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Der bisher vermisste Teil des Exordium Magnum—addressed to the present writer: *Cistercienses aegre ferebant recessum S. Roberti ad Molismenses, et quomodo locuti sint de hac re ex hoc textu videre licet. S. Robertus anno 1222 in catalogum Sanctorum relatus est, et post canonisationem S. Roberti Cistercienses hanc partem Exordii Magni quae satis sinistre loquebatur de eo, eliminaverunt.* But, assuming the Innsbrück MS to be of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, its *textus integer* represents the persistence in some quarters of 'the whole truth' for at least seventy-five years after the canonization of St Robert.

WATKIN WILLIAMS.

JULIUS AFRICANUS AND THE LIBRARY OF THE PANTHEON

I

THE reign of Alexander Severus, A.D. 222–235, was one of the happiest in Roman history and marked the end of the age of the Antonines. But it is imperfectly recorded. Dio Cassius deserts us in A.D. 229 after being represented by a few fragments in addition to the epitome. We are reduced to the pages of Herodian and the gossipmongers of the *Historia Augusta*, so that the modern historian of the empire has often to state problems rather than to record facts.

Yet, when we turn to the vast area of events which lie beyond the scope of the court and of military organization, the outlook changes. The liberty and the toleration which characterized the legal administration of the empire culminated in the first peace of the church. Nor was the church unrepresented at court. From a casual source, *P. Oxy.* iii 412, we learn that Julius Africanus was the head of the library in the Pantheon. ἠρχιτεκτόνησα is to be taken in a wider application than the term 'architect' suggests. The Roman, like the Greek, architect was the director of works. Even the term engineer is scarcely wide enough. And such a position at court was associated with the office of imperial secretary. Vestinus, the director of the libraries at Rome, was also the secretary of Hadrian, *C.I.G.* iii 5900, and this precedent throws light upon Africanus.

But Africanus stands out, by his practical and scientific attainments, above his predecessors. After military service under Septimius Severus he became the prefect, τοπάρχης, of Emmaus (Nicopolis) one of the ten subdivisions of Palestine, and was sent on a mission to Elagabalus to plead the interests of his city. It seems probable that his visit to Rome was followed by the appointment to the librarianship of the Pantheon.

The fact which probably commended him most to the imperial favour, whether of Elagabalus or Alexander, was his publication of a treatise on military tactics, either as a separate work, or as part of his *Kestoi*, an encyclopaedic miscellany. The composition of such a work seems to imply experience of warfare, and harmonizes with his supposed military service under Septimius Severus.

Under the government of Mamaea the empire enjoyed remarkable prosperity. By the wise choice of her agents, who included the historian Dio Cassius and the great jurist, Ulpian, she insured the financial relief and the legal administration which were the conditions of internal peace. Africanus, who may be added to those two great names, seems to have been her adviser in spiritual matters. Her interview with Origen is probably to be assigned to the Persian campaign of Alexander in which she accompanied her son. But this glorious epoch came to an end with the assassination of the imperial pair at Mainz in 235.

II

The historical break thus brought about marks the beginning of a new era which, after seventy years of confusion, came into full light with Constantine. But the church had reached maturity under the beneficent rule of Mamaea, and the future could only follow the lines already prefigured. It is the inversion of history to read the earlier history in the terms of the later state religion. In particular, the survey of the libraries of the empire under the administration of Julius Africanus promises to throw light on one province of church history, the tradition of the sacred text.

Now this problem is only one out of many, all of which are included under the circulation of books and their assemblage in libraries. We will consider the libraries first.

They form an appropriate starting point in estimating the culture of the empire. By the time of Africanus it would seem that every town of any size possessed a public library. In the library of Patras, Aulus Gellius came across a very ancient copy of Livius Andronicus, xviii 9. At Tivoli he is shewn a copy of Aristotle borrowed from the well-equipped library in the temple of Hercules. Africanus himself reports copies of his Kestoi in the libraries of Jerusalem and of Nysa in Caria, *P. Oxy.* iii 412. The municipal library at Timgad was built about this time by the generosity of a citizen. Of these collections of books throughout the empire few traces have been found except at Herculaneum and in the sands of Egypt. The peculiar character of the Egyptian papyri is not inconsistent with their origin in public libraries;

for these also served as archives. It is possible that some of the finds consisted of the rubbish heaps into which the superfluous or out-of-date material was thrown by the harassed librarians when their book-cupboards were overfull.

The functions of a public library were filled, in many cases, through the generosity of their owners, by private collections. Until Pollio founded the first public library at Rome, the individual student had to rely upon his own collection. St Paul seems (like Jerome four centuries later) to have taken his books with him on his travels (2 Tim. iv 13). It was a revolution when the local public library supplemented almost everywhere the resources of the reader.

In estimating the contents of these libraries we must include portions, large and small, of Christian writings not yet completely distinguished as canonical and apocryphal. Recent discoveries have shewn that the use of papyrus codices for Christian documents began as early as the second century and that, for example, one contained the Gospels along with the Acts. But alongside of these more imposing collections within a single volume, there were papyrus rolls containing biblical and apocryphal texts and other Christian works in the possession of public and private libraries (Kenyon *Books and Readers* p. 31). Hints of the currency of such literature among pagan readers are to be found in Lucian who imitates *Revelation* chs. xxi and xxii in the *Vera Historia* ii 11 ff, and other parts of scripture less obviously elsewhere. Philostratus's life of Apollonius of Tyana furnishes additional examples. It may be expected that further study will disclose more cases of this kind. For example, the *True Word* of Celsus implies that the reading public of the time was acquainted with the evangelical tradition. Celsus, however, displays a remarkable judgement in confining himself, on the whole and with relatively few important exceptions, to the canonical books of scripture, as far as his main argument is concerned. As Renan says, 'in learning Celsus is a doctor of the church'.

