

FRAGMENTS OF
AN UNKNOWN GOSPEL
AND OTHER
EARLY CHRISTIAN PAPYRI

EDITED BY

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With Five Plates

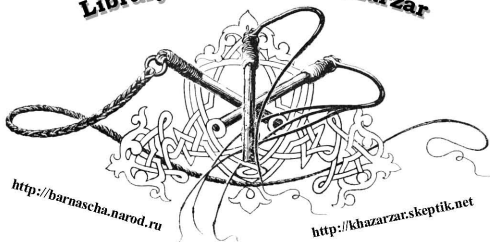


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PREFACE

AMONG a collection of papyri purchased last summer from a dealer were some fragments of a life of Christ which at once attracted attention by their early date (middle of the second century). A closer examination proved them to be of even greater importance than was at first hoped, containing as they did portions of an unknown Gospel; and it seemed advisable to publish the text with the minimum of delay. Since the collection included also some other early theological fragments of considerable interest, it was decided to include them in the volume. (It may be remarked here that some fragments of **2** were stuck to fragments of **3**, indicating a common origin for at least these two papyri.) The papyri having been purchased (owing to the suspension of the ordinary purchase grant) out of the Bridgewater Fund, it was necessary to include them in the Egerton Collection, and they have therefore been numbered as 'Egerton Papyri'. When the numbers were being assigned, it was discovered that one other papyrus, that containing the Mimes of Herodas (Pap. 135), had also been bought with money taken from the Bridgewater Fund, though, by a departure from the otherwise unbroken precedent, it had been numbered in the general series of papyri. It has therefore seemed better to transfer Pap. 135 also to the new series of Egerton Papyri, and it has received the inventory number (by which it should henceforward be known) of Egerton Papyrus 1.

In dealing with papyri of such importance as Nos. **1** and **2**, which lie strictly outside the field of study in which the editors can claim any special competence, it has been thought advisable to prefer speedy publication to an attempt at a definitive edition. The aim of the present volume is to make the texts accessible to scholars and to indicate the nature of the problems which arise, with such suggestions towards a solution as occurred to us. The texts here printed are the joint work of both editors. The first draft of the commentary on **1**, with the translation, was prepared by myself, those on **2-4** by Mr. Skeat; but since particular problems have been discussed as they arose, and each editor has read through the other's work, making suggestions for his consideration, we are jointly responsible for the volume as it appears. The method of publication and the system of abbreviated references employed are explained below. As a method of abbreviated reference to the papyri here published we would suggest 'P. Lond. Christ.'

We have to acknowledge our indebtedness to several scholars for valuable assistance. Mr. H. J. M. Milne has been consulted continually throughout the

preliminary work of transcription and during the preparation of the volume, and texts and commentary alike have greatly profited by his suggestions, only some of which are separately acknowledged. Sir Frederic Kenyon has read the proofs of 1 and made numerous suggestions; it is a great satisfaction to find that he agrees with the views expressed in the commentary. To Mr. C. W. Brodribb of *The Times* we are indebted for a brilliant restoration in 1, which probably clears up a problem of which we had failed to reach a satisfactory solution. Prof. Schubart has examined photographs of 1 and 2 and given us an opinion as to dating which his reputation as a palaeographer makes specially valuable. It should be added that he emphasizes the uncertainty of the palaeographical factor, which in the present case is the sole evidence of date. To the Rev. P. L. Hedley we are indebted for the loan of a photograph of P. Baden 56. Dr. A. E. Brooke kindly supplied some notes on 3; and Mr. W. E. Crum, Mr. O. Burmester, and the Rev. Gregory Dix have given most welcome help in connexion with 4. Mr. C. H. Roberts has been consulted on several points. Lastly, we owe special thanks to Dr. John Johnson and the staff of the Oxford University Press for the skill and patience which they have shown in dealing with what we feel to have been, in some respects, a difficult problem of typography.

H. I. B.

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METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE following rules have been observed throughout this volume. New texts (1, 2, and 4) are given in modern form, with accents, breathings, &c. In the case of 1 this is supplemented by a diplomatic transcript, the aim of which is to reproduce as nearly as possible the original manuscript with all its formal peculiarities. 3, being an extant text, is reproduced exactly as it stands, except for the division of words.

The system of editorial conventions is that recommended for editions of papyri by the International Congress of Orientalists at Leyden, in 1931, and published in *Chronique d'Égypte*, vii (1932), pp. 285-7. Square brackets [] enclose letters lost in the original and restored by the editor, round brackets () the extension of an abbreviation, braces { } superfluous letters in the original, double square brackets [] a deletion in the original. A vertical stroke | marks the division between lines of the original in passages from the text which are printed continuously.

Dots are placed below letters which are either doubtful or seriously mutilated in the original; dots between square brackets indicate the estimated number of letters lost in a lacuna, dots outside brackets illegible letters or portions thereof. Black-faced Arabic numerals (1) refer to the papyri published in this volume. In giving measurements, the first figure indicates the extreme height, the second the extreme breadth.

Apart from those which are immediately recognizable, the following abbreviations have been employed:

- B.G.U. = *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen (now Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin: Griechische Urkunden*, vols. i-viii. Berlin, 1895-1934.
- L. and S. = H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. New edition by Sir H. Stuart Jones. Parts 1-8. Oxford, 1925-34.
- P. Baden = *Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen*, vols. i-v. Heidelberg, 1923-34.
- P. Beatty = Sir F. G. Kenyon, *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*. Fasc. I-IV. London, 1933-4.
- P. Bouriant = P. Collart, *Les Papyrus Bouriant*. Paris, 1926.
- P. Fay. = B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and D. G. Hogarth, *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri*. London, 1900.
- P. Flor. = G. Vitelli and D. Comparetti, *Papiri Fiorentini*, vols. i-iii. Milano, 1906-15.
- P. Hib. = B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri*. Part I. London, 1906.

- P. Holm. = O. Lagercrantz, *Papyrus Graecus Holmiensis*. Uppsala, 1913.
- P. Oxy. = B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*; vols. i-xvii. London, 1898-1927.
- P. Russ.-Georg. = G. Zereteli, O. Krueger, and P. Jernstedt, *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*, vols. i-iv. Tiflis, 1925-30.
- P. Ryl. = J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin, A. S. Hunt, *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, vols. i-ii. Manchester, 1911-15.
- P. Teb. = B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, vols. i-ii, iii. 1. London, 1902-33.
- von Soden = H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. 4 vols. Berlin, 1902-13.
- Tischendorf = C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*. Editio octava critica maior. 3 vols. Lipsiae, 1872-94.
- W. Chrest. = L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*. Erster Band: Historischer Teil. Zweite Hälfte: Chrestomathie. Berlin, 1912.
- Wordsworth and White = Ioh. Wordsworth and Hen. Iul. White, *Novum Testamentum Domini nostri Iesu Christi Latine secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi*. Pars Prior. Oxford, 1889-98.

Quotations from the Greek of the New Testament are taken throughout from the text of Tischendorf, referred to above.

1. UNKNOWN GOSPEL

Inv. No. Egerton Papyrus 2. Middle of second century. Portions of three leaves of a codex, 11·5 cm. × 9·2 cm., 11·8 cm. × 9·7 cm., 6 cm. × 2·3 cm. One column to the page. PLATES I AND II.

NOT since the discovery of the Sayings of Jesus at Oxyrhynchus has a Christian papyrus come to light which raises so many and such interesting problems as the present fragments. The Chester Beatty papyri are of far greater extent, but in some respects even they must yield in interest to these, since for the most part they merely provide new evidence for the text of existing books, whereas these, which reveal to us an entirely unknown work, open up new vistas altogether.

Even in its date the present papyrus (hereafter referred to as 1) possesses a peculiar importance, for it is unquestionably the earliest specifically Christian manuscript yet discovered in Egypt. The codex containing Numbers and Deuteronomy, in the Beatty collection (P. Beatty VI), and (according to the editor, whose view is supported by a photostat of the papyrus kindly lent by the Rev. P. L. Hedley) P. Baden 56 (Exodus) are its only rivals in point of age; and though it is probable enough that those manuscripts were used by, and very likely written for, a Christian owner or community, we cannot be as certain of this as we can of the Christian origin of 1. The papyrus must of course be dated, like P. Beatty VI, on grounds of script merely, always a somewhat precarious basis; but the date assigned to it above is highly probable and is likely to err, if at all, on the side of caution, for there are features in the hand which might suggest a period yet earlier in the century. The epsilon with its cross-stroke normally high and sometimes begun on the left side of the semicircle (which at times seems to have its upper part made separately), the upsilon, the mu, the flat-bottomed beta with the bottom stroke extended to the left, the delta, can all be paralleled in literary or documentary papyri which are dated or datable in the first half of the second century; but it is the general appearance of the hand rather than the forms of particular letters which gives the impression of early date. Literary papyri are of course never exactly dated, being datable, if at all, and that only exceptionally, by cursive annotations or by documents written on the same sheet of papyrus, while cursive hands are in general not sufficiently close to literary to be very helpful; but the present hand has cursive affinities, and there are dated or datable papyri which offer a basis for comparison. Mention may be made of three, the hands of which have an obvious general resemblance to that of the present fragments. The first is P. Berol. ined. 6854 (Schubart, *Griechische Palaeographie*, figure 34, p. 59), a document written in the reign of Trajan (died A.D. 117), in a hand sufficiently like the literary script to be usefully

comparable; the second is P. Lond. 130 (*Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, i. 132 ff.; Schubart, *op. cit.*, figure 81, p. 122), a horoscope calculated from 1 April A.D. 81 and therefore not likely to be later than the earlier years of the second century. The third, a letter written in a semi-literary hand, which is perhaps the most like of the three to the present hand, is P. Fay. 110, dated in A.D. 94. An attentive comparison of these hands with that of 1 produces a strong impression of similarity; and though literary hands were in general somewhat more conservative than documentary, it seems extremely improbable, on the basis of this and other evidence which has been examined, that 1 can be dated later than the middle of the second century.

Some general arguments might perhaps be adduced against so early a date, but they have little force. They are: the fact that the manuscript was a codex, not a roll, the occurrence of the *nomina sacra* or contractions of the sacred names and certain other words, the use of the diaeresis over initial υ and (once) ι, and the regular omission of iota adscript. As regards the first point, it is true that for pagan literature the codex form in papyrus is practically unknown in the second and very rare in the third century; but for Christian literature, which until recently was unrepresented in papyri of earlier date than the third century, the ratio is reversed, the codex form being by far the commoner.¹ In the last few years some Biblical papyri of earlier date have become available. P. Beatty VI, which is of the second century, provides a very early example of the codex form; and P. Baden 56, another codex, containing a portion of Exodus in the Septuagint version, is dated by the editor in the second century, perhaps even early in that century. It is in fact becoming increasingly probable that the preference for the codex over the roll was characteristic of the Christian community from quite early in its history, and it may well be that it was to Christianity that the eventual triumph of the former was mainly due.

It is certainly at first sight surprising to find the *nomina sacra* so well established by the middle of the second century, but no weight can be attached to this argument in the absence of any evidence that such forms were *not* of early date. As a matter of fact, all the evidence seems to suggest that the practice was in its origin pre-Christian. It apparently took its rise (see Traube, *Nomina Sacra*, III. i, especially p. 32) from the Jewish practice of representing the tetragrammaton or sacred name (יהוה) in Greek by the words κύριος or θεός, with only the first and last letters written and a stroke above them (Κ̅C̅ and Θ̅C̅). The Christians, not unnaturally, took over this practice, and applied it also to the specifically Christian names. The *nomina sacra* found in the present fragments are as follows: Κ̅C̅ (= κύριος), Θ̅C̅ (= θεός), ΙΗ̅ (= Ἰησοῦς), ΠΑ̅ (= πατήρ), ΜΩ̅ (= Μωϋσῆς), ΗΙ[CA̅C̅ (= Ἰησαΐας), ΠΡΟΦΑ̅C̅ (= προφήτας), ΕΠΡΟΦC̅EN̅ (= ἐπροφήτευσεν); while ΘΥ̅ (= θεοῦ) is, with great probability, to be restored in I. 45. Traube, in his fundamental work on

¹ See e.g. F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, pp. 95 ff.

the subject, already referred to, had but a limited number of papyrus texts on which to found his conclusions, and most of the manuscripts then available were of dates later than the middle of the third century, but even the earliest of them showed the use of the *nomina sacra* fully established. We have now a much larger range of evidence. \overline{KC} and \overline{KN} occur in P. Baden 56. The Chester Beatty papyri supply a mass of material as early as the earliest authorities accessible to Traube, and some of it even earlier. Here, too, we find the same or similar uses. Even in the earliest of them, P. Beatty VI, containing Numbers and Deuteronomy, which is certainly of the second century and probably not later than the middle of it,¹ there is a whole series of *nomina sacra*; and the New Testament papyri, P. Beatty I, II, and III, all of which are certainly of the third century and probably of the first half, have the specifically Christian contractions.² So, too, in the papyrus codex containing the *Shepherd* of Hermas (second half of the third century) we find \overline{KC} and \overline{OC} and cases, \overline{PNA} and \overline{PNC} (gen.), and \overline{YIC} and \overline{YIN} (Campbell Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, p. 18).

Some of the contractions noted above are unusual. The normal form for the name Jesus is \overline{IC} or \overline{IHC} ; here we have consistently the form \overline{IH} . This is rare but not unprecedented; and as a matter of fact it appears to be of early origin and to have been superseded only gradually by the others. It is found in P. Beatty I (Gospels and Acts, first half of third century); but it can be traced even farther back. In the sub-Apostolic Epistle of Barnabas we read (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* ii. 752): "καὶ περιέτεμεν Ἀβραὰμ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἄνδρας λέκα καὶ ὀκτώ καὶ τριακοσίους." τίς οὖν ἡ λοθεῖσα τούτῳ γνόωσις; μάθετε τοὺς δεκαοκτὼ πρώτους, εἶτα τοὺς τριακοσίους. τὸ δὲ λέκα καὶ ὀκτώ, I λέκα, H ὀκτώ. ἔχεις Ἰησοῦν. ὅτι δὲ σταυρὸς ἐν τῷ T ἔμελλεν ἔχειν τὴν χάριν, λέγει καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους. Δηλοῖ οὖν τὸν μὲν Ἰησοῦν ἐν τοῖς λυσι γράμμασι, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ τὸν σταυρόν. That is to say, the 18 men circumcised by Abraham represent Jesus, because the two letters I and H, whose numerical value is respectively 10 and 8, add up to 18; and the 300 represent the Cross, because the letter T, taken as a symbol of the Cross, had the numerical value 300. The same idea occurs also in later writers, e.g. Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 11 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* ix. 305). It seems probable in fact, as observed by G. B. de Rossi, *Bull. di Arch. Cristiana*, S. iv, vi. 37, that the sign \overline{IH} was in use from the Apostolic age downwards, and it may actually have been the first to be adopted. It is possible that the forms \overline{IHC} , \overline{IHN} , \overline{IHY} , all of which occur in P. Beatty II (Pauline Epistles, third century; according to Wilcken the very beginning of that century), are but \overline{IH} with the case-endings added. In P. Oxy. 850, 10 (fourth century) \overline{IHY} occurs as apparently a vocative, and thus we get a complete

¹ See, besides Kenyon's edition (*The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fasc. 1, 1933), the very important remarks of Wilcken, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, xi. 113. Wilcken would favour an even earlier date for several of these papyri than Kenyon assigns to them.

² See Kenyon, *Aegyptus*, xiii (1933), 5-10.

range of cases, $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ representing the nominative, $\overline{\text{IHN}}$ the accusative, $\overline{\text{IHY}}$ the others. If so, this whole series must be separated from such contractions as $\overline{\text{IC}}$, $\overline{\text{XC}}$, &c., which were modelled on the Jewish $\overline{\text{KC}}$, $\overline{\text{OC}}$.¹ It may be that the original method for the Christian *nomina sacra* was to give the first two letters of the word, $\overline{\text{IH}}$, $\overline{\text{XP}}$ or $\overline{\text{K}}$ (on which see de Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 ff.; Traube, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 ff.), the other method, $\overline{\text{IC}}$, $\overline{\text{XC}}$, being introduced somewhat later by the analogy of $\overline{\text{KC}}$, $\overline{\text{OC}}$. Alternatively both systems may have been concurrent from the beginning, as is suggested by P. Beatty VI (Numbers and Deuteronomy; mid second century), where, according to Sir Frederic Kenyon, both $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IC}}$ (for Joshua) occur side by side.

The abbreviation $\overline{\text{M}\omega}$ for Μωϋσῆς is not recorded either by Traube or by Kenyon and is apparently quite new. It will be observed that it is of the same type as $\overline{\text{IH}}$, i.e. abbreviation by suspension, not by contraction, which, as we have seen, may perhaps be the earlier Christian method. $\overline{\text{ΠΡΟΦΑ}\overline{\text{C}}}$ and $\overline{\text{ΕΠΡΟΦ}\overline{\text{CΕΝ}}}$ and $\overline{\text{H}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{A}\overline{\text{C}}}}$ are also strange and apparently unrecorded forms. It may, however, be remarked that such eccentricities are on the whole more likely to have occurred at an early period than later, when the system of *nomina sacra* had become more regularized. Thus P. Beatty I has the contraction $\overline{\text{ΧΡΑΝΟΥ}\overline{\text{C}}}$ for Χριστιανούς ; P. Beatty III (third century; Wilcken 'die Mitte oder auch den Anfang des Jahrh.') has $\overline{\text{Ε}\overline{\text{C}}\overline{\text{T}}\overline{\text{P}}\overline{\omega}}$ (= ἐσταυρωθῆ); and it is perhaps worth while to add that P. Oxy. 2068 (fourth century) has the unusual $\overline{\text{B}\overline{\text{C}}}$ (= βασιλεύς). It is to be noted that $\overline{\text{ΠΡΟΦΑ}\overline{\text{C}}}$ and $\overline{\text{ΕΠΡΟΦ}\overline{\text{CΕΝ}}}$ are formed on the same principle as $\overline{\text{IH}}$ and $\overline{\text{M}\omega}$ but with the addition of an ending to mark the case or tense.

We see, then, that the occurrence of the *nomina sacra* is no argument whatever against an early date. If they have any bearing on the question, those which occur seem, in view of the evidence examined, to make for rather than against it.

