

P.MICH. INV. 4461KR: THE EARLIEST  
FRAGMENT OF THE *DIDASCALIA CCCXVIII*  
*PATRUM NICAENORUM*

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**Abstract**

This article presents an edition of a previously unpublished literary papyrus in the University of Michigan collection that preserves a section from a text typically known by the designation *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum* (CPG 2298). The papyrus, which appears to date to the fifth century AD, is important because it is only known ancient Greek witness to this treatise and attests a previously unknown textual variant.

P.MICH. inv. 4461kr is a rectangular papyrus fragment that measures 13.7 cm × 7.5 cm (H × W) and contains eleven partial lines of Greek text. (See Fig. 1.) While it appears rather unremarkable given its fragmentary state, it is nonetheless noteworthy.<sup>1</sup> The extant text on the papyrus contains the partial remains of a work that is typically known by the designation *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum*.<sup>2</sup> This piece is important not only because it is the earliest witness to this treatise and the only ancient Greek fragment to survive, but also because it contains a previously unattested textual variant. Furthermore, given the early date of this fragment—perhaps the fifth century AD—combined with its layout on the papyrus it potentially has implications for the provenance of the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum* as well as its redactional history.

<sup>1</sup> Regrettably, next to nothing is known about its acquisition by the University of Michigan as neither H. I. Bell, who wrote most of the acquisition reports for the Michigan collection between the years 1920 and 1926, nor Herbert Youtie, who worked on the collection from 1929 to 1975, gives any details regarding the piece. Furthermore, while the provenance of the piece is Egypt there are no details regarding where in Egypt it may have emanated; however, given that a number of the pieces in the Michigan collection come from one of four locations (Soknopaiou Nesos; Karanis; Tebtynis; Oxyrhynchus) it may be that this piece might have also come from one of these places.

<sup>2</sup> CPG 2298 = BHG 1431q; cf. CPG 2264 = BHG 1445s.

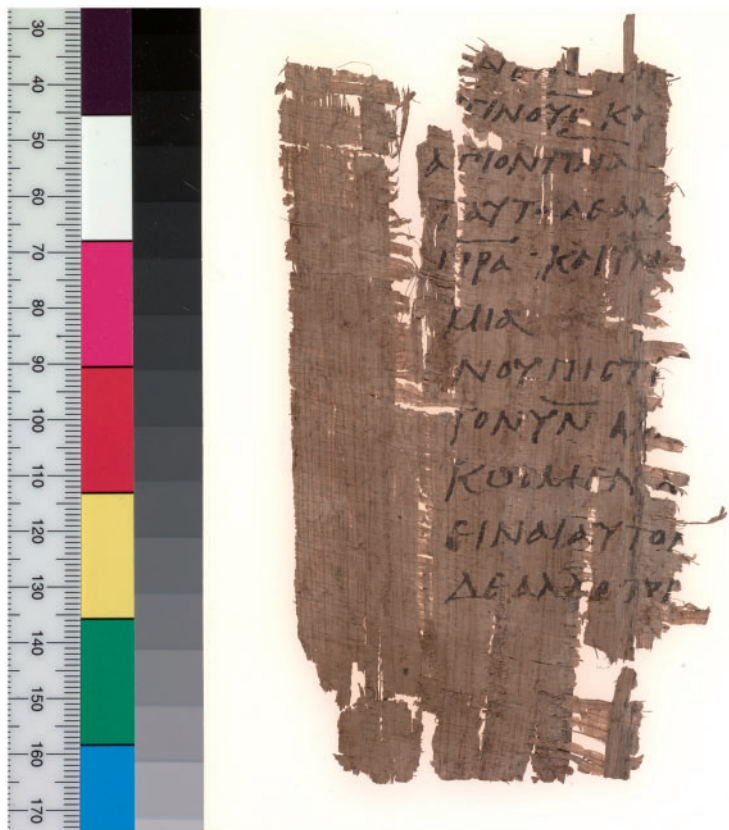


Fig. 1. P.Mich. inv. 4461kr

In order to contextualize the significance of the present fragment it is worthwhile to begin by briefly setting forth the rather convoluted textual history of the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum*, since it exists in numerous linguistic recensions and has been attributed—both in the manuscript evidence and in modern scholarship—to various authors.<sup>3</sup> The *Didascalia*

<sup>3</sup> For a useful overview of the history of this text see also M. Kohlbacher, 'Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism: Editions in Progress', in S. Emmel *et al.* (eds.), *Ägypten und Nubien in spätantiker und christlicher Zeit: Akten des 6. Internationalen Koptologenkongresses Münster, 20.–26. Juli 1996*. Band 2: *Schrifttum, Sprache und Gedankenwelt* (Wiesbaden, 1999), pp. 145–54; C. Butterweck, *Athanasius von Alexandria: Bibliographie* (Wiesbaden, 2013), pp. 65–6.

*CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum* is a tripartite work. The first section, often referred to as the *Ekthesis*, but sometimes called the *Fides Nicaena* or the *Fides CCCXVIII Patrum*, contains in a profession of faith the Nicene Creed along with a damning commentary on the theologies of the Sabellians, Photinians, anthropomorphites, and Arians. The second section summarizes a long series of monastic morals and rules and is variously referred to as the *Didascalia*, the *Syntagma Doctrinae*, or the *Syntagma ad Monachos*. The third section, which only appears in some manuscripts, essentially functions as an appendix to the second section and contains some instructions for priests. While there is some overarching relationship between all three sections, especially sections 2 and 3, the fact that some manuscripts include only one or another section has given rise to the belief that the different parts of the treatise may originally have been composed independently before they were brought together into a unified tripartite document.<sup>4</sup>

The second section of the treatise, which I will usually refer to simply as the *Didascalia*, was first published in 1685 by André Arnold from a Greek manuscript of the eleventh century; Arnold published the piece under the name of Athanasius of Alexandria since the manuscript to which the text belonged attributed the work to Athanasius in the title.<sup>5</sup> But only a few years later Bernard de Montfaucon questioned Athanasian authorship and in his 1689 *Opera omnia* of Athanasius placed it among his spurious writings.<sup>6</sup> The treatise would remain untouched for almost the next one hundred years until 1784, when Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli published a different recension of the treatise from a twelfth- or thirteenth-century Greek manuscript from Bologna that contained all three sections.<sup>7</sup> In this manuscript the treatise is self-described in the incipit as follows: 'Faith of the 318 holy Fathers, holy bearers of God, present at Nicaea, and truly admirable and saving teaching concerning the Holy Trinity'.<sup>8</sup> About a

<sup>4</sup> Kohlbacher, 'Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism', p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> *S. Athanasii Archiep. Alex. Syntagma Doctrinae ad Clericos et Laicos ...* (Paris, 1685) (CPG 2264). 'Quid sit quare syntagma nostrum S. Athanasii esse nequeat nondum perspicio' (preface, unpaginated).

<sup>6</sup> *S. Athanasii Opera omnia* (Paris, 1689), vol. 3, pp. 360–4. Montfaucon believed (correctly) that the text contained post-Athanasian vocabulary.

<sup>7</sup> *Graeci codices manuscripti apud Nanius patricios Venetis asservati* (Bologna, 1784).

<sup>8</sup> Πίστις τῶν ἁγίων τριακοσίων δέκα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἁγίων θεοφόρων Πατέρων τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ· καὶ διδασκαλία πάνυ θαυμαστὴ καὶ σωτήριος περὶ τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος (PG 28, col. 1637).

quarter of a century later, in 1810, Georgio Zoega published some Coptic fragments of the treatise from a tenth-century (?) manuscript in the Borgia Museum at Rome.<sup>9</sup> Then, in 1875 Eugene Revillout published a second Coptic manuscript from Turin, of the eighth century (?), that contained fragments of the treatise, and went on to argue that not only was Athanasius the original author but that the treatise formed part of the Acts of the Council of Alexandria in 362.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> G. Zoega, *Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris Adservantur* (Rome, 1810 repr. Leipzig, 1903), no. 159 (pp. 246–7; *Ekthesis*) and no. 239 (pp. 573–7; *Didascalía*). Zoega did not attempt to identify the fragments and was seemingly unaware that they belonged to the same treatise that had been published earlier by Mingarelli. Cf. J.-M. Saugey, 'Introduction historique et notes bibliographiques au catalogue de Zoega', *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), pp. 49–50, 59; T. Orlandi, 'Un Projet milanais concernant les manuscrits coptes du Monastère Blanc', *Le Muséon* 85 (1972), p. 411. Corrections to the text of Zoega were offered by M. Lenormant, 'Mémoire aux fragments du premier concile de Nicée conservés dans la version copte', *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 19.2 (1853), pp. 202–65; cf. M. Lenormant, 'De Fragmentis Primi Concilii Nicaeni', in J.-B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1852), pp. 509–36.

<sup>10</sup> E. Revillout, 'Le Concile de Nicée d'après les textes coptes et les diverses collections canoniques: Seconde série de documents, suivie d'une dissertation critique sur l'œuvre du concile promulgateur d'Alexandrie et ses conséquences historiques', *JA* 7.5 (1875), pp. 219–56, where the Borgia MS and the Turin MS are printed in parallel. A. Eichhorn, *Athanasii de vita ascetica testimonia collecta* (Diss. Theol. Halle, 1886), p. 15–27, fully endorsed this view; cf. A. Eichhorn, review of P. Batiffol, *Didascalía CCCXVIII Patrum pseudepigrapha* (see below, n. 12), *TLZ* 24 (1887), pp. 570–1. Revillout connected the text with the Council of Alexandria in part because in the Turin manuscript there is a synodical letter from the council with a subscription attributed to Paulinus, bishop of Antioch. See G. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli: Edizione critica* (Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose, 2; Rome: Herder, 1967), pp. 53–4.

