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otherwise, that the bishop is the fulfilment of the O.T. priest. Evangelicals, in view of the N.T., can fairly claim that at least the *onus probandi* is upon those who assert this. But Cyprian forces the valuable question: What does the O.T., taken seriously as revelation, and as revelation given to and constituting a 'people of God', tell us about the *Christian* church and ministry?

Finally, we have seen in Clement, Ignatius, and Tertullian some of the stages by which Cyprian's position was built up, and how often and deeply he went beyond his predecessors. It is here argued that Cyprian's theory, as a whole, cannot be proved from the Bible. He failed to establish from it not merely that monepiscopacy was divinely ordained, but even that the apostles appointed any specific ministers to hold *their own* office and power. But such negative criticism does not excuse us from seeking to discover how much of this development of order in the early church was guided by the Holy Spirit, how much was relative to contemporary needs, and therefore changeable, and how much was a necessary expression of, or safeguard to, the Gospel always. S. L. GREENSLADE

COPTIC ANECDOTA

I. A Gnostic Fragment

THE vellum leaf, on which the following text is written, was found, with many other vellum and still more papyrus fragments,¹ at Dēr el-Balaizah—probably an ancient monastery of Apollo—west of Asiūt. It measures $16 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ cm., is paged $\overline{33.3}$, $\overline{34.6}$ (41, 42) and was the first leaf of quire $\overline{2}$. Two small fragments of other leaves are preserved with it. The text, like those of most early Coptic MSS., is in one column.³ Initials are neither enlarged nor protuberant, but on p. 42 a *paragraphus* with *coronis*³ is used, followed by a dividing-line of a score of >. The script may be of the fifth, indeed of the fourth century.⁴ The dialect, of course Sa^cidic, shows the somewhat archaic forms ni-, $\frac{1}{4}$ - (as well as n-, t-), ntepi-, while (n)napa2icoc, (a) state, (n) no epon, apyceicosi, a2334, affied, π nno γ , guno γ -(23),⁵ π ee- (42) are scribal irregularities, of no dialectal significance.

To what class of composition does this remnant belong? Gnostic

¹ All now in the Bodleian. I described the collection, translating the present text (MS. Copt. d 54 P), in F. Petrie's Gizeh and Rifeh, 1907, p, 39.

² The *Pistis* is a rare exception.

³ Cf. the upper part of that on pl. xi of H. Thompson's Coptic ... Acts and Epistles, 1932.

⁴ It recalls Budge's Deuteron., Jonah, Acts (Bibl. Texts, 1912) and C. Schmidt's Erster Clemensbrief, 1908.

⁵ In these four a line ends between the doubled letter.

it clearly is: the phraseology is sufficient evidence of that. But whether this dialogue between John and Christ-for that line 29 seems to indicate ¹—is from an Apocalypse, or from some form of Acta it is not easy to decide. Questions put by John to the Saviour are a conspicuous feature of the Pistis; the so-called Mysteries of John the Apostle² and the Apocryphon of John, in the still unpublished Berlin papyrus 8502, consist wholly of questions and answers between the same two: so does Tischendorf's Apocalypse of John; 3 but none of these has any resemblance to our fragments, either in form of dialogue or in subjects treated of, which, in what remains of the text, are drawn from the Old Testament. 'Silence', as a primordial aeon or emanation, is conspicuous in the Valentinian cosmogony;⁴ here (4, 5) it is scarcely Eve who is to be thus renamed. The 'Five Powers' occur in the Bruce papyrus;⁵ the 'Five Trees' there⁶ and repeatedly in the Pistis.7 The 'heavenly Paradise' I have met with only in another Apocalypse, that of Paul.⁸ Neither these features, nor the biblical personages involved, suffice to identify more precisely the group of Gnostics whence the text emanated.