The two last arguments, which are of a palaeographical nature, have more weight than the others, for undoubtedly the occurrence of diaeresis and the omission of iota adscript can be used as criteria of date and, comparatively rare at the beginning of the second century, were increasing in frequency with each successive decade. Statistics for these phenomena do not appear to have been collected (a systematic investigation of the subject might be of some value for palaeography), but such search as it has been possible to make shows that the date assigned to 1 is not affected by them. The use of diaeresis over ι or υ was exceedingly rare till the second century, but it was not entirely unknown before then. Originally introduced to distinguish as separately pronounced a vowel accompanying another vowel with which it would otherwise make a diphthong, the usage was soon extended to vowels

¹ Traube, *op. cit.*, p. 115, remarks that $\overline{\text{IH}}$ 'mit den christlichen Kontraktionen nichts zu tun hat'. It may, on the contrary, be the more specifically Christian form of the *nomen sacrum*

standing alone, and therefore became meaningless. It is only the latter use which is relevant to the present case. P. Fay. 110 (A.D. 94) contains in εὐπτερβρατον (l. 9) and τῶι ἰάιωι (l. 2) instances of diaeresis which, though an extension of the original use, cannot be regarded as wholly incorrect, since adjoining vowels are being distinguished; but ἰνᾱ (*ibid.*, ll. 6, 9) is a clear case of the incorrect use, and λυσι ὕλασι (l. 17) is at best a further extension of the use in εὐπτερβρατον and τῶι ἰάιωι. Systematic search might perhaps reveal other early examples, but so far as the statistics collected are concerned there are none in exactly dated documents before A.D. 110, and the diaeresis seems to have been used at first for iota and only later for upsilon as well (see, however, P. Fay. 110, above). P. Ryl. 82 (A.D. 113) shows both the correct (ψαῖτος, l. 3) and the incorrect (ψενῖτος, l. 7) uses; P. Oxy. 490 (A.D. 124) has ἰσιδος; and after this examples of ῖ multiply. In P. Ryl. 157 (A.D. 135) the diaeresis in το ὕδραγωγεισθαι, το ὕδωρ (l. 19) serves to divide the vowels (as against του), but there is no justification for it in προοντος ὕδραγωγου (l. 19). Later instances are too numerous to be worth collecting. Literary papyri are, as already observed, hardly ever dated, and are therefore less useful for comparison, but some instances may be cited. P. S.I. 1088, dated by the editors in the second century, has ἰνᾱ at the beginning of a line; P. Ross.-Georg. I. 20 (second century, perhaps age of the Antonines) has ὕρο (ll. 101, 103) at the beginnings of lines, and no. 21 of the same collection (mid second century) has several examples of both ῖ and ὕ and both correctly and incorrectly used. The same is true of P. Oxy. 1380, which is of the early second century and, being a text of a semi-literary kind, is specially comparable to these Gospel fragments. It may be added that P. Baden 56 (? early second century) has (l. 51) ἰάου after φαρῶα and that, according to information supplied by Sir Frederic Kenyon, P. Beatty VI makes frequent use of both ῖ and ὕ, alike in correct and in incorrect positions. In the later papyri of this group, I and II, the use is constant.

It will be seen, then, that the occurrence of the diaeresis does not in itself make against a date about A.D. 150. In fact the form of diaeresis used suggests an early rather than a late date, for it is clear that the scribe's usage was somewhat fluid and uncertain. He invariably marks initial υ but not always in the same manner. The exact formation of his markings is often a little doubtful, owing to the condition of the papyrus, and it will be well to take each instance separately. In l. 8, ὕμεις, he appears to have written ὕ with a single long stroke over υ. (At present the stroke is broken in the middle, but this seems to be due to the wearing of the papyrus, and there is no reason to doubt that originally it was continuous.) In l. 13, ὕμων, where the printed text gives ὕ, the 'diaeresis' really consists of a short straight stroke followed by a dash downwards at right angles, which may be accidental but is more probably intended to complete the sign. In l. 47, ὕπερ, the υ has two short horizontal dashes over it; in l. 53 the ὕ of ὕμων is similar; in l. 61, ὕπτετακται[1],

all that remains is a dash over a small portion of the top of υ ; in l. 66, $\text{ἰο}[\rho\lambda\alpha]\gamma\upsilon\upsilon$, there is a dot or dash to the left of ἰ , but the other, though probably written, has disappeared; and in l. 71, $\text{ῶ}\lambda\omega\rho$, two dots are visible. It appears, then, that the scribe, though he felt that υ (and presumably ἰ) should have the diaeresis, was very unsystematic in his method of forming it; and this suits an early rather than a late date after its introduction.

The iota adscript had long ceased to be pronounced, and for some time its use had been erratic, but it appears with some regularity, often in wrong places (e.g. after the ω of the verb-ending), down to the end of the first century. From then onwards omission becomes ever more frequent, until in the course of the third century iota adscript dropped out of use. In P. Oxy. 1380 already referred to (early second century) it appears, to judge from the published text, to be consistently omitted, as here.

Both the phenomena referred to are more often to be found in documentary hands or in the less formal literary papyri than in the work of the better class of scribes; but **1** is in fact written in a hand which is informal and by no means calligraphic, having indeed distinct affinities to the cursive. This makes its resemblance, both generally and in particular details, to certain documents dated early in the second century the more significant.

There is one last point which should be dealt with in connexion with the problem of date. If the hand, as seen in the facsimile, be compared with that of P. Oxy. 656 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part IV, plate ii), a codex of Genesis (cf., too, P. Ryl. 5), it will be seen that there is a really striking similarity, both in the general appearance and in the forms of individual letters, e.g. υ , ρ , λ , ω , η , ν , and to some extent α and μ , though the latter shows a tendency to the formation of a lengthened tail to the first stroke which is characteristic of the second half of the second century and the following period. Now Grenfell and Hunt, after remarking that the script (of 'decidedly early appearance') has 'in some respects more affinity with types of the second century than of the third', conclude: 'To the latter, however, the hand is in all probability to be assigned, though we should be inclined to place it in the earlier rather than the later part of the century.' Their authority is certainly high; but the evidence of an undated text cannot be preferred to that of such dated or roughly datable ones as have been cited above, and it may be remarked that in 1904, when Part IV of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* appeared, Christian texts which could confidently be dated in the second century were unknown. It seemed doubtful whether Christianity had so early made sufficient headway outside Alexandria to leave any archaeological traces; and partly for this reason, and partly out of a laudable anxiety to avoid extravagant claims for new discoveries, there was a tendency to post-date the earlier Christian papyri. This certainly seems a case in point; and in the light of later knowledge it is more probable that P. Oxy. 656 is to be put back definitely into the second century than that **1** should be brought down appreciably

later than the middle of that century. It may be added in conclusion that Professor Schubart, to whom a photograph was sent and whose authority on such a matter none will question, pronounced the date here assigned 'as good as certain', that is in the degree to which palaeographical datings can ever be certain; and he remarked that some features of the hand might suggest an even earlier date.¹

Something has already been said as to the hand of the papyrus. It is that of a practised writer but perhaps hardly of a professional literary scribe, and though fairly regular and of attractive appearance it has an informal air which recalls the cursive of the earlier part of the second century. There are no accents or breathings; punctuation is confined to a fairly frequent high point and a small space at the end of a sentence (or perhaps rather a κῶλον). There is a tendency to enlarge the following letter, but this is not specially marked and applies chiefly to ε. The papyrus is of medium quality. The orthography, apart from a few itacisms (απιστια, l. 19; ημειν, l. 48; εμβρειμησομενος, l. 51), which are to be expected everywhere at this period, is very correct. It may be added that there is a tendency to make two lines instead of one in forming letters, apparently the result of using a pen too deeply slit. The impression is in general of a manuscript which made no great pretensions to elegance, still less sumptuousness, but which was written with care and on the whole with a good standard of accuracy.

Unfortunately the provenance of the fragments is unknown. They formed part of a miscellaneous collection bought from a dealer. Most of the papyri acquired with them contain no internal evidence of provenance; of those which do (so far as a preliminary examination goes) one only comes from the Arsinoite nome, five certainly and one probably from Oxyrhynchus; and an Oxyrhynchite origin is likely for the rather high proportion of literary texts. Hence Oxyrhynchus is the most natural place of origin for the Gospel fragments also; but not much weight can really be attached to these arguments.

The method of publication adopted is as follows. First are printed, in parallel columns, a diplomatic transcript and a transcript, line for line, with accents and breathings and with the more obvious restorations of lacunae. A commentary on particular points of reading, restoration, or interpretation follows, after which are given, again in parallel columns, the Greek text and the parallels in the Canonical Gospels. This is followed by a translation of both; and at the end are discussed the problems raised by the fragments. It must be emphasized that this discussion is tentative and provisional only; it seemed more important to make the text accessible for general study by Biblical experts than to aim at an exhaustive treatment in this *editio princeps*.

¹ Sir Frederic Kenyon fully concurs in the dating of both 1 and P. Oxy. 656.

Fragment I verso]

.
]Ι·[
]ΤΟΙ· ΝΟΜΙΚΟ[
]ΝΤΑΤΟΝΠΑ· ΑΠΡΑСС[
]ΜΟΝΚΑΙΜΗΕΜΕ··[]Α[·
 5]· ΟΠΟΙΕΙΠΩΣΤΟΙ·[]ΠΡΟC
]Α[]ΧΟΝΤΑCΤΟΥΛΑΟΥ[]ΡΑ
]ΠΕΝΤΟΝΛΟΓΟΝΤΟΥΤΟ[]ΕΡΑΥ
]ΑCΓΡΑΦΑC· ΕΝΑΙCΥΜΕΙCΔΟ
]ΖΩΗΝΕΧΕΙΝ ΕΚΕΙΝΑΙΕ[]ΙΝ
 10]ΥΡΟΥCΑΙΠΕΡΙΕΜΟΥ· ΜΗΔ[]
]ΤΙΕΓΩΗΛΘΟΝΚΑΤΗΓΟ[]ΗCΑΙ
]ΠΡΟCΤΟΝΠΡΑΜΟΥ· ΕCΤΙΝ
]· ΦΡΩΝΥΜΩΝΜΩ ΕΙCΟΝ
]ΗΛΠΙΚΑΤΕ· Α[]ΤΩΝΔΕΛΕ
 15]ΝΕ[]ΟΙΔΑΜΕΝΟΤ[]ΜΩΕΛ·
]ΟΘ[]CΕΔΕΟΥΚΟΙΔΑΜΕΝ
]· ΑΠΟΚΡΙΘΕΙCΟΙΗΕΙ
]C· ΝΥΝΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΕΙΤΑΙ
]ΠΙCΤΕ[
 20]ΙΛΕ·[
]·[

Fragment I recto]

.
]· ΛΩ[]Β[
]ΛΙΘΟΥCΟΜΟ . . . [
 C·[]ΤΟΝ· ΚΑΙΕΠΕΒΑΛΟ·[

4. It is not quite certain that the high point printed after EME is not really the turned-back end of the cross-stroke of E. 9. No point is visible after EXEIN, but it may have disappeared owing to the rubbing of the papyrus. 12. The point after MOY is apparently a middle point.

13. Apparently no point after ΜΩ, though the small space is undoubted. 17. The supposed high point might also be the end of the cross-stroke of some letter.

Fragment I verso]

.
]! . [
 [.] τφῖς νομικο[ῖς
 [. . . πά]ντα τὸν παραπράσσο[οντα
 [. . . .]μον καὶ μὴ ἐμέ· . [. .]αι .
 5 [. . . .] . οἴοιεῖ πῶς ποιεῖ[ι] πρὸς
 [δὲ τοὺς] ἀ[ρ]χόντας τοῦ λαοῦ [στ]ρα-
 [φεις εἰ]πεν τὸν λόγον τοῦτο[ν] ἐραυ-
 [νᾶτε τ]ᾶς γραφάς· ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς λο-
 [κεῖτε] ζωὴν ἔχειν ἐκεῖναί εἰ[σ]ι·
 10 [αἱ μαρτ]υροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ· μὴ δ[ο-]
 [κεῖτε ὅ]τι ἐγὼ ἦλθον κατηγο[ρ]ῆσαι
 [ὑμῶν] πρὸς τὸν π(ατέ)ρα μου· ἔστιν
 [ὁ κατη]χγορῶν ὑμῶν Μω(ύση)ς εἰς ὃν
 [ὑμεῖς] ἠλπικατε· α[ὐ]τῶν δὲ λε-
 15 [γόντω]ν εἶ[ν] οἴδαμεν ὅτι Μω(ύσει) ἐλά-
 [λησεν] ὁ θε(ός)[ς]·] σὲ δὲ οὐκ οἴδαμεν
 [πόθεν εἶ]· ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ ῥ[η]σοῦς εἶ-
 [πεν αὐτο]ῖς· νῦν κατηγορεῖται
 [ὑμῶν ἡ ἀ]πιστεῖ[α
 20]! λξ . [
] . [

Fragment I recto]

.
 [. . . τῷ ὅ]χλω [. . .]β[
 [.] λίθους ὁμοῦ λι[θ]άσω-
 σι[ν αὐ]τόν· καὶ ἐπέβαλον [τάς]

25 ΧΕΙ[]ΑΥΤΩΝΕΠΑΥΤΟΝΟΙ[
 ΤΕΞ[]ΑΠΙΑΩΣΙΝ ΚΑΙΠΑΡ[
 . []ΤΩΟΧΛΩ· ΚΑΙΟΥΚ· []
 ΑΥΤΟΝΠΙΑΣΑΙΟΤΙΟΥΠΩΕ[
 ΑΥΤΟΥΗΩΡΑΤΗΣΠΑΡΑΔΟ[
 30 . . ΤΟCΔΕΟΚ̄CΕΖΕΛΘΩΝ[
 ΤΩΝ ΑΠΕΝΕΥCΕΝΑΠ[
 ΚΑ . []ΔΟΥΛΕΠΡΟCΠΡΟCΕΛΘ[
 ΛΕΓΕΙ· ΔΙΔΑCΚΑΛΕΙΗ̄ ΛΕ[
 ΟΔΕΥΩΝΚΑΙCΥΝΕCΘΙΩ[
 35 ΕΝΤΩΠ . ΝΔΟΧΕΙΩ ΕΛ[
 ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟCΕΓΩ· ΕΑ . []ΥΝ[
 ΚΑΦΑΡΙΖΟΜΑΙ· ΟΔΗΚ̄C[
 ΘΕΛ[] . ΑΘΑΡΙCΘΗΤΙ· []
]ΠΕCΤΗΑΠΑΥΤΟΥΗΛΕΠ[
 40]ΠΟΡΕ[
] . ΤΟΙ[

Fragment 2 recto]

.

 [] .
 ΝΟΜΕΝΟΙΠΡΟCΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΞ[
 ΤΙΚΩC ΕΠΕΙΡΑΖΟΝΑΥΤΟΝΛ[
 45 ΔΙΔΑCΚΑΛΕΙΗ̄ ΟΙΔΑΜΕΝΟΤΙ[
 ΕΛΗΛΥΘΑC ΑΓΑΡΠΟΙΕΙCΜΑ[
 ΎΠΕΡΤΟ[]CΠΡΟΦΑCΠΑΝΤΑC[
 ΗΜΕΙΝ· []ΕΖΟΝΤΟΙCΒΑΛΕΥC[
 ΝΑΙΤΑΑ . []ΚΟΝΤΑΤΗΑΡΧΗΑΠ[
 50 ΤΟΙC ΗΜ[] ΟΔΕΙΗ̄ ΕΙΔΩC[

31. There is no point after ΤΩΝ.

38. The point after ΤΙ is not certain but probable.

44. The space after ΤΙΚΩC is perhaps accidental rather than intentional.

48. On

the point see the note below, p. 21.

- 25 χεῖ[ρας] αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ [ἄρχον-]
 τες [ἴν]α πιάσωσιν καὶ παρ[
 .[. . .] τῷ ὄχλω· καὶ οὐκ ἐ[δύναντο]
 αὐτὸν πιάσαι ὅτι οὐπω ἐ[ληλύθει]
 αὐτοῦ ἢ ὥρα τῆς παραδό[σεως]
- 30 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κ(ύριος) ἐξελθὼν [διὰ μέσου αὐ-]
 τῶν ἀπένευσεν ἀπ' [αὐτῶν]
 καὶ [1]δου λεπρὸς προσελθ[ὼν αὐτῷ]
 λέγει· διδάσκαλε Ἰη(σοῦ) λε[προῖς συν-]
 ολεύων καὶ συνεσθίω[ν αὐτοῖς]
- 35 ἐν τῷ πανδοχείῳ ἐλ[έπησα]
 καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ· ἐὰν [ο]ῦν [σὺ θέλης]
 καθαρίζομαι· ὁ δὲ κ(ύριος) [ἔφη αὐτῷ]
 θέλ[ω] καθαρίσθητι· [καὶ εὐθέως]
 [ἀ]πέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ λέπ[ρα ὁ δὲ κ(ύριος)]
- 40 [εἶπεν αὐτῷ] πρὸς[υθεὶς ἐπίδει-]
 [ξον σεαυτὸ]ν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι
 · · · · · · · ·
 [· · · · ·]·
 νόμιοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ[ετασ-]
 τικῶς ἐπεύραζον αὐτὸν λ[έγοντες]
- 45 διδάσκαλε Ἰη(σοῦ) οἴδαμεν ὅτι [ἀπὸ θε(ο)ῦ]
 ἐλήλυθας ἃ γὰρ ποιεῖς μα[ρτυρεῖ]
 ὑπὲρ το[ῦ]ς προφ(ήτ)ας πάντας [λέγε οὖν]
 ἡμεῖν· ἐξὸν τοῖς βα(σι)λεῦσ[ιν ἀπολοῦ-]
 ναι τὰ ἀν[ή]κοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπ[οδῶμεν αὐ-]
- 50 τοῖς ἢ μ[ή] ὁ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦς) εἰδὼς [τὴν δι-]

Fragment 2 recto]

42. The page (or leaf) number.
 48. I. ἡμῖν.

43. sc. παραγενόμενοι (παράγε on the pre-
 ceding page).