The Turin MS is particularly noteworthy because aside from the present fragment it is the oldest witness to this treatise. Kohlbacher, 'Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism', p. 148 notes that 'the Turin ms. (eighth century?) preserved more truly the old version, probably translated in the fifth–sixth centuries'. A re-edition of the Turin manuscript was issued by Francesco Rossi in 1889: *I papiri copti del Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin, 1889), 1.2, pp. 61–8 and 1.5, pp. 9–20. German translations of the Borgia MS and the Turin MS are available in F. Haase, *Die koptischen Quellen zum Konzil von Nicäa übersetzt und untersucht* (Paderborn, 1920), pp. 31–44 (*Ekthesis* of the Turin MS) and pp. 44–7 (*Ekthesis* and *Didascalía* of the Borgia MS). A later Coptic version of this treatise is preserved in the Synodicon of the White Monastery that is dated to 1003 but is clearly a later recension with numerous interpolations. See R.-G. Coquin, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte* (Paris, 1966), pp. 40–5; A. van Lantschoot, *Recueil des colophons des manuscrits chrétiens d'Égypte*, vol. 1: *Les Colophons coptes des manuscrits sahidiques* (1929; repr. Louvain, 1973), pp. 116–17 (no. 70).

Meanwhile, in 1857, both the *Ekthesis* and the *Didascalía* were published in the twenty-eighth volume of *Patrologia graeca* by J.-P. Migne. The text of Arnold was published under the 'spuria' of the works of Athanasius (PG 28, cols. 836–45) under the title *Syntagma Doctrinae* and the text of Mingarelli was published in the 'addenda' of the works of Athanasius (PG 28, cols. 1637–44) but was left untitled.<sup>11</sup> Then, in 1887, Pierre Batiffol published a new edition of the treatise (both the *Ekthesis* and the *Didascalía* together) under the title *Didascalía CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum*, which subsequently became the most common designation, and then in a subsequent study, published in 1890, effectively disposed of Revillout's hypothesis by demonstrating that there was insufficient evidence to support Athanasian authorship or to prove that the treatise emanated from the Council of Alexandria in 362.<sup>12</sup> Batiffol did, however, show that the *Ekthesis* portion of the treatise reflected theological controversies from the last quarter of the fourth century and pointed out that it contained some definite parallels with a symbol given in Epiphanius' *Ancoratus* 119.3–12, though he did not go so far as to argue that Epiphanius was necessarily the author.<sup>13</sup>

Amidst this flurry of scholarship at the end of the nineteenth century an Armenian version was discovered in a collection of works that were attributed to Evagrius of Pontus,<sup>14</sup> and a short

<sup>11</sup> The two versions of the *Syntagma Doctrinae* differ in various ways. The impression therefore given by PG is that the same text was written by two different pseudonymous authors, and the confusion is further compounded since CPG lists the text under three different numbers: 2264 (PG 28, cols. 836–45), 2298 (PG 28, cols. 1637–44), and also 2346 (see below, n. 17).

<sup>12</sup> *Didascalía CCCXVIII Patrum pseudepigrapha e grecis codicibus recensuit Petrus Batiffol, cooptico contulit H. Hyvernat* (Paris, 1887), 23 pp. Batiffol relied on three MSS that he identifies as follows: (P.) Parsinus gr. 1087 (XIV cent.); (M.) Marcianus 498 (XIV cent.); (R.) Regius = Parisinus gr. 1053 (X cent.). Cf. P. Batiffol, 'Canones Nicaeni Pseudepigraphi', *RAR* 3, ser. 6 (1885), pp. 134–41; P. Batiffol, 'Le Syntagma Doctrinae dit de saint Athanase', in *Studia Patristica: Études d'ancienne littérature chrétienne*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1890), pp. 117–60.

<sup>13</sup> Batiffol, 'Le Syntagma Doctrinae', pp. 135–8. As a result, Batiffol assigned the text to a date c. AD 374–81. Kohlbacher, 'Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism', p. 150 suggests that while the *Ekthesis* should probably not be regarded as a lost work of Epiphanius, it could well be a work of one of his close associates.