First in order should come our smallest fragment, since the words legible, 'the body', 'naked', presumably relate to Adam and Eve and the Fall.]CIC **al** $| \mathbf{ncw}[\mathbf{abs}(?) \mathbf{KH}] | \mathbf{Kog}\mathbf{H}\gamma[| \mathbf{Kog}\mathbf{w}[| \mathbf{atg}[] \mathbf{com}[] \mathbf{kog}\mathbf{w}[]]$

The complete leaf reads as follows:

¹ Though $dy d\pi \eta$ in Coptic often means 'kindness', and so might imply, not Christ, but an angel or prophet.

² Budge, Copt. Apocr. 59 ff.

³ Apocal. Apocr. 70 ff.

4 Hilgenfeld, Ketzerg. 307, &c., Bousset, Hauptprobl. 340.

⁵ C. Schmidt, Gnost. Schr. (1892) 245 = 293. Cf. Bousset, op. cit. 236 n.

⁶ V. Griech. Chr. Schriftst. (C. Schmidt, 1905), 386 inf.

⁷ V. loc. cit. These and other 'pentads' are common to Gnostic and Manichaean literature. Cf. *Manifund* 35n., *Psalmbook*(Allberry) 161, *Kephalaia* (Böhlig) 30, *Le Muséon* 38. 1 (Bang).

⁸ Budge, Misc. Copt. Texts 569, 571. Other versions of this do not use it; cf. M. R. James, Apocr. N. Test. 526 ff.

XLIV

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(30) точыщ же оп ехпочк | хеекедерынпече | паї дыпекочыщ $e[\tau]$ векаїп ыпавед хее | твещі ї птупо[с] a[k]аш | (35) дыте павед ппаї же | мате ап адда $e[\gamma]$ хп|поч шыоч дітппеп²] щахе пымач ечхы | мнос хеечтып · ab|(40) вед · пексоп · каїп | же ачарпа ечхы м|мос³ хеемн · апокпе проч|[ріт

'... the spiritual (? $\lambda oyikos$) power,⁴ ere it (she)⁵ had been revealed, its (her) name was not this, but $(a\lambda\lambda a)$ its (her) name was (5) $\Sigma_i\gamma\dot{\eta}$. For $(\epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \delta \eta)$ all they that (were) in the heavenly Paradise ($\pi a \rho$.) were sealed in silence. But such as shall partake (10) thereof⁶ will become spiritual (? loy.), having known all; they shall seal the five Powers in silence. Lo, I (15) have explained (έρμηνεύειν) unto thee, O John, concerning Adam and Paradise ($\pi \alpha \rho$.) and the Five Trees, in an intelligible allegory (σύμβολον, νοερόν). (20) When I, John, heard these (things), I said, 'I have made a good beginning (apyeobal, $d\rho_{\chi}\eta$; I have completed (25) knowledge ($\gamma \nu \hat{\omega} \sigma_{is}$) and a hidden mystery $(\mu v \sigma \tau)^7$ and allegories $(\sigma v \mu \beta)$ of truth, having been encouraged ($\pi\rho\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$) by Thy love ($d\gamma d\pi\eta$).' (30) Now ($\delta\epsilon$) I desire further to ask Thee that Thou wouldst explain ($\epsilon \rho \mu$.) unto me in Thy love⁸ concerning Cain and Abel: according to what fashion $(\tau \dot{\tau} \pi \sigma s)^9$ did Cain (35) slay Abel? And $(\delta \epsilon)$ not this only, but $(a\lambda\lambda a)$ he was asked by him (that) spake with him, 10 saying, Where is Abel (40), thy brother? But $(\delta \epsilon)$ Cain denied ($d\rho \nu \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota$) saying, Am $(\mu \eta)$ I the kee[per . . .' 11

The larger of the fragments should be from the leaf next, or next but one, to the above, since it deals with Noah and Melchizedek.¹² It is not possible to say from what position in the leaf it was detached. Word-division and gap-filling are quite uncertain.

Recto . . .] ay epo[|] may y[|] toy e[|] ecto[| (5)] moc · ay[|] egoyn · en[|] с мпепли[рима] | eyxик ¹³ ebod ei[с уни] | te · aïgep-

' auj added above.

