

1 μέλπωμεν] ό - μου πά - και τε θε - ου
 λό - γι - μοι δε[.] [.] αι ... υ[.....]

2 ο]υ τάν η - ω ci - γά - τω,
 μηδ' άς - τρα φα - εκ - φό - ρα χ[.] ζε -

3 [ς]θων, έ[κ]λειπ[όντων] ρ[ι]παι πνοιων, πηγαί] πο - τα - μων
 ρο - θί - ων πά - και. ύμ - νούν - των δ' ή - μων

4 [π]α - τέ - ρα χυί - ον χά - γι - ον πνεύ - μα πά - ραι δυ - νά - μεις
 έ - πι - φω - νούν - των ά - μήν ά - μήν. κρά - τος αί - νος

5 [ά - ει και δό - ξα θε - ω] δ[ω - τ]ή - [ρι] μό - νωι
 πάν - των ά - γα - θών. ά - μήν ά - μήν.

Text 1 δε [.] [.] αι ... υ[.....] West, α[.] [.] [.] αρ[.....] Hunt (1922), 24 2 κ]υτανήω ο]υ τάν ηω Hunt (1922), 24 f., [ου τάν δειλαν ο]υ τάν ηω Reinach (1922), 13, ου νύκτα υ-, ο]υ τάν ηω West, [έχει άντ' ουρανίων άγιου κ]υτανήω Del Grande (1923), 174, [έχει προς έπουρανίων άγιωι κελών κ]υτανήω Pighi (1941), 214 f. χ[.] ζε (ζ or δ) West, λ[ειπ]έ[ς]θων (λ or μ or χ; θ or β) Hunt (1922), 24 f. 3 έ[κ]λειπ[όντων]ρ West [.] λειπ[.....]ρ (λ or χ, τ or γ, ρ or φ or ψ) Hunt (1922), 24 f. [προχοαί] ποταμών (= Synes. *Hymn.* 1 (3) 80) Cröner (1922), 398, λειβ[έ]ςθων μη πηγαί] π. Del Grande (1923), 174, [ά]πολειπ[όντων] ρ[ι]παι πνοιων, πηγαί] π. Pöhlmann (1970), 106, 109 πασαι παρ., παγαί Reinach (1922), 12 5 [άει και δόξα θεω] Pighi (1941), 215, [νύν κεις αιωνας (or δόξαν νύν κειν) δίδομεν] δ[ω]τ[η]ρι] μόνω Hunt (1922), 24 f., [δόξ' εις αιει βασιληι θεω] Reinach (1922), 16, <κ>αίνος [δόξα τε θεω] Del Grande (1923), 174, [νύν κεις αιωνας. άμήν άμήν Wagner (1924), 208.

The papyrus, published by A. S. Hunt and H. S. Jones in 1922, gives us five lines from a Christian hymn to the Trinity, written around the end of the third century AD on the verso of a list of grain deliveries from the first half of the century.¹ It is oriented at right angles to the recto text, using the height of the original sheet to accommodate lines whose length, approximately 30 cm., is exceptional even for a music manuscript.² The right-hand margin is preserved. The left half of the first three lines is lost, but the fourth line is complete save for one letter. From the beginning of the fifth line only the notation remains. This was the last line of the hymn, as is shown by a gap after the final word equivalent to about eight syllables.

The notation is Hypolydian, using the notes R (*f*), Φ (*g*), C (*a*), O (*b*), Ξ (*c'*), Ι (*d'*), Ζ (*e'*), Ε (*f'*), and the rhythmical symbols macron (diseme), leimma + macron, stigme, hyphen, and colon.

Numerous scholars have contributed to the restoration of the gaps in the text and to the metrical and rhythmical analysis of the hymn. Wilamowitz identified the metre as anapaestic, despite certain irregularities, and pointed to a parallel for the content in Mesomedes.³ W. Crönert observed the hymn's close affinity with Synesius.⁴ In his hymns too the world falls silent for the praising of God,⁵ a motif also found in nos. 21 and 26. Several attempts at supplementation on this basis came from C. Del Grande.⁶ H. Abert assessed the importance of the discovery for the history of church music.⁷ Th. Reinach endeavoured to advance understanding of the text by restoration.⁸ R. Wagner, with Hunt's help, checked the readings of the original edition and was able to improve on them in some places.⁹ His hypothesis that the central part of the hymn, from *εὐγάτω* (2) to *πνεῦμα* (4), was dactylic, was refuted by K. Münscher and N. Terzaghi.¹⁰ G. B. Pighi followed Del Grande's supplements and arrived at a metrical scheme that avoided the change from anapaests to dactyls and back again.¹¹ E. J. Wellesz attempted to separate the hymn from all other documents of Greek music, deriving it from Jewish or Syriac hymnody and finding connections with early Byzantine hymns.¹² R. P. Winnington-Ingram put the metrical-rhythmical interpretation of the piece on a firm footing and, against Wellesz, stressed the close kinship between its notational technique and that of the Greek music fragments.¹³ M. L. West has shown that the text and the melody too can be fully accounted for from Hellenic models.¹⁴ He has recollated the papyrus for the present edition.¹⁵

