⲭⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡ
     ⲉⲧⲭⲟⲟⲣ · ἅγιος ἀθάνατος · ⲭⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡⲉⲧⲁⲧ
     ⲙⲟⲩ · ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι᾽ ἡμᾶς ἐλ[έη]ϲον ἡ-
     μᾶϲ ⲭⲉ ⲫⲏ ⲥⲧ[ⲁ]ⲩⲣⲁ̣ⲥ ⲉⲧⲉϥⲧⲁⲗⲏ ⲛ̄ϩⲏⲧϥ [ⲉⲑ-]
10   ⲃⲉⲧⲉⲛ {ⲛⲛ} ⲛⲁⲓ [ⲛⲁⲛ · στάθη]τε· ἀκο̣ύ̣ϲωμ[ⲉⲛ
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τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγ[ελίου] = ετε φ[αι πε] οϩι
ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ [ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ] ⲉⲡⲓⲉⲩ[ⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟ]ⲛ
ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ = ⟨Κ(ύρι)ε⟩ εὐ[λόγησον ἐκ τοῦ κ]α[τὰ Μᾶ]ρκον
ἁγίου εὐαγγε[λίου τὸ ἀνάγνω]cⲙⲁ = [φ]ϯ [ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ε]

15 ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ [ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲁⲅ]ⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⲉ-
ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲙ[ⲁⲣⲕⲟⲛ = ἀcⲡⲁ𝅘]ⲉⲥⲑⲉ ἀⲗⲗⲏ-
λουc ἐⲛ φυλⲏⲙ[ⲁⲧⲓ ἁⲅⲓ́]ου = ετε φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲁⲣⲓⲁⲥⲡⲁⲍⲉⲥⲑⲉ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣⲏⲟⲩ ϧⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲫⲓ
ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ = προcφέρειν κατὰ τρόπον

20 cτάθητε· εἰ̓c ἀναⲧ]ⲟⲗⲁ̀c βλέψατε· πρόc-
χωμεν · ετε φ[ⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲉⲛ]ⲉⲣⲡⲣⲟⲥⲫⲉⲣⲓⲛ
οϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉⲛ ⲑⲏⲛⲟⲩ[ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓ]ⲣⲏⲧⲉ ⲛⲧⲣⲟⲡⲟⲥ
ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲡⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁ[ⲧ]ⲟⲗⲏ· ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲧ̇ⲉϩⲧⲏⲛ̇
ὁ κύριοc μετὰ πάντων = ετε φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ =

25 ϫⲉ ⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ = κὲ μετὰ τοῦ
πν(εύμ)ατο(c) cου · ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲡ̅ⲛ̅ⲁ̅ =
ἄνω ἡμῶν τὰc καρδίαc· · ετε φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ
ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛ ϥⲁⲓ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϩ[ⲏⲧ] ⲉⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ = blank
ἔχωμεν πρὸc ⟨τὸν⟩ κύρ[ιον =] ετε φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ

30 ⲟⲩⲟⲛⲧⲁⲛ ϩⲁⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ = εὐχαριcτήcωμεν
τῷ κυρίῳ · ετε φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ = ⲙⲁⲣⲉⲛ ϣⲉⲡϩ-
ⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲡⲟ̅ⲥ̅ = ἄξιον κ(αὶ) δίκαιον =
ετε φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ϫⲉ ϥⲉⲙⲡϣⲁ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲟⲩⲇⲓⲕⲉⲟⲛ ⲡⲉ =

Apparatus A (the Greek text):

3 cτάθητε   6 cταυρωθείc   17 φιλήματι ἁγίῳ   25 καί   26 π̅ⲛⲁⲧⲟc   29 ἔχομεν

Apparatus B (the Coptic text):

7 *Qualitativus* ⲭⲟⲟⲣ^S, ⲣ *ex corr.*, ⲭⲟⲣ, ⲭⲟⲣⲓ^B (Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 784a)   9 φⲏ
ⲥⲧ[ⲁ]ⲅⲣⲁⲥ read ⲡⲉⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲁⲥ — see comm.; ετεϥⲧⲁⲗⲏ^F = ⲡⲉⲧⲉϥⲧⲁⲗⲛⲟⲩⲧ^B
— see comm.   22 ⲕⲁⲧⲁ ⲡⲁⲓⲣⲏ†^B   23 ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲧ̇ⲉϩⲧⲏⲛ = ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲧ̇ⲉϩⲧⲏⲛ — see
comm.