² Perhaps something above n, but not τ_{AQ} , which seems to be required.

³ seoc added in margin.

⁴ σom is the usual translation of δύναμις; e.g. Lu. i. 35, Ac. viii. 10.

⁵ The fem. suffix serves equally for neuter.

⁶ Paradise, or the tree of knowledge? Either would be masculine.

7 Cf. Rom. xv. 14; 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

⁸ More literally 'in Thy will', i.e. if Thou wilt; but it can be taken as equivalent to the phrase in 29.

⁹ Lit. 'Concerning, because of, what $\tau \delta \pi \sigma s^2$. I am not certain of the meaning. ¹⁰ eγ- and $\varrho i \tau n$ - would give a passive. I assume nentaq-. Is this pronoun, in place of 'the Lord', of any significance ?

¹¹ The Sa'idic of Gen. iv. 9 is not preserved. 'Denied' not found in any version. ¹³ His occurrence here is of course unconnected with the use of his name in the *Pictic (Crick Chr. Schwarzer and)*. It is here here is the last of the second s

the Pistis (Griech. Chr. Schr., ut sup. 397). It is clearly drawn from Heb. vii. ¹³ From here to end the left-hand margin is visible. мнпеу[е] | (10) пак·ω·їωгаппн[с е] |твепωге мпт[ец|к]1вωтос· [| [...]пт[...

Verso ... еке]герин[пече паї ет]веше[λ улсељек и]н аухф [шиос етвнита] хеоү[(5)атегшт ...] ишааү [?] еаа[1½ lines lost ган п[шпг?] т. `oneinpф[? (10) ипп]оүте ед.е..[? поү]нив . шавол . аү[х]о[ос о] ң етвнита хей[?]ипеи[...

Recto. $7 \pi \lambda \dot{\eta} \rho \omega \mu a$ (if not $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta os$?) presumably the biblical 'fullness', rather than the gnostic abode of the aeons. 'Lo, I have explained ($\epsilon \rho \mu$.) unto thee, O John, concerning Noah and his (?) ark ($\kappa \iota \beta$.)... Verso. [But I desire further to ask Thee that Thou wouldst] explain ($\epsilon \rho \mu$.) [unto me] concerning Me[lchizedek.] Is it not ($\mu \eta$) said [concerning him] that [he was] a (5) [fatherless...] mother[less....] end of [life.....a] priest for ever. It was said [also] of him that...'

II. Severus and the Heretics

Albeit for catholic orthodoxy a pernicious heretic himself, Severus of Antioch was tireless in his reprobation of the earlier 'heresies' and of none more than of that of the Manichaeans, to whose refutation indeed he devoted a long homily.' Whether the fragments of another, here published (Cairo 8010a), had that religion for their principal theme, or whether the tenets and iniquities condemned are—in part at least—those of other communities it is difficult to say. One name occurs (*Recto* col. 2) which should help to decide this, but it is fragmentary and I cannot complete it.

The MS. to which this double leaf belonged is well known; its scribe wrote a volume of Severus's Homilies in their Sa'idic translation, to which presumably our leaf belonged, and at least one of his Epistles.² To him is due likewise the fragment of Ignatius, printed by Lightfoot.³ He wrote perhaps in the tenth or eleventh century, perhaps later.⁴ The text is in two columns of 33-36 lines apiece.

¹ Ed. Kugener in Cumont's *Recherches*. Severus had himself to submit to be abused as a Manichee (J. Maspero, *Hist. des Patr.* 68, Alfaric i, 117).