¹ Hunt (1922).

² On column-widths in musical texts see Johnson I (2000), 66–8.

³ Wilamowitz (1922); Mesomedes (no. 26).

⁴ Crönert (1922), 398.

⁵ Synes. *Hymn.* 1 (3) 72–94 *εὐφραμείτω αἰθὴρ καὶ γὰ ... ἱερευομένων ἀγίων ὕμνων*, 2 (4) 28–50 *γὰ εὐγάτω ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕμνοισι*, cf. Mensching (1926); West I (1992), 48–50.

⁶ Del Grande (1923), (1931), 450–5, (1960), 469–72.

⁷ Abert (1921), (1926).

⁸ Reinach (1922).

⁹ Wagner (1924).

¹⁰ Münscher (1925), Terzaghi (1925).

¹¹ Pighi (1941). A text of the hymn with Pighi's supplements, but without the musical notation, is printed by Heitsch (1961), 159 f.

¹² Wellesz (1945), (1962), 152–6.

¹³ Winnington-Ingram (1955), 75, 80 f., 84 f., 86 f.

¹⁴ West I (1992), 47–54.

¹⁵ For the musicological literature B. Stäblein's comprehensive bibliography of the hymn up to 1955 is to be consulted: cf. Stäblein (1955), 1057, 1062.

The parallels with Synesius lead us to expect anapaestic systems. The arsis-pointing is consistent with this assumption, maintaining the pattern $\acute{\cup}\acute{\cup}$ - or $\acute{\cdot}$ - down to 4 πνεῦμα. One extraordinary feature is the appearance in two places of acephalic anapaestic metra,¹ marked by a diseme leimma (2 $\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ $\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}$, 3 $\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ $\bar{\bar{\upsilon}}\bar{\bar{\mu}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\omicron}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}$). Another is the scansion of πατέρα χυῖόν χᾶγιον πνεῦμα (4) as four anapaests, Procrustean prosody imposed on the poet by the need to use the doxological formula.²

The remaining section, from 4 πᾶσαι, is also to be scanned as anapaests. But here, as Reinach and Pighi saw, the pointing has suffered a displacement by one position, from arsis to thesis, so that $\cup\cup$ - is written instead of $\acute{\cup}\acute{\cup}$ -.³ Winnington-Ingram found the explanation.⁴ The leimma before πᾶσαι, though marked as diseme, must in fact be taken as tetraseme in order to maintain the anapaestic rhythm; it should have been written $\bar{\bar{\eta}}$. But the scribe continued his pointing series mechanically forward on the assumption that it was a diseme, thus throwing everything out of phase.

Pighi's supplement in line 3 created another difficulty: it suited the available space, but gave an anapaest too few, forcing Pighi to postulate an additional tetraseme pause before $\bar{\bar{\eta}}$ ὑμνούντων.⁵ The alternative supplement ἐ[κ]λειπ[όντων] ῥ[ι]παὶ πνοιῶν, πηγαὶ] ποταμῶν⁶ avoids this unattractive shift, while incorporating the cessation of the winds as a further characteristic element of the cosmic stillness topos.⁷

In line 5, above the initial lacuna in the text, there are musical notes corresponding to three anapaests. We expect formulae from the doxology that starts in line 4. Of the supplements proposed, only Pighi's αἶνος [ἀεὶ καὶ δόξα θεῷ] fits the rhythmic pattern presupposed by the notation.