51 ANOIAN[.]ΩΝ ΕΜΒΡΕΙΜ[
 ΕΙΠΕΝΑ[]· ΤΙΜΕΚΑΛΕΙΤ[
 ΜΑΤΙΨΜ[]ΔΑΚΚΑΛΟΝ· Μ[.
 ΟΝΤΕΣΟ[] . ΓΩ· ΚΑΛΩΣ Η[
 55 ΜΩΝΕΠ[]· ΣΕΝΕΙ . . Ν· .[
 ΤΟΤΟΙΟ[]ΕCΙΝΑΥ . [
 ΜΕ Η[]ΑΑΥΤ . [
 ΧΕΙΑΠΕ[]ΑΤ . [
 . . Τ . . [

Fragment 2 verso]

: : : : : : : :
]ΤΩΤ . . Ω[]ΑΤΑΚΛΕΙCΑΝ
 61]ΨΙΨΤΕΤΑΚΤΑ[]ΑΔΗΛΩC
] ΟΒΑΡΟ . . ΥΤΟΥΑCΤΑΤ̄Ο̄
]ΑΤΡΟΡΗΘΕΝΤΩΝΔΕΕΚΕΙ
]ΠΡΟCΤΟΞΕΝΟΝΕΠ[. ΡΩΤΗΜΑ
 65]ΕΡΙΠΑΤΩΝΟΙΗ[] . ΤΑΘΗ
]ΧΕΙΛΟΥCΤΟΥΨΟ[] . ΝΟΥ
]ΟΥ ΚΑΙΕΚΤΕΙΝΑ[]ΧΕΙ
]ΥΤΗΝΔΕΞΙΑΝ[]ΜΙCΕΝ
]ΑΙΚΑΤΕCΠΕΙΡ[]ΙΤΟΝ
 70]ΟΝ· ΚΑΙΤΟΤΕ[]ΚΑΤΕ
]ΕΝΟΝΨΔΩΡ· ΕΝ[] . ΝΤΗΝ
]· ΚΑΙΕΠ . []ΘΗΕΝΩ
]ΞΗΓΑ[]Ε . [] . . ΡΠ̄Ο̄
]ΠΟΛΛ[]ΕΙCΧΑ
 75]ΤΑ[]ΥΤΟΥC·

61. Only one of the dots (really a dash) over Ψ now remains. letters are smudged; the first has, perhaps, been corrected. that the point is accidental.

62. ΑΤ. These letters are smudged; the first has, perhaps, been corrected.

75. The point at the end is not certain, but the trace of ink visible does not appear to be part of C.

- 51 άνοιαν [αὐτῶν] ἐμβρειμ[ησάμενος]
 εἶπεν ἀ[ὐτοῖς]: τί με καλεῖτε τῶ στό-
 ματι ὑμῶν διδάσκαλον· μή ἤ ακού-
 οντες ὁ [λ]έγω· καλῶς Ἡ[σ(αῖ)ας] περὶ ὑ-
 55 μῶν ἐπ[ρο]φ(ήτευ)σεν εἰπῶν· ὁ [λαὸς οὐ-]
 τος τοῖς [χείλ]εσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσιν]
 με ἡ [Δὲ καρδί]α αὐτῶν [ν πόρρω ἀπέ-]
 χει ἀπ' ἔ[μοῦ] μ[άτη]ν [ν με σέβονται]
 ἐντ[άλλ]ματα

Fragment 2 verso]

- [.] τῶ τῶπῳ [κ]ατακλεισαν-
 61 [.] ὑπ[ο]ρέτακτα[ι] ἀδήλως
 [.] τὸ βάρος αὐτοῦ ἄστατο(ν)
 [.] ἀτρορηθέντων Δὲ ἐκεί-
 [νων ὡς] πρὸς τὸ ξένον ἐπερώτημα
 65 [αὐτοῦ] περιπατῶν ὁ Ἰη(σοῦς) [ἐ]στάθη
 [ἐπὶ τοῦ] χείλους τοῦ Ἰο[ρδ]άνου
 [ποταμ]οῦ καὶ ἐκτείνα[ς τὴν] χεῖ-
 [ρα αὐτοῦ] τὴν λεξιάν [. . .]μισεν
 [. κ]αὶ κατέσπειρ[εν ἐπ]ὶ τὸν
 70 [.]ον· καὶ τότε [. . .] κατε-
 [.]ενογ ὕδωρ· ἐν[. . .] ν τὴν
 [.]· καὶ ἐπ[. . .]θη ἐνώ-
 [πιον αὐτῶν] ἐξήγα[γ]εν [Δὲ] καρπὸ(ν)
 [.]πολλ[.] εἰς χα-
 75 [.]τα[.]υτους·

Fragment 3 verso]

76] . ΠΑΡΗ
]ΣΕΑΝ
]ΑΥΤΟΥ
]ΗΜΕΝΟC
 80]ΕΙΔΩC
]ΗΤ .

Fragment 3 recto]

ΕΝΕCΑ[
 ΜΕΝΩΠ[
 ΣΟΥΣΕΙC[
 85 ΚΤΕΙΝΩ[
 ΑΓΕΙ· Ο[
 [·]Ε[·]··[

Fragment 4 recto]

Blank

Fragment 4 verso]

]C[

82. N possibly corrected to or from Π.

Fragment 3 verso]

76] . παρη
]ς ἐὰν
] αὐτοῦ
]ημενος
 80] εἰδῶς
]ηπ.

Fragment 3 recto]

ενεσα[
 μένω π[
 σους εἰς [ἀπο-]
 85 κτείνω[σιν
 λέγει· ο[
 [.]ε[. .] . . [

Fragment 4 recto]

Blank

Fragment 4 verso]

]σ[

COMMENTARY

2-4. The meaning of this sentence must apparently be that Jesus has committed no crime which could bring Him within the reach of the laws. He is contrasting Himself in this respect with those who *have* broken the laws, and it is likely that this is an imperative sentence. The unjust person contrasted with Jesus must be τὸν παραπράσσοντα. The word (which does not occur in the N.T.) has more than one sense, but the only one suitable here is to 'act unjustly, esp. exact money illegally' (L. and S). There would be a point in selecting extortion as typical (cf. Luke iii. 13 μηδὲν πλέον παρὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον ὑμῖν πράσσετε; xviii. 11 οὐκ εἰμι ὡσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἄρπαγες, ἄδικοι, κτλ.; Matt. xxiii. 25 ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμουσιν ἐξ ἄρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας), but here a more general sense is preferable. The verb παραπράσσω is used absolutely in B.G.U. 340, 25 and in Plutarch, *Agis*, 16 (in *W. Chrest.* 238, 6 it is used in the passive, of the persons upon whom extortion is practised). Here, too, it is probably absolute, so that we may with some confidence read after it [καὶ ἄνο]μον. But what of the rest of the sentence? The idea at first suggested itself that something like 'hand over (e.g. παράδοτε) the wrong-doer and transgressor and not me to the lawyers' was intended; for the νομικοὶ (the word seems to be more or less synonymous with γραμματεῖς), among their other functions, acted as judges (see E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüdischen Volkes*³, ii. 318-19). This, however, seems strained and improbable. It is likelier that the lawyers are the people addressed. Apart from other considerations this makes an effective antithesis with the ἄρχοντες. Jesus addresses to the lawyers an observation which concerns a point of law but appeals to the Pharisees (ἄρχοντες, a word somewhat loosely used in the N.T., probably denotes in this place some of the leading Pharisees) on the matter of His mission and status. (It may be objected that since the ἄρχοντες were probably members of the Sanhedrin, on which there were also scribes or lawyers, the two classes can hardly be contrasted, but cf. Acts iv. 5 τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς.) Hence we require here the idea of punishing or proceeding against. καταδικάζετε πάντα (cf. Matt. xii. 7 οὐκ ἂν καταδικάσατε τοὺς ἀναίτιους) would give a rather long supplement in l. 2; and though letters are frequently cramped and reduced in size at the ends of lines, κολάζετε (cf. Acts iv. 21 τὸ πῶς κολάσωνται) certainly suits the space better. This would give a text something like ὁ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦς) [οἱ καὶ] εἶπεν τοῖς νομικοῖς· κολάζετε πάντα τὸν παραπράσσοντα | καὶ ἄνο]μον καὶ μὴ ἐμέ.

4 f. The reading at the end of l. 4 is quite uncertain and the sense obscure. The sentence no doubt continues the remark of Jesus which began in l. 2. The little that remains of the letter before the lacuna is curved, like ε, ο, or σ; the reading αι is fairly probable (or αφ); what follows might be ε (or α), for there is a horizontal stroke extended far into the margin. In the next line the reading in the middle is by no means certain; ποιειτε ως is also possible, though less likely than ποιει πῶς. Not much is left of the first visible letter, but what remains Milne would take as ν, and he suggests, *exempli gratia*, some such reading as τὸ ἔργον ὃ ποιει πῶς ποιει; It is, however, difficult to connect this with the context, and moreover the small relic of a stroke joining the visible hasta of the first letter appears

to be drawn upwards, as for μ , not downwards, as for ν . Usually the last stroke of μ is curved to join the following letter, not almost straight, as here, but compare the μ of $\mu\omicron\nu$ in l. 4, which is not dissimilar. The only words ending in $-\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$ seem to be $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\gamma\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$, $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$, $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$, $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$. The first can obviously be ruled out, and the second and last are quite inappropriate here. The other two are not inconsistent with the setting, but $\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$ occurs only in Hesychius, $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\pi\omicron\tau\iota\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\omega$ only in Euripides (and Hesychius). 'When a law-giver makes laws, how does he make them?' is conceivable but unlikely, and it would certainly be more satisfactory to read ν but for the palaeographical difficulty. Or perhaps ι linked to a preceding letter might be read. $\acute{\omicron}$ γὰρ ἄνομος οὐκ οἶδεν ὃ ποιεῖ πῶς ποιεῖ (Kenyon) gives a good sense but cannot be fitted in; $\acute{\omicron}$ [π]αρά[πράσσω]ν also gives too long a supplement.

6. τοὺς] ἄ[ρ]χόντας τοῦ λαοῦ: ἄρχοντες, in the sense here intended, occur several times in the Gospels, whether in the singular or the plural, but the phrase ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ is found only in Acts iv. 8 (ἄρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι; in Acts xxiii. 5 the singular, ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου, occurs in a quotation from the O.T.).

7-10. Cf. John v. 39 ἔραυνάτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἄσκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν, καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ. The verbal differences are interesting, for these very differences are attested in one form of the 'Western' text. In a, b, syr.^{cu}, after the text as given above, occur the words *in quibus putatis vos vitam habere; hae (haec b) sunt quae de me testificantur*; arm, ff₂ have the first clause only. This 'doublet' reading can be accounted for in one of two different ways. Both readings may have been current in different manuscripts of John, and a commentator may have added the second in the margin of the archetype from which the manuscripts showing the doublet were ultimately derived, later scribes having unintelligently incorporated it into the text side by side with the rival reading; or he may have quoted the words from the Gospel represented by 1 as a parallel to the Johannine version, with a similar result. If the first explanation be adopted, the presence of the reading in so early a text as 1 gives it a strong claim to preference; but the second is much more likely, and the interesting conclusion is that the present Gospel was current in the circle from which the text seen in the manuscripts referred to ultimately came. Where this circle is to be located can hardly be determined, but the fact that the doublet reading occurs, on the one hand in Latin, and on the other in Syriac and Armenian manuscripts, but in no Greek texts, may indicate that it was outside Egypt, perhaps in Syria. In the version of the saying here found ἔραυνάτε is clearly imperative.

10-14. Cf. John v. 45 μὴ ἄσκεῖτε ὅτι ἐγὼ κατηγορήσω ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ἔστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν Μωϋσῆς, εἰς ὃν ὑμεῖς ἠλιπίκατε. The readings ἦλθον κατηγορῆσαι and μου after πατέρα are not recorded in the apparatus of Tischendorf, von Soden, or Wordsworth and White.

15-17. Cf. John ix. 29 (the man born blind) ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν ὅτι Μωϋσεὶ λέλάληκεν ὁ θεός, τοῦτου δὲ οὐκ οἶδαμεν πότεν ἔστιν. A has ἐλάλησεν, as here; see, too, von Soden's apparatus. The space between ε and οἶδαμεν is rather large for υ, but η cannot be read for ε and there is certainly not room for μεῖς, so that εὔ seems assured. ὄ[τι] cannot be read, as ε is certain.

20. Perhaps there occurred here some remark about ἡ βασι[λιε]ία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

22-4. For this attempt to stone Jesus cf. John viii. 59 ἦσαν οὖν λίθους ἵνα βάλωσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν, and x. 31 ἐβάστασαν πάλιν λίθους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἵνα λιθάσωσιν αὐτόν. For λι, of which only the bottoms of the letters remain, ιϛ could also be read, which would yield ἱν[α λιθάσω-]σι[ν], and thus require a word like ἐβάστασαν or ἦσαν before λίθους; but λι is the likelier. If it is correct, we must suppose some such reading as συνεβουλεύσαντο (Kenyon) τῷ ὄχλῳ ἵνα βασιτάσαντες λίθους ὁμοῦ κτλ. (ὁμοῦ probably going with βασιτάσαντες rather than with λιθάσωσιν). Of the letter read as Β in the diplomatic transcript only a horizontal stroke below the line remains, and the only letters possible are therefore β or ξ (Δ and ζ also have a horizontal stroke at the foot, but they do not come below the line). To read β[ασιτάσαν]τες λίθους, however, makes too short a supplement in l. 23, whereas with β[ασιτά]σαντες we have too short a supplement in l. 22. To insert τὰς before λίθους would make the former division unobjectionable, and though τὰς is not wholly satisfactory it may perhaps be accepted as a *pis aller*; the article might be used to suggest 'the stones which were lying there'. Or something like Matt. iii. 9, Luke iii. 8 λύνεται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγείραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ may even have preceded.

24-9. As at present mounted a small piece of papyrus containing ΛΟΝ in l. 24, ΝΟΙ in l. 25, and ΠΑΡ in l. 26 is crushed up too close to the main fragment, so that Λ, Ν, and Ι appear incomplete. For the text of ll. 24-9 cf. the following passages: John vii. 30 ἐζήτουν οὖν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν χεῖρα, ὅτι οὐπω ἐληλύθει (*var. lect.* ἐλήλυθεν) ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ; vii. 44 τινεὶ δὲ ἤθελον ἐξ αὐτῶν πιάσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἔβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας; x. 39 ἐζήτουν οὖν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, καὶ ἐξήλθεν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν. In all three passages (except perhaps the last) πιάζω seems to denote the same action as ἐπιβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ; here the rulers laid hands on Him as a prelude to (or part of) the action of πιάσαι. The supplement at the end of l. 26 and beginning of l. 27 is difficult. The natural reading is παραλιδῶσιν, and at first this was actually read, but the letter at the beginning of l. 27 looks more like λ than Δ, and prolonged examination with a magnifying glass fails to reveal any trace of the bottom stroke of Δ or definite evidence that the ink has disappeared. Besides this, to read παρ[αλι]δ[ω]σιν gives a rather short supplement at the end of l. 26 and an awkwardly long one in the lacuna in l. 27. The visible traces in l. 27 are not quite at the edge of the column, and λ, though not quite impossible, is not a very likely reading. One would expect αὐτόν to occur; but it is quite impossible to read παρ[αδωσιν αὐ]τῷ[ν]. It is just possible that the letter is ω, written rather large at the beginning of the line and therefore unlike any other ω in formation, and that the true reading is παρ[αδωσιν] ὧ[στε], but this is not satisfactory, either palaeographically or in sense. The explanatory use (as it may be called) of ὧστε is common enough in documentary papyri (e.g. P. Hib. 43, 13 παρὰ Καλλικλέους . . . ὧστε Πρωτομάχῳ; P. Teb. 112, 77 Νάνωι ὧστε τῆι ὑπογρ(αφῆι); P. Flor. 223, 3-7 παράσχεῖς τῷ λείνω ὧστε τοῖς ταύροις αὐτοῦ χόρτου), but it does not seem to occur in the N.T., and it is hardly needed here. On the whole, it is perhaps best to suppose that the ink of the bottom stroke of Δ, which would run along a projecting fibre of papyrus, has been rubbed off. παραλιδῶσιν is certainly supported by the παραδόσεως of l. 29.

29. παραδό[σεως: the word nowhere occurs in the N.T. in the sense of 'betrayal' but only in that of 'tradition'.

30-1. Cf. Luke iv. 30 αὐτὸς δὲ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἔπορεύετο. In John viii. 59 several manuscripts add the same reading or a variation of it (so, too, the 'Western' texts, e.g. D, *et transiens per medium eorum ibat sic*), and cf. also John x. 39 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν. The verb ἀπονεύω nowhere occurs in the N.T., but ἐκνεύω does, John v. 13.

32 ff. This incident may well be that recorded in Matt. viii. 2-4, Mark i. 40-4, Luke v. 12-14 (not in John), but the details given differ strikingly. From a comparison of the three Synoptic versions, which are printed below (p. 27), it will be seen that they agree throughout in substance (apart from the presence or absence of such vivid details as Mark's σπλαγχνισθεὶς or ἐμβριμησάμενος αὐτῷ or Luke's πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον) and largely in wording. It is clear that they represent but a single tradition, whereas the present Gospel differs so widely as to suggest a different source entirely, unless, indeed, we are to suppose that the writer was freely embroidering the story he had found in the Synoptic writers; but this seems improbable. For a general discussion of the passage see below, pp. 33-4. As regards details, the beginning καὶ ἰαοῦ λεπρὸς προσελθὼν αὐτῷ agrees verbally, except for the (restored) αὐτῷ, with Matthew; but in the style of the Gospels there are only a limited number of ways of beginning an episode such as this, and the agreement may be accidental; moreover 1 differs in ll. 38-9 from Matthew, agreeing more nearly, though only partially, with Luke. Apart from the leper's statement as to the origin of his leprosy, which is quite novel, the differences of 1 from the unanimous testimony of the Synoptists are as follows: nothing is said as to the leper making obeisance to Jesus (Matt. προσεκύνει, Mark γονυπετῶν, Luke πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον); he addresses Jesus by name, which he does not do in the Synoptic story (Matt. and Luke κύριε; Mark no address); it is not stated that Jesus stretched out His hand and touched him; Jesus is at this point referred to as ὁ κύριος (not named in Mark and Luke; Matt. ὁ Ἰησοῦς); the concluding remark of Jesus is clearly different in wording and, if the conjectural restoration here adopted is at all correct, appears to agree with Luke xvii. 14, the healing of the ten lepers: πορευθέντες ἐπιλαίετε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἰερεῦσιν. In view of the isolation of lepers enjoined by Jewish law the statement of the leper that he had consorted with lepers is surprising; but the quarantine regulations were so well known that this detail is an argument rather for authenticity than for invention on the part of the writer. See the note on l. 51.