<sup>14</sup> J. Categrian, *De fidei symbolo quo Armenii utuntur observationes* (Vienna, 1893); B. Sarghissian, *Sancti Patris Evagrii Pontici vita et scripta* (written in Armenian; Venice, 1907), pp. 131–41. Cf. J. Muyldermans, 'Une recension arménienne du Syntagma doctrinae', *Handes Amsorya* 41 (1927), pp. 687–700, notes that the attribution to Evagrius in the Armenian is probably a secondary addition; he also notes (p. 700) that the Armenian translation could have been

time later an Arabic version was also identified.<sup>15</sup> Additionally, other Greek manuscripts came to light, some of them imputing authorship to Basil.<sup>16</sup> In 1942 G. Garitte published a letter that he had found in a fourteenth-century manuscript from Nuremberg that purported to be authored by St Anthony himself; it contained a number of significant textual parallels to the *Didascalia*, which temporarily gave rise to the belief that St Anthony might potentially be the ultimate source of the treatise.<sup>17</sup> In the early 1980s yet another Greek recension of the text was identified in a thirteenth-century manuscript in Paris and resulted in the publication of the most recent critical edition of the Greek text.<sup>18</sup> More recently, the first Ethiopic version of the treatise was published in 2004 from two medieval Ethiopic manuscripts.<sup>19</sup>

To sum up the evidence, the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum* is known in various recensions in Greek, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Arabic (but not in Latin or Syriac), and is variously attributed to Antony, Athanasius, Basil, Evagrius of Pontus, and even Epiphanius.<sup>20</sup> Though there are many theories

made as early as the fifth century. See also A. Avagyan, *Die armenische Athanasius-Überlieferung: Das auf Armenisch unter dem Namen des Athanasius von Alexandria tradierte Schrifttum* (Berlin, 2014), pp. 84–5.

<sup>15</sup> W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandria zusammengestellt und zum Teil übersetzt* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 38–9 offers a brief description of the Arabic; cf. Kohlbacher, ‘Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism’, pp. 148–9, who concisely summarizes the Arabic evidence and notes that the Arabic version ‘is as yet unpublished’.

<sup>16</sup> For a list of the Greek MSS and attribution to Basil see Kohlbacher, ‘Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism’, pp. 146–7. G. L. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche* (3rd edn.; Breslau: Morgenstern, 1897), p. 308, n. 367 noted that in one manuscript the text is attributed: τοῦ μεγάλου Βασιλείου.

<sup>17</sup> G. Garitte, ‘Une lettre grecque attribuée à S. Antoine’, *Le Muséon* 55 (1942), pp. 97–123 (*Epistula ad monachos*, CPG 2346); Garitte argued that the letter of St Anthony probably predated both the *Syntagma* and the larger *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum* (pp. 120–1).

<sup>18</sup> R. Riedinger and H. Thurn, ‘Die Didascalia CCCXVIII patrum nicaenorum und das Syntagma ad monachos im Codex parisinus graecus 1115 (a. 1276)’, *ʒÖByz* 35 (1985), pp. 75–92.

<sup>19</sup> Alessandro Bausi, ‘La versione etiopica della *Didascalia dei 318 niceni* sulla retta fede e la vita monastica’, in Ugo Zanetti and Enzo Lucchesi (eds.), *Aegyptus christiana: Mélanges d’hagiographie égyptienne et orientale dédiés à la mémoire du p. Paul Devos bollandiste* (Geneva: P. Cramer, 2004), pp. 225–48.

<sup>20</sup> In a Syriac florilegium of the late sixth century a passage from the *Ekthesis* is quoted as ‘Of Epiphanius of Cyprus from a letter to the Emperor Theodosius’; see A. van Roey, ‘Un traité cononite contre le doctrine de Jean Philopon sur la resurrection’, in *ANTIΛΩPON I – Hommage à Maurits Geerard*

about the text, its origin, date, and authorship, a few points seem to be generally agreed upon: (1) the text was originally composed in Greek; (2) there is good reason to believe it emanated from Egypt;<sup>21</sup> and (3) whatever the date of the text (or the constituent parts of the text) the *terminus ante quem* appears to be c.435/36, when it is cited by the Armenian *catholicos* Sahak (Isaac).<sup>22</sup>

Turning now to the fragment itself, it contains a portion of the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum* that belongs to the first section, or the *Ekthesis*, a portion that begins near the start of the condemnation of the theology of the Sabellians and ends part-way through the condemnation of the theology of the Photinians. The fragment preserves the left and bottom margins of a page and the text is written along the fibres with dark brown ink in a rather professional hand that may be noted for its regularity;<sup>23</sup> five *nomina sacra* occur and are all contracted using standard forms.<sup>24</sup> Since the extant portion appears to follow the text of the *Ekthesis* closely, it seems that the lines on the page would probably have averaged around 40 letters and thus, assuming the right margin of the papyrus was equal to the left margin of 2.7 cm, the page to which this fragment originally belonged may have been about 23 cm in width. The writing may be described as a sloping uncial script that has a slight rightward tilt and is written with rounded

*pour célébrer l'achèvement de la Clavis patrum graecorum* (Wetteren: Cultura, 1984), p. 131; Kohlbacher, 'Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism', p. 150.