fleshside (*verso*)

οἱ κ]ⲁθⲏⲙⲉⲛⲓ̈ ἀνάcτητε = [ετε φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ]
ⲛⲉⲧϩⲉⲙⲥⲓ ⲧⲱⲟⲩⲛⲟⲩ = [*blank*   ]
εἰ̓c ἀνατολὰc βλέψατε = ετε [φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ]
ⲭⲟⲩⲱⲧ ⲉⲡⲥⲁ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲏ = *blank*

5 ἅγιοc, ἅγιοc, ἅγιοc = ετε φⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲭⲟⲩⲁⲃ

ⲭⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲭⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲕ(ύριο)ⲥ ⲥⲁβⲁⲱθ ⲡ̄ⲥ̄ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲟ⁽ᵃ⁾
πλήρης ⟨ὁ⟩ οὐρανὸς ⸗ καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας ⲥ-
ⲟⲩ δόξης ⸗ ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲕⲁⲣⲓ ⲙⲉⲥ ⲉ-
ⲃⲟⲗ ϩⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲕⲉⲱⲟⲩ [ⲉ]ⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ⁽ᵃ⁾ ⸗   blank

10 ⲧ]ὸν θάνατόν σου, ⲕ[ύρι]ⲉ, καταγγέλⲱ⁻ˢⁱᶜ
ⲙⲉⲛ ⲕ]ⲁὶ τὴν [ἁγίαν ⲥⲟ]ⲩ ἀνάⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲛ ⸗
ⲕⲁⲓ [ⲁⲛ]ⲁ[ⲗ]ⲏⲯⲓⲛ ὁμολ]ⲟⲅⲟⲩⲙⲉⲛ ⸗ ⲉⲧⲉ
ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ [ⲧⲉⲛϫⲓⲱⲓϣ ⲉⲙⲡ]ⲉⲕⲙⲟⲩ • ⲛⲉⲙ •
ⲧⲉⲕⲁⲛⲁ[ⲥⲧⲁⲥⲓⲥ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲡ̄ⲥ̄]ⲥ̄ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛⲉⲣ

15 ⲟⲙⲟⲗⲟⲅⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲕⲁⲛⲁⲗⲩⲙⲯⲓⲥ ⸗   blank
ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ πατὲρ ὁ παντοκράτωρ ⸗
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲫ̄ⲧ̄ ⲫⲓⲱⲧ • ⲡⲡⲁⲛⲧⲟⲕⲣⲁⲧⲱⲣ ⸗
ὥσπερ ἰν κέ ἐστιν καὶ [ἔⲥⲧ]ⲁⲓ εἰς γενεὰς
γενεῶν • καὶ εἰς [ⲧ]ⲟὺ[ⲥ ⲥύ]ⲙπαντας ἐῶνας

20 τῶν ἐώνων [⸗] ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⸗
ⲙⲫⲣⲏⲧ ⲉⲧⲁ[ϥϣⲱ]ⲡⲓ ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲛⲑⲟϥ ⲡⲉ
ⲟⲩⲟϩ ϥϣⲟⲡ ⲟⲛ [ⲉ]ⲥ ϫⲓⲛϫⲱⲟⲩ ϣⲁϫⲱⲟⲩ
ⲛⲉⲙ ϣⲁⲉⲛⲉϩ ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲓⲉⲛⲉϩ ϩⲁⲙⲏⲛ ⸗
Σ⟨ὲ⟩ ἐνοῦμεν ⸗ ⲥⲉ̀ εὐλογοῦμεν ⲥⲉ̀ εὐχα-

25 ριⲥⲧῶμεν κύριε • κὲ TOMOCON ὁ θ(εὸ)ⲥ
ἡμῶν ⸗ ⲉⲧⲉ ⲫⲁⲓ [ⲡ]ⲉ ⲧⲉⲛϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ •
ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ [ⲧⲉ]ⲛϣⲉⲡϩⲙⲟⲧ ⲛⲧⲟⲧⲕ
ⲡ̄ⲥ̄ ⲧⲉⲛⲧϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩⲧ ⸗
⸻⸻⸻⸻
†ⲧⲉⲣⲙⲉⲛⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲓⲁⲇⲇ ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲣⲉⲟⲥ ⲉⲑϩⲉⲛ

30 ⲛⲓⲅⲣⲁⲫⲏ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲉⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲓⲟⲛ ⸗