33. Διδάσκαλε Ἰησοῦ): Jesus is often enough addressed in the canonical Gospels as Διδάσκαλε, but the present form of address (cf. also l. 45) is quite unparalleled there. The words are to be taken together, not separately (Διδάσκαλε, Ἰησοῦ); cf. E. Schürer, *op. cit.*, ii. 315-16.

34. The space hardly admits of a third verb compounded with συν- in the lacuna, and the insertion of αὐτοῖς is quite consistent with the style.

35. ἐλ[έτηρα]: this verb does not occur in the N.T., but it seems all but certain here; ἐλ[ήλυθα πρὸς σε] is very unlikely in view of the καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ and is in any case too long. There is also a form λεπρωσθαι, but it is attested only in the perfect passive participle, λελεπρωμένος (4 Kings v. 1, 27; xv. 5), except in P. Holm. 3, 16 (λεπρωται).

39. ὁ δὲ κ(ύριο)ς]: Ἰη(σοῦς) δὲ or ὁ δὲ Ἰη(σοῦς) is of course equally likely.

42. This is the number of the page or leaf or quire. In the Beatty papyri it is always the page that is numbered (Kenyon). The long horizontal line which is all that remains gives a choice between α, less likely β, γ, ε, ζ, perhaps 3, θ, κ, ξ. There may of course have been a preceding letter.

43 f. ἐξ[ετασ]τικῶς: a dubious reading, and the word does not occur in the N.T., but the remains certainly suggest it, and it suits the space.

45-7. Cf. John iii. 2 (the ἔρχων τῶν Ἰουδαίων), ῥαββί, οἴλαμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐλήλυθας διδάσκαλος: οὐδεὶς γὰρ δύναται ταῦτα τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν ἃ σὺ ποιεῖς, ἔάν μὴ ἦ ὁ θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ; x. 25 τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ.

47-50. On the restoration of these lines depends the interpretation of the whole passage and the question whether we are here confronted with a variant version of the temptation of the Herodians. Before discussing the possibilities it is perhaps well to put down the various forms of this incident in the three Synoptic Gospels:

Matt. xxii. 16-21. καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτῶν [sc. τῶν Φαρισαίων] μετὰ τῶν Ἑρωδιανῶν λέγοντας· Διδάσκαλε, οἴλαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς εἶ καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ διδάσκεις, καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ οὐδενός, οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων· εἶπον οὖν ἡμῖν, τί σοι δοκεῖ; ἔξεστιν δοῦναι κῆνον Καίσαρι ἢ οὐ; γνοῦς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶπεν· τί με πειράζετε, ὑποκριταί; ἐπιδείξατέ μοι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦ κήνσου. οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ δηνάριον. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς· τίνοσ εἰκὼν αὕτη καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή; λέγουσιν· Καίσαρος. τότε λέγει αὐτοῖς· ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.

Mark xii. 13-17. καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν τίνος τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῶν Ἑρωδιανῶν, ἵνα αὐτὸν ἀγρεύσωσιν λόγῳ. καὶ ἐλθόντες λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· Διδάσκαλε, οἴλαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς εἶ καὶ οὐ μέλει σοι περὶ οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ βλέπεις εἰς πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις; ἔξεστιν κῆνον Καίσαρι δοῦναι ἢ οὐ; δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν; ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπόκρισιν εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί με πειράζετε; φέρετέ μοι δηνάριον ἵνα ἴδω. οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν. καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· τίνος ἡ εἰκὼν αὕτη καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφή; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν αὐτῷ· Καίσαρος. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τὰ Καίσαρος ἀπόδοτε Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.

Luke xx. 20-5. καὶ παρατήρησαντες ἀπέστειλαν ἑκατὸς ἑκάστου ὑποκρινομένους ἑαυτοὺς δικαίους εἶναι, ἵνα ἐπιλάβωνται αὐτοῦ λόγου, ὥστε παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῇ ἔξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἡγεμόνου. καὶ ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες· Διδάσκαλε, οἴλαμεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγεις καὶ διδάσκεις καὶ οὐ λαμβάνεις πρόσωπον, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ διδάσκεις; ἔξεστιν ἡμᾶς Καίσαρι φόρον δοῦναι ἢ οὐ; κατανοήσας δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν πανουργίαν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· Δείξατέ μοι δηνάριον. τίνοσ εἶχει εἰκόνα καὶ ἐπιγραφήν; οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· Καίσαρος. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· τοῖνον ἀπόδοτε τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ θεῷ.

Here again the three accounts are essentially the same, differing only in minor details of wording and arrangement, except that St. Luke does not identify the questioners with the Herodians and the disciples of the Pharisees. When the Synoptic story is compared with the incident in 1, however ll. 48 and 49 be restored, the differences are seen to be great, indeed radical; but there are certain resemblances. In both we get a body of people 'tempting' Jesus with a question; in both he is addressed as 'teacher' (in 1 διδάσκαλε Ἰησοῦ); in both the inquirers begin with a compliment and a hypocritical testimony to His qualifications for giving an answer; in both the question begins 'is it lawful?'; in both it somehow concerns the secular government (in the Synoptists Caesar, in 1 the vaguer 'kings'); in both Jesus perceives the guile of the question; and in both He begins with a counter-question indicating His perception (in Luke this is omitted). But in 1, so far as preserved, no answer is given, and instead Jesus inveighs against the Jews in words of Isaiah quoted by Matthew and Mark in a quite different context.

This said by way of preface, the details must be discussed. In the first place, the reading after ημεῖν is very difficult. What appears is a well-defined loop, like a small omicron rather above the proper position. It is like no other letter in the papyrus, but most resembles the top loop of α, which its position also suits, thus suggesting the interrogative particle ἄρα, or rather, in view of the space, ἄρ'; but nothing can be seen of the lower part of that letter, and there is no indication that the surface of the papyrus has been seriously damaged. After considerable hesitation it has seemed best to take it as a point, which has assumed the present form owing to the peculiarity in the scribe's pen alluded to above (p. 7), the point having opened and made two marks (forming a circle) instead of one. That βαλευσ[] is βασιλεύσι is certain, and it seems almost equally certain that ναῖ must be part of the infinitive of a verb. The question therefore arises whether the dative, τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, is governed by ἔξω or by this verb; in other words, whether the question is: 'is it lawful for kings to . . . ?' or, 'is it lawful to [give?] to kings?' Only in the second case is there even a *prima facie* case for connecting the passage with the temptation of the Herodians.

The next problem is what is to be read at the end of l. 49. Clearly τοῖς is the end of a word which began in l. 49; and as οῖς is certain and the letters before the lacuna in l. 49 are clearly not αῦ, we cannot anywhere read αὐτῶν. The last letter visible in l. 49 gave a good deal of trouble at first, till Mr. Milne recognized that the character is the first half of π, with the end of the preceding α intersecting it and turned almost vertically upwards. Once seen, the reading απ is clear; for similar examples see αγαρ in l. 46, where the α turns up, coalescing with the down-stroke of γ, or the απ of l. 39, where the α turns upwards through the π as in this case, though the fact is there less obvious because the up-stroke coincides with the first down-stroke of π. In ll. 47-9 rather more is preserved on the right edge of the leaf than elsewhere; hence no very long supplement is possible.

Any attempt to restore what is lost or to interpret the passage must start from a recognition of the fact (1) that the question is intended to embroil Jesus with the secular authorities (ὥστε παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀρχῇ as St. Luke puts it) and (2) that, though general in form

(βασιλεις), it must have some particular reference. The authorities concerned are no doubt either the Roman governor or Herod. If it be the former, βασιλεῦσι is an indirect way of referring to the Emperor. The analogies already noted with the Synoptic account of the Herodians' question favour this; and the form of the question, though more general than the Synoptic version, may be made to agree with it in essence if, following a brilliant suggestion by Mr. C. W. Brodribb of *The Times*, we end the sentence at ἀρχῆ and make π[ι] part of the verb ἀποδίδωμι. In Mark's version the question is in two parts, the second being δῶμεν ἢ μὴ δῶμεν; In l. 50 here ο[ῦ] was at first read; but μ[ι] is really a likelier reading than ο[ι], and μ[ι] suits the space better. Hence the supplement adopted in the text, which is in substance that of Mr. Brodribb, may be regarded as all but certain.

50 f. Διάνοιαν: it would be rather more in accordance with ordinary practice to divide Διάνοιαν. It is therefore possible that we should read δυοιαν, for which see Luke vi. 11 αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπιλήσθησαν ἀνοίας, καὶ διελάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τί ἂν ποιήσασιν τῷ Ἰησοῦ. This would, however, give a rather short supplement in l. 50.

51. ἐμβρειμ[η]σάμενος: this passage gives strong support to the interpretation of ἐμβριμάομαι as 'to be moved with indignation'; see Moulton and Milligan, *Vocab. of the Greek Testament*, s.v. The verb is, however, a somewhat mysterious one; why, for example, was Jesus ἐμβριμησάμενος in the case of the leper (Mark i. 43)? (D, a, ff² and the Diatessaron have ὀργισθεὶς for σπλαγχνισθεὶς in v. 41; see A. E. J. Rawlinson, *The Gospel acc. to St. Mark*, p. 21.) Perhaps it refers to any strong emotional disturbance, whether of indignation or otherwise (so in John xi. 33, Kenyon); but in Mark i. 43 it may denote indignation, if it be supposed that Jesus was angry with the man for breaking the law by consorting with lepers. If this (rather dubious) suggestion be accepted, the case for the authenticity of the saying recorded in ll. 33-6 is strengthened. The Marcan version in fact is incomplete without the detail which 1 supplies. Since W omits the words καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος . . . αὐτόν, it looks as if some difficulty were felt.

52-4. For the thought cf. Luke vi. 46 τί δέ με καλεῖτε κύριε κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ὃ λέγω; and see, too, xviii. 19 τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; Neither is an exact parallel. The second is indeed in reply to a question but is not part of such a reproach as is implied in μὴ ἀκούοντες ὃ λέγω; the first parallels the thought but occurs in a different context, appearing in St. Luke's version of the Sermon on the Mount, as a variant form of Matt. vii. 21 οὐ πᾶς ὃ λέγων μοι κύριε κύριε, εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' ὃ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρὸς μου τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. It is conceivable that the Lucan version, which fits into its context less smoothly than that of St. Matthew, may be due to contamination by the saying here recorded. It may be remarked that ἐν τῷ στόματι occurs in Isaiah xxix. 13 in the clause immediately preceding the passage quoted in the Gospels. The words here may be a reminiscence of that; hence ἐν should perhaps be supplied, but τῷ στόματι alone suits the space better.

54-9. This passage is quoted in Matt. xv. 7-9, Mark vii. 6-7 in a different context (the eating with unwashed hands); see below, p. 34. Here the ὑποκριταὶ is omitted, the

wording of the preface to the quotation is different, and the quotation itself differs from the Synoptic version: *χειλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσιν με* replaces *χειλεσίν με τιμᾶ* (the former is the LXX version; *τιμῶσιν* seems necessitated by the space); it seems probable that *μάτην με σέβοντα*, which suits the space better, was written for *μάτην δὲ σέβοντα με*; and *ἐντάλιμα* was certainly placed in a different order.

60-75. This is the only passage to which no even possible parallel can be found in the canonical Gospels, which therefore supply no help towards filling up the lacunae; and unfortunately this is the page in which the surface of the papyrus is in the worst condition. Consequently there is considerable doubt as to both the nature of the incident recorded and several of the individual readings. The question is discussed in the note on l. 62.

60. *τῶπῳ*: the *ω* is certain, but the other letters are all extremely dubious. If the down-stroke read as *τ* is correct (it is perhaps rather too far from the preceding *ω*) the space for *στ* is none too big. *[κ]σταλεισαν* is hardly to be avoided, and the participle, in view of the highly probable *ὑποτέτακτα*[*ι*], is perhaps more likely to be a genitive absolute than a nominative. It may be either singular or plural; it is hardly possible to say which until a clearer understanding of the context has been reached.

61. *ὑποτέτακτα*[*ι*]: though very little of the *υ* remains, it is rendered all but certain by a stroke above it, which must be part of the diacresis. The following *π* is highly probable, and the *τα*[*ι*] at the end is suggested by the traces.

62. This seems likely to be the *ξένον ἐπερώτημα* of l. 64. The traces at the beginning are not unsuitable to *διὰ τῆ*, though the space is a little large for *σπιτο*. Mr. Milne and Sir Frederic Kenyon have suggested some restorations and interpretations, here and in what follows, which, while they must be regarded with scepticism as they stand, do certainly make excellent sense of the passage and may lead to the final solution. Milne would compare the incident with Christ's saying in John xii. 24 *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἕαν μὴ ὁ κόκκος τοῦ σίτου πεσῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποθάνῃ, αὐτὸς μόνος μένει· ἕαν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, πολλὸν καρπὸν φέρει*. The word *βάρως* may, he suggests, have the sense 'abundance' (see L. and S., *s.v.*, and cf. 2 Cor. iv. 17 *αἰώνιον βάρως δόξης*); and in l. 63 *γίνεται* may perhaps be restored, while in l. 62 he proposes, e.g., *τῆ γῆ*. We thus get some such sense as '[When they (or ye, Kenyon)] have shut [the seed in a hidden] place, [when] it is put out of sight [in the earth], what causes its abundance to become too great to measure?' What follows is an illustration of this. In l. 68 either *[ἐγέ]μισεν* (Milne) or *[ἐκό]μισεν* (Kenyon) is probable, and in l. 69 *σίτον* (or *σίτα*) might perhaps be restored (*σπέρμα* seems too long), and perhaps *[ποταμ]όν* in l. 70. Later on Milne suggests *[λαβών] κατε[σπαρμ]ένον ὕδαρ¹ ἐπ[ι] τῆν γῆν [κατέβαλεν]* (or *ἔσπειρεν*) *καὶ ἐπλή[η]θη* ('germinated', 'was quickened').

Attractive as the idea is, several of the actual readings proposed do not inspire confidence. The relation of *καταλεισαν-* to *ὑποτέτακται* is not very happy and the sense given to the latter, especially in conjunction with *τῆ γῆ* (there is not room for *ἐν*), is unsatisfactory.

¹ So too Kenyon.

The sowing of the corn on the river is at least unexpected; and the phrase λαβὼν κατεσπαρμένον ὕδωρ is highly objectionable. σπείρω, like our 'sow', can be used of either the seed or the earth in which it is sown, and κατεσπαρμένη or ἐσπαρμένη is a well-known category of land in Egyptian land-registers; but it is a very different thing to apply the participle to water. Moreover, the sense postulated seems to require either the partitive genitive (or an equivalent) or at the very least the article τό. Could a Greek ever have expressed 'he took (some of) the water on which seed had been sown' by ἔλαβεν κατεσπαρμένον ὕδωρ? Again, while the passive of πίμπλημι could mean 'to conceive' when used of a female animal, it does not seem clear that it could be applied to seed-corn or to land; and everywhere in the N.T. it means either 'to be fulfilled' or 'to be filled with' something. Lastly, the reading ἐπ[ι τ]ῆν γῆν, though at first adopted, is considerably less probable than that printed in the text. Nevertheless, Milne's and Kenyon's suggestions may be on the right lines as regards the general interpretation of the incident.

64. ὦν is inadequate to fill the space. πάντων would be too long after it, and hence ὡς, which suits the space, is read, with some hesitation.

66. Ἰο[ρδάνου]: the certain ἰο and νοῦ (of α only a mere speck remains) put the reading beyond reasonable doubt. [ποταμ]οῦ, which just suits the space, follows naturally; cf. Matt. iii. 6, Mark i. 5 ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ.

71. εἰ[.] . ν τῆν: if the first word is a verb it must be very short, e.g. ἐν[ῆκ]εν. Whatever supplements may be adopted it seems impossible to end a clause with ὕδωρ as the point suggests. If not accidental (see critical note) it may be stichometrical; Milne suggests that the punctuation is by κῶλα. But if so, it does not seem to be carried out consistently.

72. ἐπ[.] .]θη: presumably a verb. The trace of ink after π, which rather suggests ι (difficult here), would well suit Milne's λ. Kenyon suggests ἐπή[ρ]θη.

73. ἐξήγα[γ]εν: not certain, for the ξ is not very good and there is little space for γ, but palaeographically possible, and it seems to be imposed by the letters which are certain.

καρπός(ν): palaeographically likely, but by no means certain.

74. Cf. John xvi. 20 ἀλλ' ἡ λύπη ὑμῶν εἰς χαρὰν γενήσεται, but it is too hazardous to connect this passage with that. εἰς χαρὰν is, however, likely enough. If so, this may be part of a speech of Jesus, e.g. πολλοί[οις ἔσται] εἰς χαρὰν (cf. Luke ii. 10 εὐαγγελίζομαι ὑμῖν χαρὰν μεγάλην, ἣτις ἔσται παντὶ τῷ λαῷ).

76-87. It is just possible that this fragment should be placed above fragment 1, giving the upper right portion of the first page, the upper left portion of the second. The contents suit this position fairly well. In ll. 76-81 we should then have the preliminaries to the conversation recorded on page 1: Jesus is apparently conversing with his interlocutors, and knowing (εἰδὼς, l. 80) their intentions against him, we may suppose, he addresses to them (the νομικοί) the remark recorded in ll. 2-5. Ll. 82-7 well suit the

transition to page 2: the rulers, infuriated by what Jesus has said (for this see also the note on l. 83), resolve to kill Him (l. 85). Jesus makes a further (short) remark (λέγει, l. 86), which further angers them, and they urge the multitude to stone Him (ll. 22 ff.). The general appearance of the papyrus on the two sides is also not unfavourable to this position; but unfortunately a close examination of the fibres makes it very doubtful. The two fragments are indeed not continuous, but down the right portion of fragm. 3 verso runs a line where the vertical fibres were displaced in manufacture, leaving a narrow space of varying width where only the horizontal fibres appear. There is in fragm. 1 verso no similar derangement of fibres in a position so related to fragment 3 that to place the fibres of the latter in the right position with regard to the former would not throw the margin of the text out of relation. It is always a little unsatisfactory to compare fibres on pieces which are not continuous, and the position suggested for fragment 3 cannot be definitely ruled out, but it is certainly improbable on the evidence of the papyrus, and it seems more likely that this fragment formed part of a third leaf.

