

became their possession, many persisted in so doing. It needed the cruelties of the Captivities and the atrocities of Antiochus to drive the loyal remnant of the Jewish race into permanent faith in the one Jehovah, who was also their old Elohim, and thus prepare the way for the coming of Messiah.<sup>1</sup>

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## ARCHAEOLOGICA.

By JOSEPH OFFORD, M.R.A.S.

THE excellent work of Dr. Camden M. Cobern upon *The Bearing of New Archaeological Discoveries upon New Testament Times and History* will so certainly be called for in a second edition, that some suggestions as to references to further matters at present omitted may be welcome.

The Nabatean inscription in the Epigraphical Volume of the Princeton Expedition to Syria, referring to Philip Tetrarch of Ituraea and Tracoonitis, is not quoted, neither are the coins which substantiate his reign. The manuscripts derived from Egypt giving very early copies of portions of the New Testament and also many concerning the Old Testament are enumerated, but the epigraphical quotations from Scripture receive but little attention, although their early textual value is very considerable. They may be found, as far as those discovered up to ten years ago, in the article "Citations" in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, edited by Dom Cabrol.

Some important ones concerning the Gospels are to be read in an essay by M. Lefebvre in the *Annales of the Musée du Caire*. Though so much is related by Dr. Cobern pertaining to primitive Egyptian Christian literature as found in manuscripts and papyri, the important *Prayer Book of Serapion*, edited by Dr. Wordsworth, is not referred to. Neither also is the early Syriac book—the

<sup>1</sup> In reference to Josh. v, 9, "This day have I rolled away the reproach from off you, wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal," M. Vernes notes the play upon the word *gallôthi* (גַּלְלוּתִי), from the root *gālal*, the "rolling away" of the Egyptian reproach, and the name *gilgal*, "rolling." He also connects the word with the *gal*, "heap," or tumulus of Genesis xxxi, 47.

Testament of Our Lord.<sup>1</sup> As manuscripts of new texts discovered in old libraries in Europe are discussed, the texts of Jerome and other patristic treatises published by Dom Morin in the *Analecta Maredsolana* might have been summarized.

In the account of the "Didache" no mention is made of the discovery of the Latin version of the first part of the tract known as "The Two Ways," in the library at Lorch, edited by Schlect and partly published by Gilbert-Highton and Offord in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*.<sup>2</sup> The references to the numerous papyri concerning the taking of the census for poll-tax purposes in the Roman period in Egypt, and of importance in connection with the Taxing recorded in Luke, does not mention the very early census under Tiberius given by Von Eitrem of Christiania (*Philologus*, 21, vi, 1915).

Some very curious illustrations of the phraseology of the New Testament relative to the wearing of white robes at the Supper of the Lamb, derivable from the long Greek inscription found at Sardes, are unnoticed. Dr. Cobern does allude to this and other Sardes texts found by the United States Expedition, but omits the mention of Sepharad in both the Aramaic and Lydian versions of an inscription there, which is important in reference to Obadiah v, 20.

In his pages devoted to describing the (so-called) Christian Libelli, giving the actual certificates of having duly performed pagan sacrifices as demanded by the Edict of Decius, the total number of these manuscripts is given as twenty-five, but including one not mentioned, edited among the "Oxyrhynchus Papyri," twenty-eight are extant.

There is apparently no real ground for Dr. Cobern's holding up to infamy all those enumerated as complying with the ordinance as being Christians terrified into apostacy from fear of torture.

<sup>1</sup> The *Testamentum Domini*, published by Mar I. Rahmani, of Antioch, first contains a Syriac translation from the Greek of Books 1 and 2 of *Clement's Octateuch*. The rest gives the "Apocalyptic Testament" and a much interpolated version of the "Egyptian Church Order," now known to be expanded from Hippolytus. The Clement portion was not edited again until 1913 by the Abbé Nau in his *Ancienne Littérature Canoniques Syriaques*, but the rest of the Testament was given to us by Cooper and Maclean in 1902.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the "Two Ways" (which is a portion of "The Teaching of the Apostles") was found in Latin, by itself confirms the hypothesis that it was written separately and anterior to the concluding half of the Didache.

Every one of the certificates of obedience granted to these compliers yet found may be to persons who had never left the old religions for the new one. The attempt, by means of a comparison of the wording of all these new Libelli, to reconstitute the precise phraseology of the Edict itself made by Offord in *Ancient Egypt* is not alluded to. It is curious that no demand for Emperor-worship was put forth. An inscription preserved in the Musée de St. Germain differentiating the classes from whom such adoration was expected may account for this, and may be read in M. Salomon Reinach's new Catalogue of the Museum.