Apparatus A (the Greek text)

1 καθήμενοι 6 ⲕ̄ⲥ̄ 10-11 καταγγέλλομεν 16 πατήρ 18 ἦν καὶ 19 αἰώνας
20 αἰώνων 24 αἰνοῦμεν (or ὑμνοῦμεν?); ⲥⲟⲓ εὐχαριστοῦμεν 25 καὶ δεόμεθά
ⲥⲟⲩ; θ̄ⲥ̄

Apparatus B (the Coptic text)

8 ⲧⲡⲉ *ex corr.* 9 read ⲡⲉⲕⲱⲟⲩ 29 read ⲛⲛⲁⲇⲇ ⲛⲉⲃⲉⲣⲉⲟⲥ

Verso: a. 5-6: Is. 6,3

COMMENTARY

hairside (*recto*)

1-2 The first two lines probably contain the title; its reading is far from being clear but in line 1 we suggest to read: ⲀⲚⲦⲒ †ⲀⲅⲒⲀ ⲗⲓⲧⲟⲩ[ⲣⲅⲓⲁ. The meaning of the preposition ⲀⲚⲦⲒ remains unclear to us. Above line 1 there is a cross showing that at this point a new item begins.

The Coptic text in line 2, [   ] . ⲚⲀⲩ ⲀⲣⲉⲡⲓⲆⲓⲀⲕⲟⲛ ϫⲟⲥ ϫⲉ, "[...] the deacon says it", could suggest that P. Naqlun inv. 10/95 is in fact a *diakonica* ms, but with some priest's biddings included.

3-5 We know of no Coptic translation of the preliminary biddings (ἐπὶ προσευχὴν cτάθητε, προσεύξασθε) preceding the prothesis. The Coptic text in lines 3-4 ϫⲉ ⲟ[ϩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲉ]ⲛ̅ ⲑⲏⲚⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ̣ϣ̄ⲗⲏⲗ is an exact equivalent of Greek ἐπὶ προσευχὴν cτάθητε; we are unable to suggest what filled the rest of line 4.

On the preliminary biddings, see Burmester, "The Greek *kîrugmata*", *OCP* 2, 1936, pp. 366-367.

6-9 In these lines we read one verse of the monophysite Trisagion, with the characteristic addition made by Peter the Fuller (ἅγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ὁ cταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς). The full Coptic form of the Trisagion consists of ten verses of which the first five are in Greek and the rest in Coptic. In order to avoid any confusion, we print here the full Trisagion, as it appears in the Coptic liturgy of today, see, *e.g.*, Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 226; *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, pp. 36-37 and 192).

(verse 1) ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ὁ ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθείς· (2) ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ὁ cταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· (3) ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. (4) δόξα πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πμεύματι. καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν. (5) ἁγία τριὰς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. (6) ⲀⲄⲒⲀ ⲦⲢⲒⲀⲤ ⲈⲗⲈⲎⲤⲟⲚ ⲎⲘⲀⲤ. ⲠⲀⲚⲀⲄⲒⲀ ⲦⲢⲒⲀⲤ ⲈⲗⲈⲎⲤⲟⲚ ⲎⲘⲀⲤ. †ⲦⲢⲒⲀⲤ Ⲉⲑⲩ ⲚⲀⲒ ⲚⲀⲚ (7) ⲡ̅ϭ̅ⲥ ϫⲀ ⲚⲈⲚⲚⲟⲂⲒ ⲚⲀⲚ ⲈⲂⲟⲗ. ⲡ̅ϭ̅ⲥ ϫⲀ ⲚⲈⲚⲀⲚⲟⲘⲒⲀ ⲚⲀⲚ ⲈⲂⲟⲗ. ⲡ̅ϭ̅ⲥ ϫⲀ ⲚⲈⲚⲠⲀⲢⲀⲡⲦⲱⲘⲀ ⲚⲀⲚ ⲈⲂⲟⲗ. (8) ⲡ̅ϭ̅ⲥ ϫⲉⲘⲠϣⲒⲚⲒ Ⲛ̅ⲚⲎⲈⲦϣⲱⲚⲒ Ⲛ̅ⲦⲈ ⲠⲈⲕⲗⲀⲟⲥ. ⲘⲀⲦⲀⲗϭⲟⲩ ⲈⲑⲂⲈ ⲠⲈⲕⲢⲀⲚ Ⲉⲑⲩ. ⲚⲈⲚⲒⲟ† ⲚⲈⲘ ⲚⲈⲚⲤⲚⲎⲟⲩ ⲈⲦⲀⲩⲈⲚⲕⲟⲦ ⲡ̅ϭ̅ⲥ ⲘⲀ̅ⲘⲦⲟⲚ Ⲛ̅ⲚⲟⲩⲯⲩϫⲎ. (9) ⲠⲒⲀⲐⲚⲟⲂⲒ ⲡ̅ϭ̅ⲥ ⲚⲀⲒ ⲚⲀⲚ. ⲠⲒⲀⲐⲚⲟⲂⲒ ⲡ̅ϭ̅ⲥ ⲀⲣⲒⲂⲟⲎⲐⲒⲚ ⲈⲢⲟⲚ. ϣⲈⲡ ⲦⲈⲚ†ϩⲟ ⲈⲢⲟⲕ. ϫⲉ ⲫⲱⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲠⲒⲱⲟⲩ ⲚⲈⲘ ⲠⲒⲀⲘⲀϩⲒ. ⲚⲈⲘ ⲠⲒⲦⲢⲒⲀⲤ ⲀⲄⲒⲟⲤ. (10) ⲕⲉ̅ ⲈⲗⲈⲎⲤⲟⲚ ⲕⲉ̅ ⲈⲗⲈⲎⲤⲟⲚ ⲕⲉ̅ ⲈⲩⲗⲟⲅⲎⲤⲟⲚ. ⲀⲘⲎⲚ.