83. Perhaps μένω παρ' ὑμῖν; cf. John xiv. 25 ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν παρ' ὑμῖν μένων. Possibly οὐκέτι μένω παρ' ὑμῖν, which might follow on Jesus' reproach of want of faith in ll. 18 ff.

84. ἀ-]κούσεις is also possible.

84 f. ἀποκτείνωσιν; probably preceded by ἵνα or ὅπως and followed by αὐτόν; cf. John xi. 53 ἀπ' ἐκείνης οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐβουλεύσαντο ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσιν αὐτόν.

Below are printed in parallel columns (1) the Greek text in modern form (brackets being inserted only in the case of the more speculative restorations) and arranged in numbered sections for reference, without regard to the line-divisions of the manuscript, (2) parallels from the canonical Gospels. Translations of both follow, those of the Gospel parallel being quoted from the Revised Version. Difficulties of printing have made it necessary to omit in the English the conclusion of the parallel quotations from the Synoptic version of the healing of the leper.

THE GREEK TEXT IN MODERN FORM

. . . (1) ? ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν (οἱ εἶπεν δὲ)] τοῖς νομικοῖς· [? κολλάζετε] πάντα τὸν παραπράσσοντα [καὶ ἄνο]μον καὶ μὴ ἐμέ· . . . αἱ οἰοεῖ πῶς ποιεῖ; (2) πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ [στ]ρα[φεί]ς εἶπεν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον· ἔραυνάτε τὰς γραφάς, ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς λοκεῖτε ζωὴν ἔχειν· ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ. (3) μὴ λοκεῖτε ὅτι ἐγὼ ἦλθον κατηγορῆσαι ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου· ἔστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν Μωϋσῆς, εἰς ὃν ὑμεῖς ἠλπίζατε. (4) αὐτῶν δὲ λεγόντων· εὖ οἶδαμεν ὅτι Μωϋσεὶ ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεός, σὲ δὲ οὐκ οἶδαμεν πόθεν εἶ, ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· νῦν κατηγορεῖται ὑμῶν ἡ ἀπιστία . . .

. . . (5) ? συνεβουλεύσαντο τῶ] ὄχλῳ [? ἵνα βαστάσαντες τὰς] λίθους ὁμοῦ λιθάσωσιν αὐτόν. (6) καὶ ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν οἱ ἄρχοντες ἵνα πιάσωσιν καὶ παρ[αδιδῶσιν ?] τῶ ὄχλῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο αὐτὸν πιάσαι, ὅτι οὐπῶ ἐληλύθει αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα τῆς παραδόσεως. (7) αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἐξελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἀπένευσεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. (8) καὶ ἰδοὺ λεπρὸς προσελθὼν αὐτῷ λέγει· διδάσκαλε Ἰησοῦ, λεπροῖς συνοδεύων καὶ συνεσθίων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ πανδοχεῖῳ ἐλέτησα καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγώ. ἐὰν οὖν σὺ θέλῃς, καθαρίζομαι. (9) ὁ δὲ κύριος ἔφη αὐτῷ· θέλω· καθαρίσθητι. καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέστη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα. (10) [ὁ δὲ κύριος εἶπεν αὐτῷ]· πορευθεὶς ἐπίλειξον σεαυτὸν] τοῖς ἱερεῦσι . . .

. . . (11) παραγενόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξ[ετασ]τικῶς ἐπέειραζον αὐτόν, λέγοντες· διδάσκαλε Ἰησοῦ, οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐλήλυθας· ἃ γὰρ ποιεῖς μαρτυρεῖ ὑπὲρ τοὺς προφήτας πάντας. (12) λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν· ἐξὸν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν [ἀποδοῦ]ναι τὰ ἀνήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ; ἀπ[οδῶ]μεν αὐ]τοῖς ἢ μή; (13) ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἰδὼς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐμβριμησάμενος εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· τί με καλεῖτε τῶ στόματι ὑμῶν διδάσκαλον, μὴ ἀκούοντες ὃ λέγω; (14) καλῶς Ἡσαΐας περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπροφήτευσεν, εἰπὼν· ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσιν με, ἢ δὲ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. μάτην με σέβονται, ἐντάλματα . . .

. . . (15)] τῷ τόπῳ κατακλίσαντ . . . ὑποτέτακται ἀδήλως τὸ βάρος αὐτοῦ ἄστατον ; (16) ἀπορηθέντων δὲ ἐκείνων [ὡς] πρὸς τὸ ξένον ἐπερώτημα αὐτοῦ, περιπατῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐστάθη ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλους τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ, καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιάν . . . μισεν καὶ κατέσπειρεν ἐπὶ τὸν ον. (17) καὶ τότε . . . κατε[? σπαρμ]μένον ὕδωρ εν . . . ν τὴν καὶ ἐπ . . . θη ἐνώ[πιον αὐτῶν] ἐξήγαγεν δὲ καρπὸν . . .

PARALLELS FROM THE CANONICAL GOSPELS

John v. 39. ἔραυνάτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν, καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ. John v. 45. μὴ δοκεῖτε ὅτι ἐγὼ κατηγορήσω ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ἔστιν ὁ κατηγορῶν ὑμῶν Μωϋσῆς, εἰς ὃν ὑμεῖς ἠλπίκατε.

John ix. 29. ἡμεῖς οἶδαμεν ὅτι Μωϋσεὶ λελάληκεν ὁ θεός, τοῦτον δὲ οὐκ οἶδαμεν πόθεν ἐστίν.

John viii. 59. ἦραν οὖν λίθους ἵνα βάλωσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

John vii. 30. ἐζήτουν οὖν αὐτὸν πιάσαι καὶ οὐδαίς ἐπέβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν χεῖρα, ὅτι οὐπω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ (cf. vii. 32).

Luke iv. 30. αὐτὸς δὲ διελθὼν διὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο.

Matt. viii. 2-4. καὶ Ἰησοῦς λέγων πρὸς προσελθόντων προσεκύνη αὐτῷ λέγων· κύριε, ἐὰν θέλης, δύνασαι με καθαρίσαι. καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ λέγων· θέλω, καθάρισθητι. καὶ εὐθέως ἐκαθερίσθη αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· ὄρα μηδενὶ εἰπῆς, ἀλλὰ ὑπάγε σεαυτὸν δείξον τῷ ἱερεῖ κτλ.

Luke xvii. 14. πορευθέντες ἐπίδειξατε ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν.

Matt. xxii. 16 (cf. Mark xii. 14, Luke xx. 21) Διδάσκαλε, οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς εἶ κτλ.

Luke vi. 46. τί λέ με καλεῖτε· κύριε κύριε, καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε ἅ λέγω;

Matt. xv. 7-8. ὑποκριταί, καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας λέγων· ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χεῖλεσιν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· μάτην δὲ σέβονται με διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων.

John x. 31. ἐβάστασαν πάλιν λίθους οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἵνα λιθάσωσιν αὐτόν.

John vii. 44. τινὲς δὲ ἤθελον ἐξ αὐτῶν πιάσαι αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐδαίς ἐβαλεν ἐπ' αὐτόν τὰς χεῖρας. John x. 39. ἐζήτουν οὖν αὐτὸν πιάσαι, καὶ ἐξήλθεν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν.

Mark i. 40-4. καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς αὐτὸν λεπρός, παρακαλῶν αὐτόν καὶ γονυπετῶν λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐὰν θέλης δύνασαι με καθαρίσαι. καὶ σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἤψατο καὶ λέγει· θέλω, καθάρισθητι. καὶ εὐθέως ἀπήλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ λέπρα, καὶ ἐκαθερίσθη. καὶ ἐμβριμῶσάμενος αὐτῷ εὐθέως ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ· ὄρα μηδενὶ μηδὲν εἰπῆς, ἀλλὰ ὑπάγε σεαυτὸν δείξον τῷ ἱερεῖ κτλ.

John iii. 2. ῥαββει, οἶδαμεν ὅτι ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἐλήλυθας διδάσκαλος· οὐδαίς γὰρ δύναται ταῦτα· τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν ἃ σὺ ποιεῖς, ἐὰν μὴ ᾗ ὁ θεός μετ' αὐτοῦ.

Luke xviii. 19. τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν;

Luke v. 12-14. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἀνῆρ πλήρης λέπρας· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦς, πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἐδεήθη αὐτοῦ λέγων· κύριε, ἐὰν θέλης, δύνασαι με καθαρίσαι. καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἤψατο αὐτοῦ εἰπὼν· θέλω, καθάρισθητι. καὶ εὐθέως ἡ λέπρα ἀπήλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ αὐτὸς παρηγγεῖλεν αὐτῷ μηδενὶ εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀπελθὼν δείξον σεαυτὸν τῷ ἱερεῖ κτλ.

John x. 25. τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι τοῦ πατρὸς μου, ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ.

Mark vii. 6-7. καλῶς ἐπροφήτευσεν Ἡσαΐας περὶ ὑμῶν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ὡς γέγραπται ὅτι οὗτος ὁ λαὸς κτλ. as in Matt.

TRANSLATION

. . . (1) ? And Jesus said] unto the lawyers, [? Punish] every wrongdoer and transgressor, and not me; (2) And turning to the rulers of the people he spake this saying, Search the scriptures, in which ye think that ye have life; these are they which bear witness of me. (3) Think not that I came to accuse you to my Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, on whom ye have set your hope. (4) And when they said, We know well that God spake unto Moses, but as for thee, we know not whence thou art, Jesus answered and said unto them, Now is your unbelief accused . . .

. . . (5) ? they gave counsel to] the multitude to [? carry the] stones together and stone him. (6) And the rulers sought to lay their hands on him that they might take him and [? hand him over] to the multitude; and they could not take him, because the hour of his betrayal was not yet come. (7) But he himself, even the Lord, going out through the midst of them, departed from them. (8) And behold, there cometh unto him a leper and saith, Master Jesus, journeying with lepers and eating with them in the inn I myself also became a leper. If therefore thou wilt, I am made clean. (9) The Lord then said unto him, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway the leprosy departed from him. (10) [And the Lord said unto him], Go [and shew thyself] unto the [priests . . .

. . . (11) coming unto him began to tempt him with a question, saying, Master Jesus, we know that thou art come from God, for the things which thou doest testify above all the prophets. (12) Tell us therefore: Is it lawful [? to render] unto kings that which pertaineth unto their rule? [Shall we render unto them], or not? (13) But Jesus, knowing their thought, being moved with indignation, said unto them, Why call ye me with your mouth Master, when ye hear not what I say? (14) Well did Isaiah prophesy of you, saying, This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. In vain do they worship me, [teaching as their doctrines the] precepts [of men] . . .

. . . (15) shut up . . . in . . . place . . . its weight unweighed? (16) And when they were perplexed at his strange question, Jesus, as he walked, stood still on the edge of the river Jordan, and stretching forth his right hand he . . . and sprinkled it upon the . . . (17) And then . . . water that had been sprinkled . . . before them and sent forth fruit . . .

R. V.

John v. 39. Ye search the scriptures [*or*, Search the scriptures], because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and these are they which bear witness of me. John v. 45. Think not that I will accuse you to the Father: there is one that accuseth you, *even* Moses, on whom ye have set your hope.

John ix. 29. We know that God hath spoken unto Moses: but as for this man, we know not whence he is.

John viii. 59. They took up stones therefore to cast at him.

John vii. 30. They sought therefore to take him: and no man laid his hand on him, because his hour was not yet come.

Luke iv. 30. But he passing through the midst of them went his way.

Matt. viii. 2-3. And behold, there came to him a leper and worshipped him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he stretched forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway his leprosy was cleansed.

Luke xvii. 14. Go and shew yourselves unto the priests.

Matt. xxii. 16 (cf. Mark xii. 14, Luke xx. 21). Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the way of God in truth, &c.

Luke vi. 46. And why call ye me, Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?

Matt. xv. 7-9. Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips; But their heart is far from me. But in vain do they worship me, teaching *as their* doctrines the precepts of men.

John x. 31. The Jews took up stones again to stone him.

John vii. 44. And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him.

John x. 39. They sought again to take him: and he went forth out of their hand.

Mark i. 40-2. And there cometh to him a leper, beseeching him, and kneeling down to him, and saying unto him, If thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And being moved with compassion, he stretched forth his hand, and touched him, and saith unto him, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway the leprosy departed from him, and he was made clean.

Luke v. 12-13. And it came to pass, while he was in one of the cities, behold, a man full of leprosy: and when he saw Jesus, he fell on his face, and besought him, saying, Lord, if thou wilt, thou canst make me clean. And he stretched forth his hand, and touched him, saying, I will; be thou made clean. And straightway the leprosy departed from him.

John iii. 2. Rabbi, we know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these signs that thou doest, except God be with him.

John x. 25. The works that I do in my Father's name, these bear witness of me.

Luke xviii. 19. Why callest thou me good?

Mark vii. 6-7. Well did Isaiah prophesy of you hypocrites, as it is written, This people, &c.

The question must now be discussed: what is the character of the text and in what relation does it stand to the canonical Gospels? It is clear beyond possibility of cavil that we have here neither a collection of sayings, like the Oxyrhynchus Logia, nor a series of excerpts. Not less clear is it that this is not a harmony of the canonical Gospels; for it contains matter which is not in any of them, and where, as in ll. 32-41 and probably in ll. 43-59, the incidents may be the same as are recorded by the Synoptists they are told in an entirely different way. It is, in fact, indubitably a real Gospel; but it is easier to establish this than to decide whether it can be connected with any known uncanonical Gospel, and, if so, with which. Most of the known New Testament Apocrypha can indeed be ruled out at once. Some of them are 'Passions' merely, some are 'Infancy Gospels', whereas 1 is obviously part of a work designed on much the same lines as the canonical Gospels. It may perhaps seem rash to affirm this so positively on the basis of two leaves and a small fragment; but the whole scale of the narrative, the variety of incidents recorded, the mixture of sayings and miracles, irresistibly suggest this conclusion; and it is strengthened by ll. 28-9, which seem to point forward to the Passion. Again, the majority of the Apocrypha are more or less heretical in tendency; several were, in fact, written in the interest of some particular heretical sect, and the heretical intention is usually plain enough. Here, however, there is not the slightest suspicion of any heretical doctrine or any of that obvious embroidering and sensational exaggeration of traditional matter so characteristic of the apocryphal writer. The writer's interest seems, like that of the Synoptists, to be primarily historical, in the sayings and doings of Christ, the style is sober and matter-of-fact, and there appears to be, so far as these fragments are concerned, a complete absence of any merely thaumaturgic element. The only possible exception is fragment 2 verso, where an incident is related which has no Gospel parallel and which certainly makes a somewhat strange impression. Here supplements can be imagined (and one is suggested in the note *ad loc.*) which would give a rather thaumaturgic turn to the narrative; but the mutilation of the text makes them too hazardous to support any positive conclusions, and in any case, so far as any interpretation of the passage can be essayed, it would appear that the incident is more likely to have a symbolic and illustrative significance than to be a piece of mere wonder-working.

As a matter of fact, the Gospel here preserved, the original composition of which can hardly be later than the early years of the second century, is probably too early for a definitely heretical intention to be at all likely. Heretical elements and tendencies there were no doubt in the thought of the early second century, but it may be questioned whether any of the great heresies had sufficiently crystallized at the period which we must presumably postulate for the composition of this text to permit of its identification with any of the really heretical Apocrypha. Some uncanonical Gospels are known, however, of which a fully heretical purpose cannot be asserted, and we must consider whether 1 may belong to one of these. The recorded works which most obviously suggest themselves on the discovery of such fragments as these are the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and the Gospel of Peter. The first is ruled out by the fact that it stood in a specially close relation to St. Matthew's Gospel, so much so

that some have regarded it as a sort of proto-Matthew, whereas 1, if it can be connected with Matthew at all, has only the slightest points of contact with it. Moreover, it is very doubtful whether a Greek version of the Gospel according to the Hebrews existed as early as the first half of the second century.

There is less superficial difficulty in connecting 1 with the Gospel of Peter, but a weighing of all the evidence makes very strongly against this also. The Gospel of Peter has frequently been described as Docetic in character; and though L. Vaganay, who has recently devoted to it a very careful and comprehensive study (*L'Évangile de Pierre*, Paris, 1930), concludes (pp. 118-22) that it is a product of popular Christianity rather than a really Docetic work, he admits, what indeed is evident, that it shows Docetic tendencies. The entire absence of any such phenomena from 1 cannot be regarded as a very serious argument, the fragments being so small, but it must certainly be reckoned with. More weighty is the relation of the two works to the canonical Gospels. It seems to be generally agreed that the author of the Gospel of Peter used the Synoptic Gospels, though he handled very freely the material they offered, but it has been disputed whether or not he knew St. John. Vaganay concludes that he probably did; but at least we may say that the connexion is slight. Now the connexion between 1 and John is obvious and palpable, whereas it is far less certain that its author made any direct use of the Synoptists. Again, the Gospel of Peter appears to have had but a restricted circulation. Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (A.D. 190-211), did not know of it till he found it circulating in the church of Rhossos; and such little evidence as we have suggests that its early use was in the main confined to Syria and Palestine; Vaganay concludes (p. 179) that it originated in the former. Egypt has indeed been considered as a possible provenance, and certainly the fragment to which we owe most of our knowledge of it was found there; but that fragment is of late date, and the arguments for an Egyptian origin of the Gospel are flimsy. One would hardly expect, therefore, to find it in an Egyptian papyrus of about the middle of the second century. Furthermore, the very date of 1 is against identification with the Gospel of Peter. The composition of the latter has indeed by some critics been put back as early as the end of the first century, but this seems on the whole unlikely. M. R. James (*The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, p. 90) thinks it 'not safe to date the book much earlier than A.D. 150'; Vaganay (p. 163) inclines to a date shortly after A.D. 120. In either case it is at least unexpected to find it circulating in Middle Egypt by the middle of the century.