² Homilies: Paris 131^r, 68–73 + 129¹⁴, 127 = pp. \bullet -12 (all but last ed. Porcher, ROC. xix). Epistles: Zoega ccxlviii, pp. \bullet 7–H, \bullet 7– \bullet 6 and 3 unpaged foll., (partly = Brooks, *Sel. Let.*)+Paris 129¹³, 77 pp. \Im 7– \bullet (ed. *Miss.* iv, 827), 131^r, 75 pp. \Im e- \bullet , 131⁸, 78 p. ?, and probably BM, 191 p. ?. Other MSS. of the Homilies existed at the White Monastery, e.g. Paris 131^r, 67 (ed. *ROC*. xx), Cairo 9276 (ed. Munier, text partly = last), BM. 190 and related leaves. BM. 185 also may safely be classed among the Epistles. In Vienna are many Severian leaves, which I know thanks to Prof. Till's copies.

³ Zoega, loc. cit., pp. e-H. Not from the Severian volumes; cf. pagination —unless each author was paged independently.

4 Facsimile in Cairo, Cat. Gén., ad loc.

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A line has 13-15 letters. Approximate numbers of lost letters (beyond those here tentatively supplied) are in brackets. Corresponding gaps in the translation are not precisely calculated. Page-numbers are lost and I am uncertain as to the sequence of *recto* and *verso*.

Recto, col. 1. To judge by col. 2, the first 15 ll. are lost. L. 16 (10)]poi eq | (5) nwp]x unnoy [Te (12) | (10)] wwne | (8) n]si חחנו [דסאסם אוס]חאכוסכ | המאצונה]וכוסחסכי | הדנדוחס]אוכ המו n [tagko] cmei mnei [oponoc] etoyaab 9n [nchy] 2 maiwuoc | [пъеки]ос мпфилп [пос прршоу] поршин | (11)]pog | (11)] под | (9)]onney (10) n] toy (10)] ncwy Col. 2, l. 1 (12)]wo (10)] agei ne ε[90γn ngenzω]ωme | nta[(6)]hc net [. .] hz [. . . τ]amooy | aqwu ηρητογ Σημο cia 9πτμητε πτκα θολική πταπτιοχία αγω πεщаqcw3 ng foe ипкште ипе онстастного ип пшнре шни етсоод иппщеере щни ет рапсароу ауш ри птреулье римпфре ипнрп щатре еррал супорны ми псис тмптречикотк мпироотт мпрот евол мпонсіасти ріоп алла мпепен тацшеп текклисіа | рітмпецспоч ими имоч птаупарту ввох рапоужая мпкосмос тиру пехсī īс бы|поуещ пр поъп птец|шелеет мппецльос | евол хепьще n[e]nta npwme etmmay nc[e] |cno[y oy]otyoy ontec m[HTE] omntpeyanilog e[an[netegeipe alaooy nteynoy agt | margin

Verso, col. 1. 222111 [22204 (7) | пинупнизон 221/препинкос⁵ еад|ны псыд пихы|шае птекрафн | пинб[е] пте ппоуте | адыу еппептан|редже швы хооу | етенатедеагресіс | етсоодне ещахе | езали липошлас | педиалитис | липептаухооу п|бі пеагретикос ти|роу еадиы п|сыд он птапока ⁶ | Аузицис птапун|ре липеероуввы іы|гапинс пау ерос | ереїс плесітис 22 [исцис о псупира|феус ерос едстужеї ерос ката ледіс | [ад]твтев гепхию|ле гима [ади]оуте⁷ | [ер]ооу хеап[ок]алу | Соl. 2 [исцис (10)]етреу (5) тис]]тіс леме (8) | ищи[(11) | липп[(11) | птад (10) | еща[же е (7) | патле[ос⁸ (8) | липал ле[(6)⁹ па]|постолос (6) | ете[.]дт (6) п] [гепцала[ос лап] [геп (11) | ис] | тса[во (9) | ге[п

Recto. ... me, whilst he divide(?-ing). God, namely the [saintly Dio]nysius, [the arch]bishop [of your] city

' Or nnos nens. 'the great bishop'.

² noyoeim would be more usual, but then gas- would be expected.

³ My copy nenugaq-. ⁴ Might be **man** fe nim 'of every kind'.

5 Ίππικός, not -όν, seems to be normal in Coptic : Budge Misc. 118, Hyvernat Actes 209, 321.