On the Coptic trisagion see: E. M. Ishaq, "Trisagion" [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, pp. 2278-2279; Yassa Abd el-Masih, "Doxologies in the Coptic Church", *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, 4, 1938, pp. 97-113; texts of different versions of the Trisagion preserved on papyri and ostraca are given by Schermann, *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien* (*cit. supra*, n. 10), pp. 221-228.

In the Naqlun parchment we have only verse 2, but with Coptic translation following it, while the first five lines of the Trisagion are *always* recited in Greek. Similarly, it was the Greek version of the Trisagion which found its way into Coptic liturgical codices.(*cf.* Quecke, *Stundengebet* [*cit. supra*, n. 7], p. 132, n. 84; and p. 300) There exists, however, a Coptic version which, as the Arabic one, covers only the first part of what we have in the Naqlun parchment: ϥΟΥΑΑΒ ̄ΝϬΙ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ (...) ϥΟΥΑΑΒ ̄ΝϬΙ ΠΧШШРΕ (...) ϥΟΥΑΑΒ ̄ΝϬΙ ΠΑΤ-ΜΟΥ ΜΑΥΑΑϥ (*cf.* Quecke, *Stundengebet* [*cit. supra*, n. 7], p. 301, n. 8, where a list of of editions of mss containing the Coptic version of the Trisagion is to be found). See also an homily on Makarios, Bishop of Tkôw attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria ΚΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ... ΚΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΧШШРΕ ... ΚΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΑΤ-ΜΟΥ, where the Coptic text is every time introduced by the phrase ΕΤΕ ΠΑΙ ΠΕ (D. W. Johnson, *A Panegiric on Macarius Bishop of Tkôw attributed to Dioscorus of Alexandria*, [= CSCO, *Scriptores Coptici*, t. 41/415 (*textus*), t. 42/416 (*versio*)], Louvain 1980, M 609, fol. 16ᵛ. *Cf.* Quecke, *Stundengebet* [*cit. supra*, n. 7], p. 302, n. 10).

Unlike in other places, the Coptic text in lines 9-10 has been reconstructed exclusively on the basis of the foregoing Greek text. It should be pointed out that there is no Coptic equivalent of Greek ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶс in the liturgical texts (see Quecke, *Stundengebet* [*cit. supra*, n. 7], pp. 299-304, especially pp. 302-303. *Cf.* also Schermann, *Ägyptische Abendmahlsliturgien* (*cit. supra*, n. 10), pp. 221-224; art.: Trisagion, [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, 2278-2279; Yassa Abd el-Masih, "Doxologies in the Coptic Church", *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*, 4, 1938, pp. 97-113).