There are, however, other and perhaps even stronger arguments. The tone of 1 is sober, concise, and matter-of-fact; that of the Gospel of Peter is inclined to the marvellous, to wordiness, and to occasional extravagance. More important, the actual structure of the style differs considerably. That of the Gospel of Peter is definitely more vulgar than that of 1, as is obvious from even a hasty comparison of the two. The following among many other points of difference may be noted: the Gospel of Peter is notably syntactic in style, clause following clause connected by καί in a manner characteristic of the naïve Greek of the uneducated classes; 1 shows a far more developed construction. In the Gospel of Peter ὅτι is several times inserted before reported speech, as so often in St. Mark's Gospel

(§§ 2, 11, 28); in **1** it is never so used. Asyndeton occurs in the Gospel of Peter seven times (§§ 22, τότε ἥλιος ἔλαμψε; 25, τότε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι; 29, ἐφοβήθησαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι; 45, ταῦτα ἰδόντες; 46, ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ Πειλᾶτος; 47, εἶτα προσελθόντες; 57, τότε αἱ γυναῖκες),¹ but not once in **1** (cf. l. 70, καὶ τότε, as contrasted with the abrupt τότε characteristic of the Gospel of Peter). In the Gospel of Peter Jesus is never once referred to by name (this is indeed one of the phenomena which have been taken as an indication of Docetic tendencies) but only as ὁ κύριος; in **1** ὁ κύριος occurs in narrative passages twice (ll. 30, 37),² Ἰησοῦς three times (ll. 17, 50, 65).

Each of these points is perhaps but slight evidence in itself when **1** is so small in compass, but taken together they constitute a weighty argument; and the general tone and character of the style are quite different in the two texts. The fact that the Gospel of Peter is put into the mouth of the Apostle, so that portions of it are narrated in the first person, is not of much importance as evidence, since what remains of **1** contains no incident in which the presence of St. Peter needed to be emphasized. Nor is it safe to rely too much on a comparison of **1** with the Apocalypse of Peter; for though there is much to be said for the view (cf. M. R. James, *Apocr. N.T.*, p. 505) that the Apocalypse is really part of the Gospel, this view is necessarily conjectural. Certainly, if the Apocalypse actually did form part of the Gospel, the idea of identifying **1** with the latter may be ruled out decisively, since the differences of style and temper between **1** and the Apocalypse are even more marked.

It seems, then, that an identification with either the Gospel according to the Hebrews or that of Peter must be rejected. What of the Gospel according to the Egyptians? There is some initial prejudice in its favour when we are dealing with a Gospel found in Egypt, and there are fewer positive arguments against it than against the others, but that is mainly because so little is known about this Gospel. Certainly what we do know does not suggest that **1** is in any way connected with it. The three principal assertions to which the scanty available evidence concerning the Gospel according to the Egyptians have seemed to some scholars (e.g. Dr. M. R. James) to point are: (1) that it had a definite doctrinal (Gnostic) tendency; (2) that the female disciples occupied a prominent place in it; (3) that it contained a number of somewhat riddling and esoteric sayings; but all these conclusions are necessarily somewhat hazardous. Neither of the first two can be made about **1** so far as it is preserved. As regards the third, which is the best attested of the three, there is nothing of a strange or esoteric kind in fragment 1 or in fragment 2 recto. Fragment 2 verso does, however, contain a ξένον ἐπερώτημα, and it is possible that some emphasis should be laid on this; but it is not apparently in the least of the same kind as the sayings quoted by Clement of Alexandria from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. All we can say, then, is that *prima facie* there is no case for identifying the two.

Neither is there much to be said for identifying **1** with any of the Gospels or similar works of which fragments have been found among Egyptian papyri. The Logia (P. Oxy. 1 and 654) can no doubt be ruled out at once, on every ground. Of P. Oxy. 655 too little

¹ Words like τότε, εἶτα, ταῦτα were no doubt treated by the writer as equivalent to a connecting particle, but this use has no parallel in **1**.

² In l. 39 ὁ κύριος is restored, but Ἰησοῦς is of course equally possible.

remains to justify any confident assertion one way or the other; but what survives offers no point of contact with **1**, though it does with the Gospel according to the Egyptians, and the somewhat staccato style (λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· πότε ἡμῖν ἐμφανῆς ἔσει καὶ πότε σε ὀφόμεθα; λέγει· ὅταν ἐκλύσηθε κτλ.) is not close enough to that of **1** to afford any evidence of identity. There is even less to be said for P. Oxy. 840; indeed, it is definitely unlikely that any connexion exists between **1** and the Gospel there represented. Among other points of difference Christ is twice¹ referred to in the 45 lines of Oxy. 840 as ὁ σωτήρ and is nowhere mentioned by name.

It is in fact easier to say what **1** is not than to say what it is; but an attempt must be made to determine its affinities with the canonical Gospels; and since it stands in a different relation to St. John and to the Synoptists they must be considered separately. It is at least clear that **1** is not a mere *réchauffé* of elements derived from the canonical Gospels. This is proved conclusively by fragment 2 verso; for whatever restorations may there be adopted it is quite impossible to relate the incident recorded to anything which occurs in either John or the Synoptists. A similar conclusion is suggested by the incidents to which possible parallels may be found in the Synoptic Gospels. It is difficult to believe that the healing of the leper in ll. 32-41 is not the same incident as that which is related by the three Synoptists (Matt. viii. 2-4, &c.). It is, however, so differently told that it is by no means certain that the author of **1** was using the Synoptic Gospels at all and not rather drawing on an independent source, oral or written. The only passage which shows a significantly close verbal agreement with the Synoptic versions is precisely that where such agreement would be expected in any narrative of the incident. If we ask ourselves what feature of the miracle would be most likely to impress itself on the popular memory and so to appear unchanged or with but trifling variation in any account, the answer will certainly be that it was the simple affirmation of faith by the leper and Christ's equally simple reply. And as a matter of fact, though the former is identical in form in all the Synoptists, it appears in **1** somewhat differently worded (ἐὰν οὖν [σὺ θέλῃς], καθαρίζομαι against ἐὰν θέλῃς, λύσσασαί με καθαρίσαι). The other verbal similarities are either slight or of a not very significant kind; the only one which is at all important, the concluding injunction (largely restored), is with a different, purely Lucan context.² It is indeed hardly rash to say that there is no conclusive evidence in this section of any use by **1** of the Synoptists. Even if the verbal coincidences betray a knowledge of them it is preferable to believe that the writer used them from a memory of the Synoptic version rather than with a copy of it before him. For his narrative nowhere suggests the work of a mere embellisher of the Synoptic account, and moreover his only substantial addition to the Synoptic version is quite pointless if it is a mere invention. If he were merely embellishing the Synoptic narrative it would hardly be explicable that he omits the 'worshipping' of Jesus which, with differences of wording, all the Synoptists record. Nor is there any apparent reason why he should ignore the stretching out of Christ's hand and touching

¹ Excluding the restoration in l. 21.

² For such transfer of phrases from one incident in one Gospel to a different incident in another, see B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, p. 398.

of the leper. The obvious interpretation of the facts is really this: that while the appeal of the leper and the reply of Jesus impressed themselves so strongly on the hearers' minds that they became a fixed part of *any* narrative of the incident, other details left varying impressions on various people. One tradition, that represented by the Synoptists, remembered the prostration of the leper before Jesus and the touching of him by the latter; another, that represented by **1**, while dropping these points, retained (what the other ignored) the account given by the leper of the way in which he contracted the disease.

Even more definitely may we say that there is no clear sign of Synoptic influence in ll. 43-59. If the supplements adopted in the text are correct, the question here asked is clearly of the same type and asked with the same purpose as that of the Herodians, and the incident may probably be the same, though it is just possible (see p. 40) that it is a similar but earlier attempt of Jesus' enemies to entrap Him. If the latter, it is obviously independent of the Synoptists; if the former, since there is no apparent reason for changing the form of the question and Jesus' reply so drastically, it would appear to represent an independent tradition. The verbal parallels which can be found in the canonical Gospels (Luke and John) to ll. 52-4 (τί με καλεῖτε τῶ στόματι ὑμῶν διδάσκαλον, μὴ ἀκούοντες ὁ λέγω) are so slight as to be irrelevant; the quotation from Isaiah in ll. 54-9 is reported by Matthew and Mark in a totally different context and with verbal differences which make it probable that the author of **1** was not 'lifting' it from there, a conclusion supported by the fact that his version agrees more nearly with the LXX than theirs. Moreover, the words τῶ στόματι, which seem to point forward to the quotation from Isaiah, give that quotation an intimacy of connexion with the context which it hardly possesses in Matthew and Mark. The question is not answered so far as the fragment extends, but it is impossible to say whether or not a reply to it is lost in the lacuna.

So far, then, as the Synoptists are concerned, we may conclude that **1** appears to represent a quite independent tradition. It is not even certain that its author knew those Gospels at all; if he did, it is in the last degree improbable that he was copying from and embroidering them with the text of one or all of them before him; the most that can be conceded is that he had read them and that words and phrases from them had remained in his memory and found their way into his text.¹

The relation of **1** to St. John is on a quite different footing and must be discussed separately. It is indeed of a varying degree of closeness. The leper incident is not found in John, where in fact no healing of lepers is recorded. Nor is the temptation of the Herodians a Johannine tradition. It is worthy of mention that, though the opening remark of the 'tempters' is paralleled in spirit in the Synoptic versions of the Herodian question, a far closer parallel in sense and actual wording is to be found, from a totally different context, in the opening remark of Nicodemus (John iii. 2); but the parallel is general rather than very close in detail, and it is very doubtful whether we should be correct in supposing that the author of **1** had borrowed directly from John (or John from **1**), though a recollection of either by the other may have influenced the phrasing. This is perhaps likely in view

¹ 'He' and 'his' may perhaps be applicable not to the author of **1** but to a written source which he was using; but this is less likely in view of the early date of the papyrus.

of the fact that the second part of the remark is paralleled not by John iii. 2 but by John x. 25, where the words in question (ταῦτα μαρτυρεῖ περὶ ἐμοῦ) are put into the mouth of Jesus, not as here into that of the questioners (ἔ γάρ ποιεῖς μαρτυρεῖ ὑπὲρ τοῦς προφήτας πάντας). In fact a general recollection, by one writer or the other, rather than actual copying best accounts for the phenomena. The incident in fragment 2 verso, as already remarked, has no parallel in any canonical Gospel, but in the mutilated concluding lines it is possible (though very hazardous) to discover an echo of John xvi. 20.

When, however, we turn to ll. 1-29 we find a quite different state of affairs. Whatever view may ultimately be taken of the relationship, there can be no dispute that there is here a close connexion between 1 and John. The only question is what is the nature of this connexion. On the discovery of a new and non-canonical Gospel showing close verbal coincidences with John the assumption which naturally occurs first is that its author was using the existing Gospel of St. John as one of his sources; but a careful consideration of the evidence leads at least to some hesitation about this conclusion. The narrative in 1 makes no impression of being a mosaic of extracts from an earlier work. There is a logical progression in the thought, so far as this can be determined from what remains. First Jesus (if the suggested restorations can be taken as indicating the general sense of the passage) addresses to the lawyers the exhortation to direct their attention to the law-breaker, not to Him. Then, turning to the rulers of the people, who no doubt represented more especially the Pharisaic party, He appeals to their knowledge of the Scriptures to confirm His mission; and He adds to the force of this by saying in effect: 'Do not mistake me; it is not I who accuse you but your own law-giver Moses, who, you will find, bears testimony to me and thereby convicts you of want of faith.' The Pharisees, quite naturally, reply that they know that God spoke to Moses, but as for Jesus, they have no knowledge of His credentials; whereupon Jesus proceeds to a further demonstration (now lost) of their want of faith. The development is perfectly smooth and self-consistent; yet when we turn to the Johannine parallels we find that the words ἐραυνᾶτε . . . περὶ ἐμοῦ are preceded by no such remark as that which 1 records immediately before them but form part of a long speech which began twenty verses earlier; that they are separated by five verses from the words which follow, μὴ δοκεῖτε . . . ἠλπικότε; that in John these words are followed by two more verses not found in 1, after which the Evangelist proceeds to a new episode, whereas in 1 the rulers of the people make a reply which, with the necessary change of person, is found in John in an entirely different context, being addressed by the Pharisees to the man born blind; and that this reply is in 1 followed by a further speech of Jesus, which, though only the beginning of it remains, is clearly not found anywhere in John or the other canonical Gospels. Here this page ends, but the episode is clearly continued on the verso; and here the relationship to John is even more curious. Once again, the narrative, so far as preserved, is quite continuous and well fitted together, and once again it recalls John at every turn. The attempt to stone Jesus is no part of John v, with which the two first sentences addressed by Him on the recto to the rulers of the people find their parallel. There are two separate passages in John (viii and x) where stones are taken up against Jesus, the second containing a reminiscence

(πόλις) of the first, but in neither case does the context agree with that of 1; the wording of the latter seems to agree more closely with the second, x. 31. On three different occasions, none of them agreeing with the context here, St. John records in language generally recalling 1, unsuccessful attempts to seize (πιάζω) Jesus, and in one of them (vii. 30) he adds ὅτι οὕτω ἐληλύθει ἡ ὥρα αὐτοῦ; in 1 we find a similar phrase, ὅτι οὕτω ἐληλύθει αὐτοῦ ἡ ὥρα τῆς παραδόσεως. The concluding sentence of this episode in 1 has partial parallels with John x. 39 and Luke iv. 30 (1 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος ἐξελεῖθαι [δικὰ μέσου αὐ]τῶν ἀπένευσεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν; John, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῶν; Luke, αὐτὸς δὲ διελθὼν δικὰ μέσου αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο), but in neither case is the context the same.

Of these phenomena there appear to be only three reasonable explanations. (1) The writer of 1 was directly using John and picking isolated sentences from various contexts, which, with great skill and some small changes of wording, he fitted into a continuous narrative, a narrative which on this hypothesis can claim no real authority. (2) John used 1 as one of the sources on which he based his own Gospel. (3) John and the writer of 1 were drawing, in different degrees, on a common source. Neglecting for the moment the last possibility, we must ask whether the first or the second is in itself the more likely. There are certainly some weighty objections to the first. We have seen that elsewhere 1 shows such slight agreements with the canonical Gospels that it seems doubtful whether its author used them directly at all; yet here, on this supposition, he incorporates whole sentences of John, arbitrarily torn from their context, into an episode which he either invented for his own purposes or derived from some other, presumably non-Johannine, source. Why is it that in this portion of his work he adopts a procedure so different from his usual practice? There is no apparent purpose in inventing the episode; so far as the extant text goes it contains no doctrinal and no important biographical addition to what might have been found in the canonical sources; and if the episode was found by the writer elsewhere in a non-Johannine form why did he take the trouble to interpolate Johannine sentences into it? Moreover, these borrowings are not verbally identical with the Johannine parallels. The first sentence, ἐραυνᾶτε . . . περὶ ἐμοῦ, is indeed paralleled by a 'doublet' reading in certain manuscripts; but as pointed out in the note, it is more likely that it found its way into these as the result of a gloss quoting the present Gospel (or its source) than that it was the original form of John v. 39. So, too, in the second sentence 1 differs from the text of John v. 45 in two respects (ἦλθον κατηγοῖσαι for κατηγορήσω, and μου inserted after πατέρα). These alterations seem quite pointless. Furthermore, the passage does not at all give the impression of padding or, as already said, of a mere mosaic. When taken by itself, without any reference to any other Gospel, it reads in no essential respect differently from the episodes which follow. It would probably be true to say that in style it has little, if any, of the characteristic Johannine ring. St. John's style is admittedly individual to the last degree; it is given to repetition and the sometimes almost painfully meticulous hammering out of a point. In 1 there is nothing of this; each point is made crisply and succinctly, and the text passes at once to another. If the writer was borrowing he certainly possessed a marked gift for fitting his borrowed matter harmoniously and imperceptibly into the structure of his style.

Let it be supposed, on the other hand, that John was using **1** (or its source). It is easy enough to imagine a highly individual writer like St. John expanding and combining material which he found in an earlier text to develop his interpretative record of Christ's teaching and personality. As Canon Streeter well puts it (*The Four Gospels*, p. 397), 'John, the preacher, the thinker, the mystic, aiming avowedly at writing, not a biography, but a message meant to burn . . . , was not likely to write, like the other Evangelists, with a copy of Mark or any other document in front of him. The materials he uses have all been fused in the crucible of his creative imagination, and it is from the image in his mind's eye, far more vivid than the written page, that he paints his picture.' In the present case, if he used **1**, the verbal coincidences are perhaps sufficiently close to require more than a recollection of a previous reading of the text, but the free handling of his material is certainly characteristic, and the differences in wording noted above are more easily explicable in a writer with the characteristics of St. John than in the author of **1**.

Between these two hypotheses the choice is not perhaps easy; but it would be rash to reject off-hand the dependence of John on **1** in favour of the reverse theory, involving such difficulties as those pointed out above. Little help is got from the vocabulary of the Johannine parallels in **1**, but some observations must be made on them. The word ἐραυνῶ nowhere occurs in the Synoptic Gospels. It occurs once in John (vii. 52) over and above the passage (v. 39) quoted as a parallel; but it is also Pauline and occurs once each in **1** Peter and Revelation. μαρτυρέω does not occur in Mark; it is found once each in Matthew (xxiii. 31) and Luke (iv. 22); and it is extremely common in John, besides occurring in Acts and in various Epistles, especially Hebrews, **1** and **3** John, and Revelation. ἐπιζῶ, found in Matthew and Luke, occurs nowhere else in St. John's Gospel, but it occurs (once each) in **2** John and **3** John. λαλέω is common throughout the N.T., but is specially so in John. πιάζω, which occurs eight times in John, is not found in the Synoptists, though it occurs in Acts.