The striking personality of Africanus is a comment on Celsus's argument: reddendi sunt igitur convenientes et debiti honores horum praesidibus et inserviendum huius vitae officiis, *Contra Celsum* viii (Spence p. 414, *tr.* Gelenius). Africanus anticipates those men of the Renaissance who combined with Christian faith and morals the scientific equipment of the engineer and the critical attitude of the scholar. He was like Acontius the author of the once famous *Strategemata Satanae*, who entered the service of Elizabeth, fortified Berwick, and drained part of the Thames valley in the neighbourhood of London.

But this peaceful penetration of Christians into the military and civil service of the empire was attacked from both sides. Roman patriotism

played upon the passions of the imperial troops until they assassinated Alexander Severus and Mamaea because of their leaning towards the Syrian east and its religions. On the other side, the reply of Origen to Celsus echoed the stern rejection of the world which Tertullian had enjoined upon the church in Africa.

III

It is possible to go behind Tertullian and Origen to a world in which Christians felt themselves almost at home. They played an important part in craftsmanship, for example in the paintings of the second century in the catacombs. Tertullian's complaint that makers of idols were admitted to office in the church, *de idol.* 7, would apply to the painter who depicted the figures of Greek and Roman mythology in the course of his fresco-painting, or to the mosaic-worker. In a word, the church was taking over and transfiguring the inheritance of classical antiquity: a fact which should give pause to the church historian generally and specially to the historian of the sacred text.

Over against the service which has been rendered by our increased knowledge of the vernacular, there must still be retained the older reference to classical literature, and this reference takes a much wider scope when we find that of the masterpieces which were current in the time of Africanus, only a small fraction survives (Kenyon *Books and Readers* p. 31). It follows, therefore, that if we had the whole of the lost literature before us, we should probably be able to trace much more of the N.T. Greek vocabulary and phrases to their origins.

The service of Deissmann has largely consisted in reclaiming for Hellenistic Greek words and idioms that were previously regarded as 'biblical'. There is still needed a further analysis which shall explicate and distinguish between Attic and non-Attic elements. The writings of Aristotle will furnish us with a starting point. They 'could not have been produced without access to a reference library', Kenyon *op. cit.* From them we gain the impression that the literary tradition of Athens was of a local character, over against the full tide of scientific and technical treatises outside her boundaries. The non-Attic authors of such works, quoted by Vitruvius three centuries later, are almost entirely lost, although there is reason to believe that the libraries contained them as well as the works referred to by Aristotle. Here, too, it may be said that we could have found many parallels in N.T. Greek, if we had access to the library of Africanus. But language itself bears evidence of a similar kind. Technical terms belong largely to the Ionic dialect and have been 'emended' to the Attic form. Turnebus altered the *manaeus* (part of a dial) in Vitruvius to *menaeus*. Yet the name for

machine, *machina*, itself is non-Attic, and probably came to Rome from the Dorians of Magna Graecia.

IV

Words and constructions found alike in classical writers and in N.T. Greek are part of a common stock. Writers who, in the literal sense, are most eccentric, often preserve from oblivion the language of the work-a-day world. Pindar, for example, is unusually rich in technical words, and is perhaps the oldest extant authority for μαχανά the original of *machina*. His association with craftsmen is shewn by his use of architectural terms which remain almost unchanged throughout both east and west.

The disappearance of certain idioms is due not so much to the fact that they were not understood, as that they were replaced by *clichés*. The scribes whom Domitian sent to Alexandria to copy MSS and correct their copies, *qui describerent emendarentque* Suet. *Dom.* 20, would not always aim at exact transcription. And generally it may be doubted whether the successive hands recorded by collators even of biblical Greek MSS deserve the credit given to them as evidence for the original.

In B, Matt. v 16, the text runs ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλά, omitting ἔργα. ἔργα was noted as of the second hand in the Roman edition of 1859. Tischendorf in his edition of 1867 doubtfully attributes the addition of ἔργα *in the margin* to the first hand. The idiom is found in Pindar, Herodotus, and somewhat frequently in Xenophon. It is almost equivalent to καλὸν κἀγαθόν, *cf.* Xen. *Cyr.*, Holden's Index to Books VI, VII, VIII, *s.v.*

'Let your light so shine before men that they may see that you are gentlemen'. For the whole conception of καλοκαγαθία see Stewart *Notes on Nic. Eth.* I 339. The adjustment of the individual to his surroundings, however brilliant, goes along with a similar adjustment to privation.

In fact, Jesus insists here on the humanist attitude to life as being reconcilable with the Christian life. It was to be expected that such a text would be misunderstood when the break with the world extended from the spiritual to the material environment. Yet it is a descent from the original reading of B to the corrected reading now, so far as I know, universally current, though the church has in the main illustrated the text: she has always been a school of fine manners.

Our problem is now set: to recover from the MSS of the NT further traces of that antique world which cherished in its bosom for two centuries a spiritual revolution.

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