The account of Prof. Rendel Harris' *Odes of Solomon* assumes their certainly being a Christian production. They are also acclaimed as if entirely new to us, but several of the poems have long been known because they were embodied in the Gnostic work the *Pistis Sophia*. To many scholars their imagery seems strongly Gnostic—not, with Dr. Coburn, "pre-Gnostic"—which their appearance in the columns of the *Pistis* confirms.<sup>1</sup> Further, although Prof. Burkitt may, as on p. 308, be said to have found a second manuscript of part of the *Odes* in the British Museum in 1911, this manuscript had been examined and duly noted in his great catalogue of Syriac texts by Prof. W. Wright many years ago.

Harnack possibly over-estimates the *Odes* as being a testimony to the concepts of early Christianity only, but as an expression of the sentiments of mystical lines of thought in primitive converts and Christians, especially those of Semitic race—both Christian and Gnostic, they are particularly interesting during this age of revival of mysticism in the Church.

Whilst almost all the great finds of papyri are mentioned, the volume of the Theodore Reinach Papyri is omitted, as also the mass of manuscripts known as the Zeno Papyri, mostly now in Italy—over one hundred of which have been published—and at Cairo. The Elephantine Papyri are mentioned by Dr. Naville in his preface. Some of these contain part of the Aramaic version of the Story of Ahikar, from which the New Testament takes the incident of the hog returning to his wallowing in the mire. Ahikar's story is also alluded to in Tobit.

The proofs from his speeches and Epistles of Paul's memory

<sup>1</sup> See Newbold, "Odes of Solomon and Christ's Descent to Hades," *American Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1912, p. 170.

being well charged with the works of the classic poets, may easily be augmented and deserves further dealing with.

In reference to the Logia or Agrapha, a sentence ascribed to Our Lord: "It is more blessed to give than to receive," has now been found among a list of many aphorisms of Epicurus, which gives rise to some interesting questions.

The chief lacuna in Dr. Cobern's work is the omission of the recovery of the original "Church Order of Hippolytus," mostly by means of evidence afforded by a manuscript at Verona. This achievement is the work of Dr. Schwartz, of Strassburg, and Dom H. R. Conolly, in his so-called "Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents." This discovery proves the justice of the view of many reasonable critical scholars that a number of works, considered to have been original and therefore authoritative for Christian elaborate ceremonial and practices, were merely compilations made up by inserting much additional and extraneous matter in shorter and simpler early Christian Church ordinances. Thus, the "Apostolic Church Order," the "Didascalia," "the Canons of Hippolytus," the Sahidic "Statutes of the Apostles," the "Apostolic Constitutions," and the "Egyptian Church Order" (of which, early in this century, both Syriac and Latin versions came to light), all prove to be but *réchauffés* of Hippolytus' brief and New Testament like work, and of the "Didache," each tending, in the lapse of time from the primitive uneclesiastical period, to become more prolix, ornate and clerical, according to the date of its compilation.

In the *Journal of Theological Studies*, July, 1918, Dom Conolly provides additional proof that the short Hippolytan text was the original one, quoting two manuscripts at Vienna giving parts of the reduced recension whose phraseology is distinctly Hippolytan. He also quotes extracts from the minimum length parent text of Hippolytus which appear in Latin Gelasian Sacramentaries, confirming his view that the first origin of the "Church Order" was certainly Roman, not Egyptian or African, and that the complete work was shorter than any of those hitherto purporting to be the proper representative of the manual. The effect of these researches in respect of the canonization of the longer and therefore misleading recensions upon the upholders of the amplified copies as being the original ones has yet to be seen.

The evidence from epigraphy collected by Dr. Cobern may be augmented with advantage from the able article by M. l'Abbé

Jalabert, entitled "Épigraphie," which may be read in the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique*, edited by M. M. Adhemar d'Ales.

A very interesting inscription to be found in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1907, p. 432, relates to the consecration of a place of refuge or asylum from avengers, erected by the Emperor Anastasius in honour of Dionysius, the Areopagite, according to M. Cumont. But Jalabert thinks that, as this text comes from Cyrrhus, it concerns the martyr at that city named Dionysius, mentioned by Theodoret.

An important ancient book, *St. Ephraim's Refutation of Mani, Marcion, and Bardesanes*, edited by Mr. C. W. Mitchell in 1913, should be referred to in the portion devoted to discoveries in patristic literature.

The well known graffito of a man worshipping a human crucified figure with a head like that of an ass is mentioned as certainly a mockery at a Christian. But the design more likely depicts the Egypto-Syrian deity Set, or Sutech. Messrs. Spink of London recently had in their collection a head of Set almost precisely like this figure. It was published in *Nature* in 1917.

The excellent editions of Coptic manuscripts to be found of late years in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, of Cairo, do not appear to have been examined by Dr. Cobern.

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