These statistics show that the passages which are paralleled in John exhibit a somewhat Johannine phraseology, though, as already remarked, the style is not characteristically Johannine. On the other hand, this is not true of the remainder of the text, where, so far as linguistic affinities can be found at all, the words employed are perhaps more characteristic of the Synoptists (e.g. ἀφίστημι and πανδοχεῖον occur only in Luke of the canonical Gospels). It is, however, doubtful whether these facts can be pressed as indicating in ll. 1-29 a dependence of **1** on John. If they have any evidential value they would perhaps better suit the third hypothesis indicated above, the independent use by John and **1** of a common source; and this would also help to explain the verbal differences in the sentences common to both.¹ Of this third hypothesis it may be said that it is of subsidiary importance only. If **1**, 1-29, is a mere rehash of miscellaneous excerpts from

¹ In this connexion it may be pointed out that the construction seen in ἦλθον κατηγορεῖσθαι (John κατηγορεῖσθω) is nowhere found in John, though it is common enough in the Synoptists; when John wishes to use ἦλθον he says ἦλθον ἵνα κρίνω (xii. 47). It also occurs in the Gospel according to the Egyptians (ἦλθον καταλύσαι τὰ ἔργα τῆς θηλείας, Cl. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 9, 63) and that according to the Hebrews (ἦλθον καταλύσαι τὸς θυσίας, Epiph. *Haer.* xxx. 16).

John it lacks all independent authority, and the employment of such a method here might even shake our faith in the independence of the remainder of **1**; but if this hypothesis be rejected, it is not vitally necessary to decide whether John used **1** or a source also used by **1**, for in either case **1** puts us in touch, at first or second hand, with one of St. John's sources. In that case, the papyrus, highly interesting as it is already, becomes of the first importance.

So important indeed is the issue involved that it would be rash and ill-advised in the present editors, neither of whom can claim any wide acquaintance with this field of study, to attempt a positive solution. It is sufficient to state the relevant considerations and the reasons which induced them to question their first assumption that the author of **1** was in ll. 1-29 drawing directly on the existing text of John. It may be added that the un-Johannine character of most of the other material in **1** makes it quite impossible to regard the work as a sort of 'Proto-John'.

Of the other Gospels, Luke is perhaps that to which **1** shows most affinity. As already remarked, ἀφίστημι and πανδοχεῖον occur only in Luke of the Evangelists. In the leper story, where the words occur, though the main portion is nearest to Matthew, the last extant sentence is Lucan, and the sentence which introduces it, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος κτλ., has a rather striking resemblance to Luke iv. 30. In **1** Jesus is twice referred to, in narrative, as ὁ κύριος. This is not found at all in the best text of Matthew or Mark, but there are 14 (or 15) examples in Luke, and 5 in John (Streeter, *Four Gospels*, p. 212 f.). Mark never uses ἰδοὺ in narrative; in Matthew it occurs 32 times, in Luke 16, in John not at all. In **1** it is found once, in the leper story. The strange word ἐμβριμάσθαι (1, 51) occurs once in Matthew, twice in Mark, twice in John, and not at all in Luke. In the episode of the Herodians (?) the question, with its double interrogative, in ll. 48-50 is nearest in form to St. Mark's version. It will be seen that the linguistic evidence is fluctuating, but the most important is perhaps the use of ὁ κύριος in narrative, which is specially characteristic of St. Luke.

To sum up: it is very doubtful whether **1** can be identified with any known uncanonical Gospel, with the possible (but very improbable) exception of the Gospel according to the Egyptians. The evidence indicates rather strongly that it represents a source or sources independent of those used by the Synoptic Gospels, and very likely, in part at least, authentic. Its relation to John is such as to suggest for serious consideration the question whether it may be, or derive from, a source used by that Gospel. It is now fairly well accepted (see, e.g., Streeter, *Four Gospels*, p. 12) that each of the four canonical Gospels was associated with a particular church, Mark with Rome, Luke with Achaëa, Matthew perhaps with Antioch (Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 500 ff.), and John with Ephesus. The importance of these churches, it may be supposed, secured general acceptance for the Gospels associated with them, but there is no improbability, indeed there is considerable likelihood, in the supposition that other churches had also their Gospels,¹ which were not so received, and **1** may well be one of these. Its discovery in Egypt may suggest that it was written for the Christian community of Alexandria; but

¹ Cf. Luke i. 1 ἔπειδὴ ἕπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων.

this supposition is rendered a little doubtful by its connexion with John, which was pretty certainly the Ephesian Gospel. Perhaps, then, **1** originated in Asia and was later introduced into Alexandria and so into Egypt generally.¹ In any case it seems probable that it was of comparatively early composition, most likely before the end of the first century.

It remains to discuss the order of the fragments and the position in Christ's ministry which is to be assigned to the incidents recorded. There is unfortunately no external evidence on this point. One numeral only occurs, on fragment 2 recto, and of this, which may be the number of the page, the folio, or the quire, too little remains for any reading. There is, however, some internal evidence as regards fragment 1. The first eight lines of the recto follow so naturally on the verso that it seems safe to take them as the continuation of the incidents there related. Thus we can assume that the verso page of this leaf preceded the recto. There were three possible ways of making up a papyrus codex, all of which involved a single folding of the papyrus sheets which composed it, as contrasted with the successive foldings of a sheet of vellum or paper:² several sheets might be laid flat, one above another to the requisite number, and then folded once, forming one large quire for the whole volume; or single sheets might be folded separately so as to form a succession of quires, each consisting of only two leaves; or, finally, a small number of sheets, five, ten, twelve, &c., might be folded together to form quires of ten, twenty, or twenty-four leaves. The papyrus was ordinarily laid before folding with the recto uppermost, so that a folded sheet of two leaves showed the succession verso, recto, recto, verso. The available evidence, to which a valuable addition has lately been made by the Chester Beatty papyri, suggests that the two first methods were the earlier ones and that in very early times the single-quire method was the commoner, though the fact that P. Beatty 1 (early third century) consists of two-leaf quires is a warning against hasty generalization. If we may assume that **1** was formed of a single quire, then, since the verso of fragment 1 precedes the recto, it would appear that this leaf at least belonged to the first half of the Gospel—or to the first half of the codex if it contained more than one work. Such a position well suits the context, at least so far as the leper incident is concerned. It is notoriously difficult to find in the Gospels any secure basis for a chronology of Christ's ministry, but the position of the leper story in the three Synoptic Gospels certainly indicates for it a comparatively early date, and it is quite certain that the Synoptists placed it in Galilee. In Mark it follows the sentence 'And he went into their synagogues throughout all Galilee, preaching and casting out devils', which suggests that the incident occurred in a city; and this is confirmed by Luke, who says explicitly 'while he was in one of the cities'. Now the incident which in **1** precedes it, the controversy with the lawyers and the rulers of the people, also points to a city of some size rather than a country place. Here, however, a difficulty arises. As already said, the Johannine parallels in ll. 1-29 are found in various passages of John; but all these passages occur in portions of the narrative located by John at Jerusalem. Yet in **1** the passage which contains them is immediately

¹ Cf. the note on ll. 7-10 above.

² See F. G. Kenyon, *Books and Readers in Ancient Greece and Rome*, pp. 100-7; *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fasc. 1, pp. 9-13.

followed by one relating an incident elsewhere recorded as occurring in Galilee. These facts may be interpreted differently according to the view taken of the relation between 1 and the canonical Gospels, especially John. If the author of 1 was excerpting John, we must suppose him to have culled isolated sentences from incidents at Jerusalem and woven them into a narrative which, from its position, should refer to Galilee; or, alternatively, that he transferred the leper incident from Galilee to Jerusalem. In the second case one cannot but feel some doubts as to the authority of 1 even in that incident. On the other hand, if John was using 1 (or its source) and incorporating into speeches at Jerusalem sentences which originally belonged to an incident in Galilee, this fact may seem to reinforce the doubts which many scholars have expressed as to the historicity of the earlier visits to Jerusalem which John alone records, though this is not a necessary inference.

The position of fragment 2 is yet more uncertain than that of 1, and it is impossible even to decide with any certainty which side should be placed first. If indeed 1 and 2 originally formed part of the same sheet, then 2 must follow 1 and its recto side must precede the verso, but there is no evidence for or against this. As 2 comes from the top of the leaf, 1 from lower down, it is difficult to compare the fibres, and in any case the fragments, even if from the same sheet, may have been parts of different κολλήματα. Even if they were originally combined this would not prove that 2 recto followed 1 recto immediately, for if the codex was composed of a single quire many sheets may have lain above that which formed the two fragments preserved. Nor does internal evidence help in determining the order of the two sides of 2, for the text of the recto bears no relation to that of the verso, and it is clear that between the two there was a transition from one episode to another. There is indeed one point which is perhaps worth making. If the episode on the recto is a different version of the question of the Herodians, it should properly be placed at Jerusalem and late in the Gospel, since the Synoptists agree in assigning this incident to the days before the Passion.¹ There is, however, another possibility which is worth considering. St. Mark, after relating a series of conflicts with the scribes and Pharisees in Galilee, states (iii. 6; cf. Matt. xii. 14; Luke vi. 11) that 'the Pharisees went out, and straightway with the Herodians took counsel against him, how they might destroy him'. There must be something at the back of this statement. Did the Pharisees and Herodians actually go to the length of attempting, in an encounter unrecorded by the Synoptists, to entrap Jesus? And is the episode in fragment 2 recto a record of this, the subject of παραγενόμενοι being the Herodians, or, more probably, the Herodians and Pharisees combined? If so, a plausible arrangement suggests itself. Fragment 2 verso (by the Jordan) may have come first. Jesus may then have proceeded to some Galilaean city, where the question about οἱ βασιλεῖς was put to him; this may have been followed by the conflict with the lawyers and rulers of the people recorded in

¹ M. Goguel denies that this can have occurred at Jerusalem, owing to the part played by the Herodians (*Life of Jesus*, Engl. ed., p. 401). But surely there is nothing improbable in the presence of Herodians at Jerusalem just before the Passover; and they would be just the people whom the Pharisees would naturally think of calling in for this purpose.

fragment 1; and finally came the leper incident. We should thus have the order: fragm. 2 verso, fragm. 2 recto; fragm. 1 verso, fragm. 1 recto (it would not follow of course that 1 came *immediately* after 2). It is hardly necessary to emphasize the highly conjectural character of this suggestion; but it is at least worth considering. If, on the other hand, the question in fragment 2 recto was asked at Jerusalem, verso is more likely to precede recto, since Jesus should, if we follow the Synoptic account, proceed from the Jordan to Jerusalem rather than vice versa. It is not necessarily an argument against this that, since the episode at Jerusalem should come late in the Gospel, recto ought to precede verso in this half, for (1) the manuscript may not have been a single-quire codex, (2) the codex may have contained more than one work, our Gospel occupying the first half of it.

There is no means of locating fragment 3. As pointed out in the notes, it is not, on the whole, likely that it formed part of fragment 1, and it is certain that it does not come from fragment 2.

The net result of this long discussion is, it is to be feared, a harvest of unsolved problems. Some of these are likely to prove insoluble unless further evidence comes to light, but it may be hoped that others will at least be brought nearer to a solution by the labours of scholars more competent in the field of Biblical studies, to whose attention the fragments must now be left.

2. FRAGMENTS OF A GOSPEL COMMENTARY (?)

Inv. No. Egerton Papyrus 3. Early third century. Fifteen small fragments, all but two combining to form two larger ones, 15.3 cm. × 8.5 cm. and 7.5 cm. × 4.1 cm., from two leaves of a papyrus codex written with two columns to the page. PLATE III (recto).

WHEN complete each page of this codex must have measured some 15.2 cm. in breadth, and exceeded 15.5 cm. in height. The crease between the two columns of writing on fragment 1 indicates that it comes from the centre of a folded sheet (two pages), though the margins between the fold and the writing on either side are uncomfortably small, unless this was the central sheet of a quire. In any case, the sequence of the four columns is thus fixed as: verso col. ii, recto col. i, recto col. ii, verso col. i. Unfortunately the sequence of columns in fragment 2 is not so easily determined; but the ragged edge of the small portion of outer margin preserved more probably represents a tear between two conjoint leaves than a mutilated fore-edge; thus recto cols. i, ii probably precede verso cols. i, ii.

The main interest of these sadly mutilated fragments lies in their early date. The neat, sloping, oval uncial hand is of a well-known type, which can be dated with considerable certainty.¹ Very similar examples are P. Oxy. 2082 and P. Ryl. 57, the former dated by the editors to the late second, the latter to the late second or early third century. The present fragments are therefore likely to have been written well before A.D. 250; and Professor Schubart, to whom a photograph was submitted, is probably right in regarding them as dating from quite early in the third century. They may accordingly be regarded as one of the earliest surviving manuscripts of Christian theological literature.

Before turning to the question of authorship, something must be said of the nature of the work. Though tentatively described as a commentary, it is really too fragmentary to justify such an identification; all the intelligible passages seem to be concerned solely with exegesis, but the whole work may well have been of a different nature—homiletic, dogmatic, apologetic, or polemical. For this publication, however, the assumption will be made that it is in fact a commentary.

The only clue to the date at which the work was composed lies in the manuscript itself. If this was written not very long after A.D. 200 the date of composition must

¹ See Campbell Bonner, *A Papyrus Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, p. 15; the Berlin fragment of Hermas, P. 5513, is very similar (Wilcken, *Tafeln z. ält. gr. Paläographie*, Taf. iii). The Harris Homer (Kenyon, *Class. Texts in the Brit. Mus.*, Pl. VI) and P. Beatty I are also of the same general type. See also P. Oxy. 655, introduction.

presumably be placed before the end of the second century. This goes far towards disposing of the possibility, so attractive at first sight, that the author was Origen himself; for his great commentary on John, from one of the lost books of which the fragments might otherwise well have come, was not begun till about A.D. 218-19,¹ while the bulk of his work on the rest of the New Testament (e.g. his Commentaries and Homilies on Luke and Matthew) was subsequent to his flight from Alexandria in 232. If the date of the manuscript is to be brought down towards the middle of the century there is the further objection that, as Schubart has pointed out,² 'nach dem Vorgehen des Bischofs Demetrios wie für Origenes selbst so auch für seine Schriften in Ägypten kein Raum mehr war'. And that, after his condemnation and flight, copies of his works would have been introduced from Caesarea into Upper or Middle Egypt is in the highest degree improbable.

Nor do other Christian writers at the beginning of the third century seem to have any better claim; the only two exegetists of note are Hippolytus of Rome and Clement of Alexandria; but neither seems to have worked much on the New Testament, while Hippolytus' writings at least must be allowed a considerable time to spread to the interior of Egypt.

The claims of second-century writers must therefore be considered. It is not at first easy to suggest a possible author, for Origen was in truth the father of Catholic exegesis on a scientific basis; there are, however, exegetic passages of considerable length in Irenaeus, and it is by no means improbable that these fragments may actually be from his pen. A slight additional probability is furnished by the fact that among the extraordinarily meagre fragments of patristic literature on papyrus, two are from third-century MSS. of Irenaeus, one of which rivals the present papyrus in antiquity.³ But it is clear from B. Kraft's study of New Testament quotations in Irenaeus⁴ that the fragments cannot be identified with any of Irenaeus' extant works, whether in the original Greek or in translation; and there are no passages sufficiently long or intelligible to enable any arguments to be founded on points of style or doctrine. The lost commentary on the Gospels by Theophilus of Antioch (ca. 180 A.D.) is perhaps another possibility.

Apart from Irenaeus, there is very little exegesis to be found in second-century Catholic writers, who in this branch of theology were completely overshadowed by their Gnostic contemporaries. That the present fragments come from some Gnostic treatise would not therefore be at all surprising; the earliest New

¹ E. Preuschen, *Die gr. christl. Schriftsteller d. ersten 3 Jhrhte: Origenes*, iv, p. lxxix.

² *Mitt. d. deutschen Inst. f. äg. Altertumskunde in Kairo*, i (1930), 103.

³ P. Oxy. 405 (iv. 264) and a papyrus at Jena, published by H. Lietzmann in *Nachrichten d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1912, pp. 291-320.

⁴ *Die Evangelienzitate des heil. Irenäus*, in Bardenhewer's *Biblische Studien*, Bd. 21, Heft 4.

Testament commentary of any kind was perhaps the Ἐξηγητικὰ on the Gospel,¹ in twenty-four books, of the Alexandrian Gnostic Basilides, who flourished in the reign of Hadrian. Against Basilides himself, however, there is a serious objection, for according to Jerome he, like Marcion and other heretics, rejected the Epistles to Timothy,² a quotation from the second of which can be recognized with practical certainty in ll. 132-3. A more attractive possibility is Heracleon, the intimate (γνώριμος) of Valentinus, and author of the first scientifically constructed commentary on any part of the New Testament; his commentary on John is only known to us by hostile notices in Catholic writers, above all Origen, who devoted a large part of his own gigantic commentary on the same Gospel to the refutation of Heracleon's views. Though the present fragments reveal no trace of Gnosticism, their very imperfect nature must be borne in mind; many of the existing fragments of Heracleon³ as little betray their origin, and much he says is acute and sensible.

On the whole, then, these fragments might well emanate from some more sober-minded member of the Valentinian school, which took a special interest in John, while accepting as scripture the whole of the Catholic New Testament. On the Catholic side Irenaeus, who we know was read in Egypt, seems the most likely candidate. For any more definite conclusions the verdict of theological scholars must be awaited.

The scribe's hand is clear and regular and his orthography good. Of *nomina sacra* he uses ΚC and ΘC and their inflexional forms, and once (l. 68) ΙΝ. The diaeresis is inserted above initial ι but apparently not on initial υ (υπαρχων, l. 85, but the surface of the papyrus is damaged above this letter). No accents or punctuation marks are used, but the rough breathing occurs several times. The only abbreviation besides the *nomina sacra* is the stroke for ν over a vowel at the ends of lines. In this transcript the text is printed in modern form, with accents, breathings, and punctuation marks.

The following Biblical quotations are recognizable: Matt. iv. 5 (ll. 4-8); Matt. xxvii. 52-3 (ll. 9-12); Matt. v. 8 (ll. 44-6); Ps. xi. 7 (ll. 54-8); John i. 14 (ll. 64-5); John i. 29 (ll. 68-71); John vi. 55 (ll. 75-7); Phil. ii. 6 (ll. 84-7); 2 Tim. ii. 19 (ll. 132-3). Only that from Matt. xxvii. 52 is of any textual importance.

¹ Whether this means the Gospels as a whole, one particular Gospel, or a harmony or redaction by Basilides himself, is uncertain.

² Zahn, *Gesch. d. neutestamentlichen Kanons*, i. 266².

³ Collected by A. E. Brooke in *Texts and Studies*, i. 4.

Fragment I recto]

Col. 1.

Col. 2.