<sup>21</sup> Kohlbacher, 'Minor Texts for a History of Asceticism', p. 151; L. Dattrino, 'FIDES NICAENA', in A. Di Berardino (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (Cambridge, 1992), vol. 1, p. 323.

<sup>22</sup> Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli*, pp. 56–65 concisely summarizes the evidence for the date of the text, taking c.435/36 as the *terminus ante quem*. At this time the Armenian *catholicos* Sahak (Isaac) sent Proclus of Constantinople a letter in which he informed him that Armenia was true to the faith. As part of the letter Sahak quotes various formulae taken directly from the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum*. On this letter and the quotations of the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum* see also K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London: SPCK, 1966), pp. 125–8.

While it has been argued that the *terminus ante quem* is an allusion made to the *Didascalia* in the last chapter of Epiphanius' *Panarion* (*De Fide* 21–4), which was composed c.380, after the completion of the *Ancoratus* c.374–7, the parallels are not very persuasive. For a synopsis of the parallels see Batiffol, 'Le Syntagma Doctrinae', pp. 139–42; Haase, *Die koptischen Quellen*, p. 106, n. 1 finds the parallels wanting.

<sup>23</sup> The left margin of the text is uniform and spaced 2.7 cm from the left margin of the papyrus, and the bottom margin is 3.4 cm from the bottom margin of the papyrus. There are no ligatures in the text and the average line height is .95 cm and the average letter width is .45 cm.

<sup>24</sup> In ll. 1 and 5 π(ατέ)ρα; l. 2 υ(ιό)ς and ll. 5 and 8 υ(ιό)ν; l. 3 πν(εῦμ)α.



letter forms: lunate-style epsilon (ε instead of E) and mu (μ instead of M) and a two-stroke alpha (Λ instead of A); the gamma is written with a prominent hook on the right tip of the horizontal top stroke (Γ instead of Γ).<sup>25</sup> On palaeographic grounds the closest parallels to the script exist in texts dated to the late fourth or fifth century: P.Oxy. XVIII 2157 (β<sup>51</sup>; IV/V AD; fragment of Galatians); P.Oxy. XII 1373 (mid-V AD; fragments of Aristophanes's *Peace* and *Knights*); and the Cairo Menander fragments (last half V AD).<sup>26</sup> In the light of these parallels a fifth-century date for this fragment appears most likely, although given the small amount of extant text upon which to base this palaeographic analysis a sixth-century date could not be completely ruled out.

The back of the fragment does not contain any text and this is rather curious because the front preserves a section that occurs near the beginning of the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum*; even if the papyrus only contained the *Ekthesis* it would still require multiple pages and so the lack of text on the reverse of the fragment is puzzling. One possibility might be that the fragment belonged to a roll; however, rolls appear to have largely fallen out of use by the fifth century AD and one would expect a larger left margin if this fragment occupied the first column of a roll. Another possibility might be that the fragment comes from a single sheet that did not contain the entire treatise but only a section, or even a shorter recension of the *Ekthesis* than is presently known. If the manuscript only contained a section of the treatise, it is possible that the last extant line of text could represent the last line of the section since there is a natural sense division that immediately follows where the text breaks off.<sup>27</sup> Alternatively, if the text continued onto the back of the page so that the entire section against Photinus (or additional material) was once present it may be lost because it occupied only the upper half of the back, whereas only the bottom portion of the page is preserved.<sup>28</sup> Finally, if this fragment originally belonged to a codex, it could have come from the left-hand page of a folium, so

<sup>25</sup> The prominent hook on the gamma tends to appear in documents of the late fourth and fifth century: cf. G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800* (London: University of London), p. 38, no. 15a (Freer Gospels; fourth or fifth century); B. M. Metzger, *Manuscripts of the Greek Bible: An Introduction to Greek Palaeography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 90, no. 19a (Codex Bezae; fifth century).

<sup>26</sup> Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pp. 40–1, no. 16b.

<sup>27</sup> See below, the note to l. 11 of the transcription.

<sup>28</sup> Here it is worth noting that in the Turin Coptic manuscript the *Ekthesis* only contains the Nicene Creed, a terse statement about the 318 Fathers, the



that the following text would not have appeared on the reverse but would have been written either on another folium or perhaps the right-hand page of the same folium, if it was the middle folium of a quire. The blank page could therefore have been intentional, possibly signalling a new text—if this treatise was written in a codex with multiple treatises—or perhaps could have been the outer cover. Thus, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about what followed or even the overall length of the text based on this fragment alone.