For the reconstruction of the Coptic text in lines 9-10, the most important is the verb ΤΑΛΟ in its Fayyumic qualitative ΤΑΛΗ (ΤΑΛΗΟΥΤᴮ). The text, as we print it, should be understood as follows: ΠΕСΤΑΥΡΑС ΠΕ ΠΕΤΕϥΤΑΛΗ (or, as in our text: ΠΕСΤΑΥΡΑС ΕΤΕϥΤΑΛΗ) ΝϿΗΤϥ ΕΘΒΗΤΕΝ. The text, as it was written on our parchment, has some peculiarities and mistakes. The preposition ΕΘΒΗΤΕΝ was written with an *epsilon* instead of an *eta* (ΕΘΒΕΤΕΝ). In Bohairic, the demonstrative pronoun ΦΗ should be followed by the relative pronoun ΕΤ-, ΕΤΕ-. But together with the verb ΤΑΛΗᶠ (ΤΑΛΗΟΥΤᴮ) we might suggest to restore either the nominal sentence ΠΕСΤΑΥΡΑС ΠΕ or the cleft sentence ΠΕСΤΑΥΡΑС ΕΤΕϥΤΑΛΗ; the latter seems to be more probable, as far as the traces on the parchment are concerned. The syntax so reconstructed has no exact parallel; we can, however, quote some analogies: ΑΥΕΡСΤΑΥΡШΝΙΝ ̄ΜΜΟϥ ΕϿΡΗΙ ΕΧШΝ (Lit. Bas., see *Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 262); ΑΥΑШϥ ϿΙ-ΧΕΝ ΠΙСΤΑΥΡΟС ΕΘΒΗΤΕΝ (see *Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 107); ΑΥΕΡС-ΡΟῩ ̄ΜΜΟϥ ϿΑΡΟΝ (see Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 88b; O. von Lemm, *Der Alexanderroman bei den Kopten*, St. Petersbourg 1903, pp. 27-29); ΠШΕ ΕΤΟΥΑΑΒ ΠΕ ˢⁱᶜ ΕΠΕ-СΤ(ΑΥΡ)ΟС ΠΕΝΤΑΠΕΝСШΡ ΑΛΕ ΕΡΟϥ (H. Junker, *Koptische Poesie des 10.*

Jhs., Hildesheim – New York 1977, p. 168). See also Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 4a; 408a-b.

We cannot offer any explanation for ⲚⲚ in line 10.

In line 7 there appears qualitative ⲭⲟⲟⲣ, one of two Sahidic forms in our text. See *Pap. Bod.* VI (dialekt Po), R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum* (= *Bibliothèque d'Études Coptes*, t. VII), Le Caire 1964, p. 784a.

In line 9 we read ⲥⲧ[ⲁ]ⲩⲣⲁⲥ, as a Bohairic form of the noun ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ (*cf.* A. Mellon, *Grammaire copte*, "Chrestomathie", p. 211). It should be, however, added that in most of the Bohairic mss. the form ⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ appears (*cf.* R. Kasser, "Vocabulary, Copto-Greek" [in:] *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, vol. VIII, New York 1991, pp. 221-222).

10-16 These lines contain two deacon's biddings, one before the Scripture readings and the latter after them. The Greek text in line 13 should read Κ(ύρι)ε εὐλό-γησον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν δεῖνα ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου τὸ ἀνάγνωσμα, while in our parchment Κ(ύρι)ε is lacking. < Κύριε > εὐλόγησον; *cf.* Greek Lit. Mark, Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 119.

Among the evangelists' names, Mark is the only one which fits the traces both in line 13 and 16.

At the end of line 14 we supplemented [ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉ] which is necessary for under-standing the Coptic text, although the lacuna seems to be too narrow.

10-11 *Cf.* Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 232; *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, p. 74) where στάθητε μετὰ φόβου appears.

13-14 *Cf.* Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 232-233; *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, p. 74).

15 It is interesting that as a Coptic equivalent of Greek ἀνάγνωσμα the noun ⲟⲩⲁⲛⲁⲅⲛⲱⲥⲓⲥ appears.

16-19 In these lines the peace bidding appears in a form which is very close to the original New Testament text. The only difference is the use of praesens imperative ἀσπάζεσθε instead of aorist ἀσπάσασθε. This reading is not obvious but is confirmed by the Coptic version. This formula, appearing commonly in Coptic liturgies, never appears in aorist (see Cuming, *The Liturgy of St. Mark* [*cit. supra*, n. 12], pp. 102-103).

16-18 *Cf.* Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 277); the Coptic translation on p. 291.