⁶ Му сору птапапо-.

⁷ Or equoyte 'calling', or eyes. 'that are called'.

⁸ Might be quite otherwise completed.

⁹ πμαπτεποογε is too much, πποσ too little for the space.

 $(\pi \delta \lambda \iota_s)$,¹ he that adorned $(\kappa \circ \sigma \mu \epsilon \hat{\iota} \nu)$ this holy [throne (θ) .] in [the times] of the persecution $(\delta \iota \omega \gamma \cdot)$ [of Deci]us and Philip,² [the kings] of Rome ($P \omega \mu \eta$) Col. 2, ... and he introduced books that [....]ēs,³ the [....]fabricated and he read therein publicly $(\delta \eta \mu \circ \sigma i a)$, in the midst of the Catholic $(\kappa a \theta)$. (Church)⁴ of Antioch. And he used to drink and to be drunken round about the sanctuary $(\theta \upsilon \sigma \iota a \sigma \tau \eta \rho \iota \circ \nu)$ with polluted youths and accursed⁵ maidens. And whilst they raved with drunkenness of wine, they would fall into fornication $(\pi \circ \rho \nu \epsilon i a)$ (and) thereafter paederasty, in face of the sanctuary (θ) . Howbeit $(d \lambda \lambda a)$ He that did buy the church $(\epsilon \kappa \cdot)$ with His own blood, which was shed for the salvation of all the world $(\kappa \circ \sigma \cdot)$, Christ Jesus, remained not (long) without doing justice for His bride and His people (λa) . For many were the things $(\sigma r men)$ that that bloodthirsty (?) man had transferred from (?) her (sc. church's) [midst],⁶ in upbraiding him for what he did. Forthwith he (*perf. pref.*)...

Verso. . . . himself (? his own)⁷ circus-games ($\kappa \nu \nu \eta \gamma \iota \sigma \nu$) and horse-races ($i\pi \pi \iota \kappa \delta s$), and having forsaken the God-inspired Scriptures ($\gamma \rho$.), he read from what the fabulists have said, those, that is, of his foul heresy ($a \tilde{\iota} \rho$.), I mean Manē⁸ and Thomas, his disciple ($\mu a \theta$.),⁹

¹ Assuming the Homily to be addressed to the Alexandrines (though that is not so with any of the homilies published). The following 'this' suggests that it was spoken in Egypt, if not in Alexandria, after his exile.

² The persecution in the last year of Philip's reign (Eus., *HE*. v1, 41), to which S. perhaps alludes elsewhere (*Sel. Let.*, tr. 170), accounts for his namehere. Preceding it I see no alternative to Decius.

³ Who is this writer? Completion of the next word—presumably a Greek verbal form as epithet—should identify him.

⁴ 'Catholic' thus is equivalent to 'great' church, cathedral, in which the patriarch was enthroned (Tuki, *Euch.* i, 146). The principal church in the Monastery of Macarius is so called (Evelyn-White, *New Texts* 128, *Codd. Copt. Vat.* i, 521). In the Canons of Basil (Riedel 274) contrasted with $\mu a \rho \tau i \rho \omega r$. Cf. Mon. of Epiph. i, 116 n.

⁵ Translates ἐπάρατος Jo. vii. 49. One is reminded of Paul of Samosata.

⁶ A broken sentence, uncertain in reading and in meaning. 'Bloodthirsty' seems inappropriate, while $\sigma\gamma\omega\tau h$, if 'transfer, remove', needs more context to explain it. ⁷ Could be otherwise read.

⁸ More often Manës in Coptic (Shenoute); Manë, Budge, Apoc. xxx; in the Mani papyri (π) atomix aloc.