Turning to what may have preceded the extant text on the fragment, it may be noted that if it once included everything from the beginning of the *Ekthesis*—the Nicene Creed, the statement about the 318 Fathers, and the preceding portion of the condemnation of Sabellius<sup>29</sup>—it would have required about 21 lines of preceding text assuming about 40 letters per line and contraction of typical *nomina sacra*. This would add nearly 20 cm to the height of the fragment based on the current line height of .95 cm. Depending on the height of the upper margin the sheet to which this fragment may have once belonged could have measured anywhere from 34 to 40 cm in height.<sup>30</sup> Though a sheet measuring somewhere between 34 to 40 cm in height by roughly 23 cm in width seems rather large, there are a number of close parallels to these dimensions in codices from the fifth and sixth centuries.<sup>31</sup>

Looking at the text itself, as noted previously it appears that it follows the *Ekthesis* with some regularity; however, in l. 6 of the fragment there is a definite discrepancy that suggests some sort of previously unattested reading. In l. 6 there are only three extant letters on the line,  $\mu\alpha$ , followed by a blank space on the papyrus that extends to the beginning of the lacuna to the right. While the blank section could have resulted from incidental damage causing

condemnation of Sabellius, and a condemnation of Photinus that is shorter than the Greek version of the condemnation.

<sup>29</sup> The Ethiopic version differs from the Greek and Coptic versions in that it lacks the Nicene Creed at the start of the *Ekthesis* and after the introduction proceeds directly to the anathemas against Sabellius and Photinus. See Bausi, 'La versione etiopica della *Didascalia*', p. 228 (Ethiopic text) and p. 239 (Italian translation).

<sup>30</sup> E. G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), p. 25 gives a 3:2 ratio for lower and upper margins in Roman and Byzantine codices. Using this ratio a lower margin of 3.4 cm would result in an upper margin of about 2.3.

<sup>31</sup> A sheet this size would fit within Turner's 'Groups 1: The largest Sizes' (*The Typology of the Early Codex*, pp. 14–15) with the closest parallels being BKT v, ii, 99 (VI) (37/6 × 25 [h × w]); PSI XIII 1299 (VI) (35 × 24 [h × w]); Homer and Milan Ambrosiana of Josephus (VI) (34 × 24 [h × w]).

the effacement of the text, this seems unlikely in the light of the condition of the surrounding text that shows no signs of wear or effacement;<sup>32</sup> furthermore, the tail on the alpha of  $\mu\alpha$  is noticeably extended when compared to the other alphas on the fragment and suggests it is signalling a break in the text. It therefore seems most likely that the blank space represents a deliberate sense break in the text to separate the conclusion of the anathema against the Sabellians from the beginning of anathema against the Photinians that must certainly follow in the lacuna on l. 6 and that can be reconstructed in the extant text on l. 7. In most Greek witnesses the end of the anathema against the Sabellians reads as follows:  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu, \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \nu\omicron\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu, \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\alpha$  ('one kingdom, one substance, one Godhead').<sup>33</sup> It therefore seems that the  $\mu\alpha$  on l. 6 should be taken as  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (fem. nom. of  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ) and that this is the final word in the anathema against the Sabellians on the fragment.

While this reading is not attested in any Greek manuscript it may be noted that in this section there are a number of variants. While most Greek witnesses read  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu, \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \nu\omicron\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu, \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\alpha$ , some change the order so that it reads  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \nu\omicron\sigma\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu, \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu, \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\alpha$  and others drop  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tau\eta\tau\alpha$  altogether.<sup>34</sup> Turning to the Coptic, the Turin manuscript reads  $\omicron\gamma\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\upsilon\alpha\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$  ('one kingdom, one substance') but the Coptic Borgian manuscript has an expanded text that reads  $\omega\mu\eta\tau\ \nu\eta\rho\alpha\ \omega\mu\eta\tau\ \eta\epsilon\gamma\eta\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma\ \omicron\gamma\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \omicron\gamma\omicron\gamma\upsilon\alpha\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \omicron\gamma\mu\eta\tau\eta\nu\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omega\tau\ \omicron\gamma\epsilon\eta\eta\epsilon\rho\gamma\iota\alpha\ \nu\omicron\gamma\omega\tau$ : ('three names, three *hypostases*, one kingdom, one substance, one Godhead, one agency').<sup>35</sup> It seems very likely from the  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  on l. 6 that our fragment preserves a reading where  $\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  follows a noun it is modifying on l. 5. Given that each line averages about 40 letters there would not be nearly enough room for a string like  $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha, \nu\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha, \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\tau\eta\varsigma\ \mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$  to fit between the extant portion of l. 5 and l. 6; the

<sup>32</sup> Having personally examined the papyrus with the aid of magnification, there is no evidence that the blank space represents an erasure, either deliberate or incidental.