18 The abbreviation ⲥⲉⲛ ⲟⲩⲫⲓ, from Greek ἐν φιλήματι, commonly appears, *e.g.*, in Tuki, *Missale copticum* and in the *Euchologium Alexandrinum*. See also E. Hammerschmidt, *Die koptische Gregoriosanaphora*, p. 16.

19-34 Directly after the Peace, there comes προσφέρειν κατὰ τρόπον στάθητε, εἰς ἀνατολὰς βλήψατε· πρόσχωμεν (lines 19-23). This is the deacon's bidding which ends the Great Entrance rites and constitutes an introduction to the ana-

phora. And indeed, the anaphora begins with the preliminary dialogue of the priest and the people (lines 24-34). On this fragment of liturgy, see Cuming, *The Liturgy of St. Mark* (*cit. supra*, n. 12), p. 105; see also Burmester, "The Greek *kîrugmata*", *OCP* 2, 1936, p. 375. In the Coptic mss. the preliminaries to the anaphora always in Greek; this is the first Coptic translation known to us.

προσφέρειν in line 19 mis-spelled, or is our reading influenced by what remains of *textus prior*? We are not able to suggest another reading. It is interesting to note that the verb having Greek ending -ειν in the Coptic text was written with -ιν.

19-21 *Cf.* Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 288; *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, p. 224) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 583); in both στάθητε κατὰ τρόμου.

23-32 *Cf.* Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 285-286; *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, pp. 225-226) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 584).

23 Instead of Praes. I τεντεϩτην we should expect here the conjuctive ντεντεϩτην.

At the end of the line the sign ⸗, everywhere else employed to indicate the switching from Greek to Coptic, used unproperly.

27-28 επενιωτ is an addition in respect to what is given in the Greek text.

fleshside (*verso*)

1-9 The text on the *verso* starts with the deacon's biddings (lines 1-4) followed by the Sanctus with a doxology πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας cου δόξης (lines 5-9). These three biddings constitute a part of the *Ordo communis* and are an introduction to the Sanctus, see Lit. Bas., Lit. Greg., Lit. Cyr., Tuki, *Missale copticum*; *Diak.*, 1951, Burmester, "The Greek *kîrugmata*", *OCP* 2, 1936, p. 375. See also the Greek and Coptic versions in Borg. Copt. 109/105, f⁰ 3v, f⁰ 4v: ⲟⲓ ⲕⲁⲑⲏⲙⲉⲛⲟⲓ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲑⲉ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲁⲥ ⲃⲗⲉⲯⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲭⲱⲙⲉⲛ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲉⲧϩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲧⲟⲩⲛⲑⲏⲩⲧⲛ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟ̅ϣⲱⲧ ⲉⲙⲙⲁⲛⲱⲁ ⲙⲁⲣⲛϯϩⲧⲏⲛ; Paris Nat. Copt 129/20, f⁰ 139r-v: ⲉⲓ ⲕⲁⲑⲙⲉⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲛⲁⲥⲑⲏⲧⲁⲓ ⲉⲓⲥ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲟⲗⲁⲥ ⲃⲗⲉⲯⲁⲧⲁⲓ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲛⲟ̅ϣⲱⲧ ⲉⲙⲙⲁ⟨ⲛⲱⲁ⟩ ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲭⲟⲙⲉⲛ ⲙⲁⲣⲛϯϩⲧⲏⲛ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲕ̅ⲥ̅ ⲕ̅ⲥ̅ ⲥⲁⲃⲁⲱⲑ. R. G. Coquin, "Concélébration eucharistique", *Le Muséon* 80, 1967, 40f. The third deacon's bidding, ⲡⲣⲟⲥⲭⲱⲙⲉⲛ appears directly before the Sanctus. The Naqlun parchment, similarly to other Egyptian anaphorae, recalls the Biblical Sanctus (Is. 6,3). It does not have, however, an additional phrase πλήρωσον καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν which is characteristic for anaphorae of earlier date (Anaphora of Sarapion of Thmuis, see M. E. Johnson, *The Prayers of Sarapion of Thmuis* (= *OCA* 249), Roma 1995, p. 46; Anaphora from Deir el-Balyzeh, see C. H. Roberts, B. Capelle, *An early Euchologium. The Dêr-Balizeh papyrus enlarged and reedited* (= *Biblio-*

thèque du Muséon, 23), Louvain 1949, 24; Greek Lit. Mark, see Cuming, *The Liturgy of St. Mark* [*cit. supra*, n. 12], 37-39; Coptic Lit. Mark, see Brightman, *Liturgies*, pp. 175-176; and Sahidic fragment of the Anaphora of Thomas (Paris Nat. Copt. 129 f° 81-82), ed. K. Zentgraf, "Eucharistische Textfragmente einer koptisch-saidischen Handschrift", [in:] *Oriens Christianus* 42, 1958, pp. 44-49, esp. 46-47).