⁹ Mani's missionary to Egypt (*Manifund* 15). Beyond the ascription of the Gospel of Thomas to a Manichaean source (loc. cit., note 3), I do not find M.'s disciple credited with literary work, unless we accept, with Allberry, the 20 'Psalms of Thôm(as)' (*Psalm Book*, pp. 203-27) as his. It may here be observed that an undeniable similarity of style and phraseology, as well as of subject-matter, exists between (the first half of) that group of 'psalms' and the 'Hymn ($\psi a \lambda \mu \delta s$) of the Soul' (*Acta Thomae*, Bonnet, 219 ff.): adventures of a king's son, the glittering robe which he awaits, his return, passing by the Euphrates, to his father's house, the land of peace. Comparison might be pursued in detail, did space permit. If a connexion could be demonstrated,

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and what all the heretics $(ai\rho\epsilon\tau\iota\kappa\delta s)$ have said. Having forsaken noreover the Apocalypse $(d\pi)$ that the Son of Thunder, John, beheld Jesus, the mediator $(\mu\epsilon\sigma i\tau\eta s)$ of the Father, being its author $(\sigma\nu\gamma-\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\epsilon\nu s)$, and consenting thereunto, verse by verse $(\sigma\tau\circ\iota\chi\epsilon i\nu \kappa\alpha\tau d$ $\lambda\epsilon\xi\iota\nu)$,¹ [he] himself contrived books and called them Apocalypse[s?]² the [true] faith $(\pi i\sigma)$, I mean Patm[os?] the name[s?] of apostle[s?] $(d\pi)$ he ... psalms (ψ) .³ [and] teach (? taught) ...

The Cairo fragments of this manuscript comprise another leaf (8010b), which has likewise lost its paging and so may be from a different part of the volume and unconnected with that here published. It deals with 'those of that evil heresy' who taught that frequent communion $(\sigma \nu \nu \dot{\alpha} \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu)$ and oblation $(\pi \rho o \sigma \phi o \rho \dot{\alpha})^4$ ensure forgiveness of sins and that stale bread, if moistened with water, might lawfully be used, relying on Mt. xxvi. 26 (aqxi noyoein), and asking 'Did bakers, then, follow the Lord, to bake for Him, whenever He had need?' Further, 'If the apostle said, Be not drunken (Eph. v. 18), how then should he give command (saying,) Communicate $(\sigma \nu \nu \dot{\alpha} \gamma.)$ many times, till ye be drunk and vomit?' The text breaks off with a reference to Zeph. i. 8, a verse quoted more than once by Severus.⁵

THE MOZARABIC POST PRIDIE

[ABBREVIATIONS: PL = Migne's Patrologia Latina. LS = Liber mozarabicus sacramentorum, ed. Férotin. LO = Liber ordinum, ed. Férotin. MX = Missale mixtum of Ximenes (PL lxxxv). OV = Orationale of Verona. AL = Antiphonarium of León, ed. by the Benedictines of Silos, 1928.]

EVER since Dr. Neale surmised⁶ that a certain Mozarabic *Post pridie* prayer showed signs of being 'doctored' in the interests of Roman

the Manichaean origin of the Hymn (v. Bornkamm, Mythos u. Legende 115 ff.) would be strongly supported and its presence in the Acts of Thomas explicable. Mani's Thomas appears indeed to be confused eventually with the apostle of India (PO. vii, 533 Agapius, iv, 227 Hist. Nestor.), of whose mission Mani himself was perhaps aware (Schaeder, Gnomon ix, 350); the Psalm Book (194) certainly is.

¹ Severus evidently accepts the Apocalypse (cf. also TU. 43, 728), but, judging by his published works (accessible to me), never quotes it.

² As if the writer, whoever he be, had so designated more than one of his books. On apocalypses produced by various heretical sects v. H. C. Puech in *Mélanges Cumont*, vol. ii. On the ever-growing number of such works v. Lietzmann, *Gesch. d. alten Kirche* ii, 87.

³ Heretical psalms perhaps, such as the Manichaean Psalm Book.

⁴ How often we are not told. S. himself exhorts to daily communion (PO. iv, 65). As to stale bread, cf. Can. Athanas. 129, § 64.

V. Sel. Let., tr. 474. ⁶ Essays in Liturgy, 2nd ed., p. 164.