<sup>33</sup> Riedinger and Thurn, 'Die Didascalia CCCXVIII patrum nicaenorum', p. 84. The Ethiopic recension also retains these phrases in the same order: Bausi, 'La versione etiopica della *Didascalia*', p. 228 (Ethiopic text) and p. 239 (Italian translation): 'Uno è il loro regno, uno è la loro Concordia e una la loro divinità.'

<sup>34</sup> Riedinger and Thurn, 'Die Didascalia CCCXVIII patrum nicaenorum', p. 84, nn. 23–4.

<sup>35</sup> Revillout, 'Le Concile de Nicée d'après les textes coptes', p. 222, where this section of the *Ekthesis* appears in synoptic form with the Borgian MS on top and the Turin MS below.

available space suggests that there is room for only one of these phrases. Here the reading of the Coptic Turin manuscript, which is at present the oldest manuscript witness to this text, is significant because it not only evinces a shorter reading than is preserved in most Greek manuscripts (ΟΓΜΗΤΕΡΟ ΠΟΥΩΤ ΟΓΟΥΣΙΑ ΠΟΥΩΤ) but it also places the numerical ‘specifier’ after the noun.<sup>36</sup> The Turin manuscript might therefore be an indirect witness to the original word order of its Greek archetype where *μία* followed the noun it was modifying.

While the fragment could be attesting the reading βασιλεία μία, since βασιλεία occurs in all Greek manuscripts (as well as Coptic manuscripts as ΟΓΜΗΤΕΡΟ) and typically appears first in the list, on its own without any accompanying phrases it seems unusual and does not otherwise appear in the context of Trinitarian explication.<sup>37</sup> Moving to the phrase οὐσία μία, on the other hand, it presents a more likely reading; not only is οὐσία attested first in some manuscripts of the *Ekthesis* but the phrase οὐσία μία is otherwise widely attested and often appears in the context of mid- and late fourth-century Trinitarian explication.<sup>38</sup> Since the third phrase θεότης μία is less widely attested than οὐσία μία and is missing from important manuscript traditions (some Greek manuscripts and the Coptic Turin MS), the reading οὐσία μία is more probable even if θεότης μία was also used in fourth-century Trinitarian explication.<sup>39</sup> In any case, the present fragment is almost certainly evincing a shorter and different reading than is currently attested in the extant Greek manuscripts.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> In Sahidic, the numeral ογα / ογει (‘one’, m. and f.) usually precedes the noun it modifies (see B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar with Crestomathy and Glossary: Sahidic Dialect* [2nd edn.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004], p. 60), whereas the adjective ογωτ (‘single’), which is used in our text, normally follows the noun. Perhaps the translator’s choice of vocabulary was influenced by the word order of his Greek source.

<sup>37</sup> The phrase βασιλεία μία occurs a few times elsewhere but not in the context of explicating the relationship of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit: Eusebius, *Eccl. theol.* 2.7.1; *Vit. Const.* 16.4 and 7.

<sup>38</sup> Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 11.22.5; Gregory of Nyssa, *Eun.* 3.5.62; Basil, *Ep.* 362.1; Ps.-Basil, *Eun.* 4 (PG 29, cols. 676, 681, 684); Didymus, *Trin.* 1.11.6; Theodoret, *Trin.* (PG 75, cols. 1164, 1169).

<sup>39</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, *Fid.* 3.1.65 (PG 45, col. 136); Basil, *Ep.* 210.4; Basil, *Eun.* 1 (PG 29, col. 556).

<sup>40</sup> While it has been suggested to me that the reading on l. 6 might simply represent a scribal error and that after the scribe made a mistake he simply moved on and then upon finishing the page decided to abandon the sheet, this strikes me as unlikely. It may, however, be noted that there is evidence for this very thing in a Homer papyrus from the Michigan collection: T. Gagos, N.

Though questions remain, this papyrus, fragmentary as it is, nonetheless provides a notable witness to the early text of the *Didascalia CCCXVIII Patrum Nicaenorum*. At present it is the only ancient witness to this text and surely confirms that this treatise was originally written in Greek. Furthermore, it lends considerable weight to the hypothesis, given its early date, that this treatise, or at least the *Ekthesis*, originated in Egypt and that it could have originally circulated independently of the *Didascalia*.