Line 1, *cf.* Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 288; *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, p. 227) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 617).

Line 3, *cf.* Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 288; *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, p. 227) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 618).

Lines 5-9, *cf.* Lit. Bas. where the Sanctus is repeated four times (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 291, 292, 294, 295; *Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil*, p. 228) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 620). The Coptic translation: Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 291), where, instead of πεκεωογ (*sic*) [ε]θογλΒ, πεκωογ Νεμ πεκτλιο appears; see also Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 621).

10-16 People's prayer of the Anamnesis. For the Greek version, see Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 307) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 629). For the Coptic ones, see Lit. Mark, Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 307); Lit. Greg. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 499) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 629), as well as an euchologion from Deir el-Balyzeh (*cf.* R.-G. Coquin, "L'anaphora alexandrine de Saint Marc", *Le Muséon* 82, 1969, pp. 337-341; Burmester, The Greek *kîrugmata*", *OCP* 2, 1936, p. 377, n. 5). See also ms Paris Nat. Copt 129/20, f° 139r-v (quoted in R. G. Coquin, "Concélébration eucharistique", *Le Muséon* 80, 1967, pp. 40f41). The lacuna in line 13 supplemented [τεΝϩιωιϣ εμπ]εκμογ • Νεμ • / τεκλΝλ[ϲτλϲιϲ εθογλΒ πϭ]ϲ̄ followed by (lines 14-15): ογοϩ τεΝερ/ομολογιΝ Ντεκλνλ-λγμψιϲ; the unknown Coptic translator, however, should have given both these verbs in Fut. III as *modus precativus*, i.e.: ερετεΝεϩιωιϣ. ... (*cf.* A. Mallon, *Grammaire copte*, Beyrouth, repr. 1956, 105). In other Bohairic versions, an additional ε is lacking, *cf.* ερετεΝϩιωιϣ, ερετεΝερομολογιΝ w Lit. Bas., Lit. Greg., Lit. Cyr., Tuki, *Missale copticum*; R.-G. Coquin, *Le Muséon* 82, 1969, p. 340, n. 75.

Lines 13-15, *cf.* Lit. Bas., Lit. Greg., Lit. Cyr., Tuki, *Missale copticum*: ερετεΝϩιωιϣ μπλμογ, ερετεΝερομολογιΝ Ντλλνλϲτλϲιϲ, ερετεΝιρι μπλμεγι ϣλϯ.

Line 16, *cf.* Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 319) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 633).

16-28 The doxology ϲὲ ὑμνοῦμεν, which is a part of the Anamnesis according to the Liturgy of St. Mark and the Coptic liturgies of St. Cyril and St. Basilios, in the Naqlun text comes at the very end (lines 24-28); and this seems to be the most

important peculiarity of the Naqlun *liturgica*. Between the Anamnesis and the ϲὲ ὑμνοῦμεν prayer, there appear two more elements belonging to the final stage of the anaphora, the second epiclesis and the final doxology (lines 16-23); see Burmester, "The Greek *kîrugmata*", *OCP* 2, 1936, pp. 378 and 381; Lit. Bas., Lit. Greg., Lit. Cyr., Tuki, *Missale copticum*.

18-20   For the Greek version, see Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 339) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 638).

24-28   For the Greek version, see Lit. Bas. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 307); Lit. Greg. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 499) and Lit. Cyr. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 629); for the Coptic one, see Lit. Greg. (*Euchologium Alexandrinum*, p. 501); Lit. Bas., Tuki, *Missale copticum*: ⲧⲉⲛϩⲱⲥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ, ⲧⲉⲛⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ, ⲧⲉⲛϣⲉⲙϣⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ, ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲱϣⲧ ⲙⲙⲟⲕ [...] ⲟⲩⲟϩ ⲧⲉⲛϯϩⲟ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲡⲭ̅ⲥ ⲡⲉⲛⲛⲟⲩϯ.

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