Restorations of the long lacuna at the beginning are divided over the interpretation of 2 $\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\upsilon}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}$. Reinach, assuming that the hymn should have a Doric dialect colouring similar to that of Synesius' anapaestic hymns (he read παγαί for πᾶσαι in 3), ingeniously supplemented οὐ τὰν δειλᾶν, οἰὸ τὰν ἡῶ.⁸ One must then punctuate after ἡῶ and suppose that the subject of $\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\gamma}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\tau}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}$ is understood from something preceding. To connect it with what follows ('Nor let the stars be silent ...') would be stylistically awkward, and it would mean rejecting the motif of the cosmic stillness in favour of a universal chorus, which apart from anything else would weaken the antithesis in ὑμνούντων δ' ἡμῶν. The point is that the praises of God by the faithful will ring out amid the rapt silence of the cosmos, and the Heavenly Host⁹ will chime in with the doxology.

Hunt, on the other hand, though with some misgivings, assumed $\bar{\bar{\rho}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\upsilon}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\eta}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}$, written for $\bar{\bar{\rho}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\upsilon}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}$.¹⁰ As Synesius calls God ἄκτρων πρῦτανις, one might admit $\bar{\bar{\rho}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\upsilon}}\bar{\bar{\alpha}}\bar{\bar{\nu}}\bar{\bar{\epsilon}}\bar{\bar{\iota}}\bar{\bar{\omega}}$ with the

¹ Recognized by Pighi (1941), 207.

² Cf. West 1 (1992), 51.

³ Reinach (1922), 22 f.

⁴ Winnington-Ingram (1955), 80 f., 84 f.

⁵ Pighi (1941), 215.

⁶ Cf. Synes. 1 (3) 76–80; [Aesch.] *Prom.* 88 f.; *Soph. Ant.* 137.

⁷ Cf. Synes. 1 (3) 76–80, 2 (4) 38; *Orph. Arg.* 1008; *Lucian Podagra* 129; *Aristoph. Thesm.* 43; *Eur. Ba.* 1084; see nos. 21. 9–11 and no. 26.

⁸ Reinach (1922), 13. In fact parallels in Synesius (1. 345; 2. 5; 3. 21; 5. 6) suggest that ἡῶς (or ἁῶς) should stand for 'day' and that the complementary term should be νύξ, e.g. οὐ νύκτα \cup -, οἰὸ τὰν ἡῶ.

⁹ Cf. above, p. 192 n. 5.

¹⁰ Hunt (1922), 25.

metaphorical sense of 'centre, chief place';¹ a city's prytaneum contained its sacred fire-hearth.² However, the double false quantity is highly suspect (especially in view of Synesius' correctly scanned πρύτανις).³ The articulation]υ ταν ηω is also favoured by the spacing between these letter-groups in the papyrus, which is lexical spacing, not syllabic. Neither restoration yields a proper correspondence of melody and accent, though there are clear examples of divergence elsewhere in the hymn: 3 ποταμῶν, πᾶσαι (if not παγαί), ἡμῶν, 4 ἄγιον, ἀμήν, 5 ἀγαθῶν, ἀμήν. If these difficulties could be overlooked, a supplement such as Pighi's [ὄσα κόσμος | ἔχει πρὸς ἐπουρανίων ἀγίῳ κελάων π]ρυτανεῖω κιγάτω⁴ might have some chance of hitting the sense of the original, if not its wording. The same holds good for E. Pöhlmann's anapaestic *cento*⁵ for the lost beginning: [Cὲ πάτερ κόσμων, πάτερ αἰώνων⁶ μέλπωμεν] ὁμοῦ.⁷

¹ Synes. 1 (3) 34, cf. 2 (4) 181 νόου πρύτανις; Plat. *Prot.* 337d αὐτὸ τὸ πρυτανεῖον τῆς σοφίας (of Athens), cf. Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 281; Aristid. *Or.* 13. 179.

² Sch. Pind. *Nem.* 11. 1. Wagner (1924), 218 n. 34, cited Didym. *Alex.* (39. 589b Migne), who compares πρυτανεῖα with εὐκτήρια, houses of prayer.

³ If the poet wrote πρυτανήω, it might be preferable to suppose that he scanned it normally and that this was a catalectic line, with an additional pause to the one marked before κιγάτω. The double notes above the first two syllables would still be possible in this text, but the diseme signs would be an error of the scribe.

⁴ Pighi (1941), 214; Synes. 2 (4) 32 f. εὐφαιμείτω ὄσα κόσμος ἔχει.

⁵ Pöhlmann (1970), 106 f.

⁶ Synes. 1 (3), 266 f.

⁷ Clemens Alex. *Paed.* 3. 101. 3, line 59.