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF P.MICH. INV. 4461KR

*Diplomatic Transcription*

→ ]ονεῖναι π̄ρα[  
 ]τινοῦ̄ς καὶ[  
 αἱγιον π̄να[  
 ταυτα δεαλλ[  
 5 π̄ρα· και ὠν̄ν[  
 μια [   
 νουπιστιν[  
 τον̄νμη[  
 κοσμεν̄λ[  
 10 εῖναι αὐτογ[  
 δεαλλοτρι[

*Articulated Transcription*<sup>41</sup>

→ ----- αὐ-]  
 [τ]ὸν εἶναι π(ατέ)ρα [καὶ υ(ιὸ)ν καὶ ἅγιον π(νεῦ)μα·  
 σφάλλονται γάρ ὡς ὅτι ὁ π(ατὴ)ρ αὐτός]  
 [ἐσ]τιν ὁ υ(ιὸ)ς καὶ [ὡς ὅτι ὁ υ(ιὸ)ς ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν, ὡσαύτως  
 καὶ τὸ]  
 ἅγιον πν(εῦ)μα, [ὡς εἶναι ἐν πρόσωπον, τρία δὲ ὀνόματα·]  
 ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλ[ότρια τῆς πίστεως τυγχάνει π(ατέ)ρα γὰρ  
 οἶδαμεν]  
 5 π(ατέ)ρα· καὶ υ(ιὸ)ν υ[(ιὸ)ν καὶ πν(εῦ)μα ἅγιον πν(εῦ)μα  
 ἅγιον, οὐσία (?)]

Litinas, and N. E. Priest, 'Homeric Variants from Michigan', *BASP* 41 (2004), p. 49.

<sup>41</sup> Where possible the reconstructed text has followed the edition of Riedinger and Thurn, 'Die Didascalia CCCXVIII patrum nicaenorum', pp. 84-5.

μία. [ Ἔτι ἀναθεματίζομεν τὴν Φωτι-]  
 νοῦ πίστιν[ τὴν λέγουσαν ἀπὸ Μαρίας καὶ ὧδε εἶναι]  
 τὸν υἱόν, μὴ [εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸ τούτου, ἀλλὰ προοριστι-]  
 10 κὸς μὲν λ[έγεσθαι ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαρίας]  
 εἶναι αὐτὸν [μόνον καὶ οὐ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα. ταῦτα]  
 δὲ ἀλλότρι[α

8–9. *l.* προοριστικῶς.

## NOTES

*Manuscripts*

- RT Riedinger and Thurn, 'Die Didascalia CCCXVIII patrum nicaenorum', *ŹÖByz* 35 (1985), pp. 84–92.  
 K Paris gr. 1115 (c.1276), fols. 221<sup>v</sup>–224<sup>v</sup>  
 R Paris gr. 1053 (X–XI), fols. 248–54  
 P Paris gr. 1087 (XIV), fols. 25–49  
 M Marc. 498 (XIV) *ad calcem codicis*

- 1 While the first line appears unusually long, the contractions of the four *nomina sacra* would shorten the line by 11 letters. The text σφάλλονται ... πνεῦμα is omitted in P and M but is otherwise attested in the Greek.  
 2 In RPM the definite article ὁ before αὐτὸς is omitted.  
 2–3 R reads τὸ ἅγιον τὸ πνεῦμα.  
 3 In P and M εἶναι is omitted.  
 4 The phrase ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλότρια τῆς πίστεως τυγχάνει is not included in RT. In the notes (p. 84, n. 22) it is suggested that it might be a gloss: 'glossa?' The reading, however, is attested in RPM but these MSS reads γάρ instead of δέ.  
 5 In P and M the καί between πατέρα and υἱόν is omitted, as is the second καί between υἱόν and πνεῦμα. In these two MSS the second occurrence of πνεῦμα ἅγιον is instead rendered τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον.  
 5–6 On the potential reading [οὐσία (?)] μία see the discussion above.  
 6–7 Φωτι|νοῦ. K reads Φωτιανοῦ.  
 8–9 For the phrase [προοριστι]κὸς μὲν λ[έγεσθαι] other Greek MSS simply read προοριστικῶς λέγεσθαι. The reading προοριστικὸς instead of προοριστικῶς does not change the meaning and is a simply an orthographic shift ω > ο. On this common interchange in the papyri see F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and*

*Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1: *Phonology* (Milan: Instituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1976), pp. 275–8.

- 10 K reads ἄνθρωπον instead of αὐτόν and κατά instead of καὶ οὐ κατὰ; P and M omit καὶ οὐ κατὰ and R omits κατὰ and reads καὶ οὐ.
- 11 δὲ ἀλλότρι[α]. In RT the text continues as follows: τῆς πίστεως οἶδαμεν; both P and M omit οἶδαμεν and read ἀλλότρια τῆς πίστεως. Given that there is a natural break in the text at this point it might be that the present fragment may have ended here so that all the text was contained on the front of the sheet and concluded with a simple and direct condemnation of Photinus: ταῦτα δὲ ἀλλότρια τῆς πίστεως οἶδαμεν. However, it is also possible that the rest of the anathema against Photinus was written on the top of the back of the fragment that is now lost, or perhaps even on another folium.