1	[	]	βασ[
	[	]	γαγο[
	[		πνε]ῦμα πο[νηρόν]				
	[		γέ]γραπτα[ι' πα-]				
5	[	ραλαμβάνει]	ὁ Διάβολο[ς]				
	[	τὸν Ἰ(ησοῦ)ν	εἰς τὴν ἀ]γίαν πόλ[ιν]				
	[	καὶ ἔστησεν αὐ]	τὸν ἐπὶ τ[ὸ]				
	[	πτερύγιον το]ῦ	ἱεροῦ. κ[αί]				
	[	πάλιν γέγραπτ]	αἰ· πολλὰ σώ-	.	.	.	.
10	[	ματα τῶν κε]	κοιμημένω(ν)	.	[		21
	[	ἀγίων ἠγέρθ]	ἡ καὶ εἰσῆλ-	.	[
	[	θεν εἰς τὴν ἀγ]	ίαν πόλιν	.	[
	[	πα]ρ'	ἡμῖν πο-	.	[
	[	]	πος ἐκεῖνος	2[			25
15	[	]	έως κόσμου	λ[
	[	]	. πόλις	θ[
	[	]	ου ἀπε-	τ[
	[	]	γου οἱ	2[
19	[	]	κει	ε[			30
	[]

Fragment I verso]

Col. 1.

Col. 2.

.
[	. . . . .	]	αρ[				41
[	. . . . .	]	πισκ. [

Fragment 1 verso *cont'd.*]*Col. 1.**Col. 2.*

		[. . .]ι μακα[
		[.]εν ὁ κ(ύριος)ς εἰ[πών· μακάριοι]	
		[ο]ί καθαροί[ι τῆ καρδίᾳ ὅτι]	45
		[α]ῦτοι τὸν [θ(εὸ)ν ὄψονται]	
		[.]ἀὲ τοῦ αρ . [καρ-]	
		[Δ]ί[ας] καθαρ[ᾶς]	
		. ος ὀρθός . []	
31		]·	τερον ὅτε[ἔ-] 50
		]Ϛ	λαφισθε[ι]σ]
		] ]	τη κομιζ[]
		]ϛ	λογίων κ(υρίου)υ [ὁ ψαλ-]
35		]αμ	μωλὸς ο . [τὰ λό-]
		]ς	για κ(υρίου)υ λό[για ἀγνά, ἀργύρι-] 55
		]ν	ον πεπυ[ρωμένον, δοκι-]
		]ω·	μον τ[ῆ] γῆ, κεκαθαρισμέ-]
		]ι	νον ἐπ[ταπλασίως]
40		]ος	και [
		. []	60
		

Fragment 2 recto]

*Col. 1.**Col. 2.*

		
61		[.]ησο[
		[.]οσου[
		[.]ον Ἰδι[ο]ν πε-	
		[ρ]ῆσσωμα φ[. . .] . ν [και ὁ λό-]	
65		[γ]ος σὰρξ ἐγένετ[ο]	
		

Col. 1.

Col. 2.

- 66 [έν] τοῖς ἐξήης ἰδ[.] ὁ]
 [᾿Ι]ωάννου ουτο[.]]
 [ἀλλ]ὰ τὸν ᾿Ι(ησοῦ)ν ἐρχό[μενον]
 [πρ]ὸς αὐτ[ὸ]ν λέγε[ι· ἴδε ὁ ἀ-]
 70 [μ]νὸς τ[οῦ θ](εο)ῦ ὁ ἀἴρ[ων τὴν ἀ-]
 μαρτί[αν τ]οῦ κ[ό]σμου 2ῆ[-]
 λον ὄτ[ι . . .]νο[. . .]]
 ἴνα θυθ[. . .]
 ἐξερχομ[εν . . . ὡς γέγραπ-]
 75 ται· ἡ [σά]ρξ [μου ἀληθής ἐστι(ν)]
 βρῶσι[ς] κα[ί] τὸ αἶμ[α μου]
 ἀληθής[τις ἐστὶν πόσις . . .] αἴμ[α] 93
 πασχ[. . . τὸ ἀ-] αἴπο[. . .]
 ληθινὸ[ν φῶς . . .] . [. . .] . . . ημ[α] 95
 80 ἀρχή ἐστ[ιν πρὸς τὸ]ν θ(εὸ)ν τασ[. . .]
 θ(εὸ)ς. τοῦτ[ὶ] ἐστὶν τὸ φ[ῶς] ἐπι[. . .]
 τὸ ἀληθι[νόν, ἥλιος ὑπ]ὲρ τὸ(ν)
 ἥλιο[ν] ἡμ[ῶν φω]τίζω(ν). την[. . .]
 οἷς 2ῆ ὁ λόγ[ος ὅς ἐν] μορφῆ μα . [. . .] 100
 85 θ(εο)ῦ ὑπάρχω[ν οὐχ ἀρ]πα- μεσ[. . .]
 γμὸς ἡγή[σατο τὸ εἶ]ναι
 [ἴ]σα θ(ε)ῶ σαρξ [ἐγένετ]ο, τού-
 τοις φῶς τ[ὸ ἀληθές] ἐστι(ν)
 [εἰ]ς ἀρχάς τ[. . .] ἡμε[. . .]
 90 ρῶν τριῶ[ν]
 [. . .] . ἰψ φαυ[. . .]
 [. . .] προφη[. . .]

66. ἰδ[. . .] 68. ἰβ[. . .] 70. ἠ[. . .]
 81. ἠ[. . .] 82. τδ[. . .] 83. φωτιζῶ[. . .] 72. λουῶ[. . .]
 87. ἠ[. . .] 88. ἐστ[. . .] 84. δις[. . .] 85. ἠ[. . .] 73. ἰνα[. . .] 80. ἠ[. . .]
 85-6. 1. ἀρπαγμὸν.

Fragment 2 verso]

	<i>Col. 1.</i>		<i>Col. 2.</i>	
			] . . . [	111
] . . [
			] defaced [
			θ]ά[λ]ασσαν [τῆς]	
			[Γαλιλ]αία[ς]γονο[	115
			]το απ[
			] . [ . . . . . ]τη[
			]σμ[. . .]λο . . [
			]υκο[. .]εσμε[
			]οιο . . [. . . .]τ[	120
			]ε ο[.]α[. . .]α' έστιν	
			] . θ . . []ο[.]εν	
			] . [ . ] . . . . . ας	
			] . [ . ] . . . . . ται	
			] . . . νύξ τ .	125
			]ω[.] . απφ . . .	
102	]φα		] ό Ζαχα-	
	] . [[νυ]]	[ρίας	] αύτου	
	]ντης	και [	]ν παρ' αύ-	
105	]φον	του [. . Παύλος] δε έν	] . . .	130
	]οσ	τη [β προς Τιμόθε]ον λέγει[ι]		
	]ειτισ	έγν[ω κ(ύριο)ς τους όν]τα[ς] αύ-		
	]ψαλ-	του α[]μερο[.]		
	]τα[	και[] . . νην[

103. The ν is deleted by a stroke through it. Two dots above it and υ may also be intended as marks of deletion.

	<i>Col. 1.</i>		<i>Col. 2.</i>	
109	]τισω	τη[	]τ[η]ς τῆς	135
	]. [. .].	μεγ[	]. . τηρ	
	. . . . .	καί [	]μο.νυξ [
		κα[	]η τῆς	
			]ης του	
			]. [	140
			]οι .[
			]οκ[
			

2. Perhaps ἀ]γάγο[ν, agreeing with πνεῦμα.

4-8. Apparently a free quotation of Matt. iv. 5 τότε παραλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν, καὶ ἔστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ. In lines 4-5 there is not space enough to restore πα-]][[ραλαμβάνει αὐτό]ν, though λαμ-]][[βάνει αὐτό]ν would suit; in that case, however, it becomes difficult to fill up the lacuna in line 6, for [εἰς τὴν α] is quite insufficient for the space (cf. l. 12 where the lacuna is if anything a little shorter, but still must have contained [θεν εἰς τὴν αγ]). The most likely solution is that Jesus had not been previously mentioned, so that the author substituted τὸν Ἰησοῦν for Matthew's αὐτόν, at the same time changing the order.

9-12. Taken from Matt. xxvii. 52-3 καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα ἀνεψέχθησαν καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων ἠγέρθησαν· καὶ ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τῶν μνημείων μετὰ τὴν ἔγερσιν αὐτοῦ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν καὶ ἐνεφανίσθησαν πολλοῖς. The papyrus agrees with 5ACWΓΔ against 8BDGLΘ famm. 1, 13, in reading the singular ἠγέρθη for ἠγέρθησαν. The omission of ἐξελθόντες . . . αὐτοῦ makes it necessary to restore the singular, εἰσῆλ[θεν.

Clearly the whole of this passage centres upon some mystical interpretation of the Holy City; consequently τῷ]πος is a very plausible conjecture in l. 14, and perhaps κτίσ]εως κόσμου in l. 15 (cf. Rom. i. 20 ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου). It is worth noting that fanciful interpretations of Jerusalem and the Temple are especially prominent in Heracleon, as may be seen from the following quotations (the numbers are those given by Brooke):

Fr. 13. ὅς (*sc.* Heracleon) φησι τὴν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀνοδον σημαίνειν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑλικῶν εἰς τὸν ψυχικὸν τόπον, τυγχάνοντα εἰκόνα τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἀνάβασιν τοῦ κυρίου. . . . ἡγεῖται γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων εἶναι τὸ ἱερόν, εἰς ἃ μόνος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰσεῖται, ἔνθα οἶμαι αὐτὸν λέγειν τοὺς πνευματικούς χωρεῖν. τὰ δὲ τοῦ προνάου, ὅπου καὶ οἱ Λευῖται, σύμβουλον εἶναι τῶν ἔξω τοῦ πληρώματος ψυχικῶν εὐρισκομένων ἐν σωτηρίᾳ.

Fr. 20 (On the Woman of Samaria). εἰπὼν (*sc.* Heracleon) ὄρος μὲν τὸν Διάβολον λέγεσθαι, ἢ τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, ἐπειπερ μέρος ἐν ὁ Διάβολος ὅλης τῆς ὕλης, φησί, ἦν, ὁ δὲ κόσμος τὸ σύμπαν τῆς κακίας ὄρος, ἔρημον οἰκητήριον θηρίων, φῶ προσεκύουν πάντες οἱ πρὸ νόμου καὶ

οἱ ἔθνικοι· Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ τὴν κτίσιν ἢ τὸν κτίστην· ᾧ προσεκύνουν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέρως ὄρος μὲν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι τὴν κτίσιν ἢ οἱ ἔθνικοι προσεκύνουν· Ἱεροσόλυμα δὲ τὸν κτίστην, ᾧ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐλάτρευον.

If this explanation be accepted, l. 13 probably contains some reference to ἡ παρ' ἡμῖν πόλις, i.e. the earthly Jerusalem.

41. Possibly μακ[αρ]

42-4. E.g. ἐπισκο[πητέον οἱ τινές εἰ] [σιν ο] μακά[ριοι] τοῦτο ἔλει[[ξ]εν ὁ κ(ύρι)ος εἰ[πών κτλ.

44-6. = Matt. v. 8.

47. The delta stands some way further in than the initial delta of l. 51, consequently it was probably preceded by one letter. Possibly [ὁ] δὲ . . . agreeing with the masculine noun qualified by ὀρθός in l. 49. ἀργ[υρίου] is suitable.

49. Possibly πρὸς (e.g. τῷ-]πρὸς); or μακά[[ρ]ιος would not be too much for the space.

50. ὄτε, or perhaps ὁ Τε[], a proper name.

54. The seventh letter is much more like υ than τ, so e.g. ὄτ[ε] λέγει is improbable. Perhaps something like περι τῶν] λογίων κ(ύρι)ου [ἃ λέγει ὁ ψαλ] μωδὸς οὐ[κ ἀγνοεῖς τὰ λό]για κτλ.

54-8. = Ps. xi. 7. There is perhaps no need to correct δόκιμον, for in papyri δόκιμος is much commoner than δοκίμιος, and may have been a genuine variant in this passage.

63-4. περισσῶμα does not occur in either the Old or New Testament. φ[ησ]ιν or φ[έρε]ιν would be rather short for the lacuna. φ[εύ]γων would suit.

64-5. = John i. 14.

66. Possibly [ἄ]ων.

67. οὔτο[ς]? But ἀλλὰ in l. 68 suggests οὐ τὸ[ν] λείνα ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν.

68-71. = John i. 29.

72. ὄτ[ι] ὁ ἀμ]νός is possible.

73. ἵνα θυθ[]. Probably ἵνα θυθ[ῃ], i.e. τυθῃ. The spelling ἐθύθη is found in P. Bouriant 3, col. iii, lines 62 and 64, which, curiously enough, also refer to the Paschal Lamb. Possibly the papyrus had some paraphrase of Jeremiah xi. 19 (ἀρνίον ἀγόμενον τοῦ θύεσθαι).

74. ἐξερχομ[εν] . . suggests a reference to the Exodus and the first Passover.

75-7. = John vi. 55.

78. No doubt πάσχα[; cf. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα ἡμῶν ἐτύθη Χριστός, 1 Cor. v. 7.

79-88. ' . . the beginning (?) of all things (?), God beside God. This is the True Light, a Sun shining above our sun. And to those for whom the Word, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, became flesh, even to them is he the True Light . . . '

79-80. ἐν] ἀρχῇ ἐστ[iv πρὸς τὸ]ν θεὸν looks at first sight an obvious restoration, but John i. 1 has ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν, and it is difficult to believe that such a passage could have been misquoted, especially since critics devoted much space to the use of the imperfect in this very verse. Furthermore, if this reconstruction is accepted it becomes exceedingly difficult, if not indeed impossible, to construe θεός in l. 81. It is perhaps on the whole better to treat ἀρχή as nominative and place a comma after ἐστιν, e.g. ἡ π[άν]τ[ω]ν ἀρχή ἐστ[iv, πρὸς τὸ]ν θεὸν θεός. Cf. Origen, *Comm. in Ioann.* i. 22 (p. 21) ἐγὼ δὲ ἐφίστημι εἰ καὶ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων εἶναι τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγοντα· ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος κτλ.

82-3. Cf. Ecclesiasticus xlii. 16 ἡλῖος φωτίζειν κατὰ πᾶν ἐπέβλεψεν.

84-7. = Phil. ii. 6.

89. Cf. Genesis i. 16 εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας, where, however, ἀρχαί means 'rule'.

92. It is not certain whether this was the last line of the page or not.

130-3. = 2 Tim. ii. 19 (= Numbers xvi. 5).

3. 2 CHRONICLES XXIV. 17-27

Inv. No. Egerton Papyrus 4. Third century. Two fragments (each made up of several smaller ones), together forming the upper and lower portions of a single leaf of a codex, complete at top and bottom, except for the margins. Present size about 11.2 cm. × 10 cm. One column to the page. PLATE IV (verso).

THESE exiguous remains of a codex of 2 Chronicles, in which verso precedes recto (so that the leaf comes from the first half of a single-quire codex or of a quire in a codex composed of several quires, more probably the latter), offer little of interest. As regards text, the papyrus stands about midway between A and B, perhaps nearer to B; but in v. 27 (l. 48) it carries back by two centuries the history of a glaring corruption in A. The scribe was apparently careful as a rule, but in ll. 45-6 he has skipped a whole line of the text.

The hand is a regular but not calligraphic uncial of the third century, perhaps about the middle rather than the later part of the century. There are no accents, but the rough breathing occurs several times. The diaeresis is used on initial ι (but not on *ιερουσαλημ*, l. 26), and the apostrophe after *ουκ*. The high point is frequent. *Nomina sacra* which occur are $\overline{ΚC}$ and $\overline{ΘC}$ and cases ($\overline{ΠNA}$ is restored in l. 10).

The lacunae have been filled up from the text of A. E. Brooke and N. McLean, *The O.T. in Greek acc. to the . . . Codex Vaticanus*. Where B has the general support of the MSS. the fact is not specially noted. Professor Rahlfs has assigned to this leaf the number 971 in his list of MSS. of the Old Testament.

Verso. 2 Chronicles, xxiv]

Top of page.

- (17) *ιουδα και π[ροσεκυνησαν τον βασι]*
λεα· τοτε επηκ[ουσεν αυτοις ο βασιλευς·]
- (18) *και εγκατελιπ[ον τον κν θν των πα]*
τερων αυτων [και εδουλευον ταις α]
 5 *σταρταις και τ[οις ειλωλοις· και εγενε]*
το οργη επι ιουδα και ιερουσαλημ]
- (19) *εν τη ημερα τ[αυτη· και απεστειλεν προς]*
αυτους προφ[ητας επιστρεψαι προς κν]

- και ουκ' ηξο[υσαν· και Διεμαρτυραν]
- (20) 10 τ[ο αυτοις και ουχ' υπηκουσαν· και π̄νᾱ]
 [θ̄υ ενεδυσεν τον αζαριαν τον του ἰωδαε]
 [τον ιερεα και ανεστη επανω του λα]
 [ου και ειπεν· τ̄αδε λεγει κ̄ς· τι παρα]
 [πορευεσθε τας εντολας κ̄υ· και ουκ ευ]
- 15 [ολωθησεσθε· οτι εγκατελιπετε τον κ̄ν]
- (21) [και εγκα]ταλειψε[ι υμα]ς· και ε[π]εθ̄ε[ν]
 [το αυτω και] ελ[ι]θ[οβ]ολη[σαν] αυτον Δῑα
 [εντολης ἰω]α[ς] του βα[σ]ιλεως εν [αυλη]
- (22) [οικ]οϋ κ̄υ· και ουκ' εμν[η]σθη ἰωας [του]
- 20 ελεους οῡ εποιησεν [μετ' αυτου ἰω]
 Δαε ο πατηρ αυ[του] και εθανα[τωσεν]
 [τρ]οϋ υιον αυτου· και ως απεθ̄ν[ησκειν]
- (23) ειπεν· ἴδοι κ̄ς και κρινατω· κα[ι] εγε]
 γετο μετα την σ̄υγτελειαν [του]
- 25 [ε]νιαυτου ανεβη επ̄ [α]υτον Δυ[ναμις]

Bottom of page.

Recto]

Top of page.

- [συριας και ηλθεν επι ἰου]δα και επι ιε
 [ρουσαλημ· και κατεφθ]ειρεν παντας
 [τους αρχοντας του λα]ου εν τω λαω·
 [και παντα τα σκυλα α]υτων απεστει
- (24) 30 [λαν τω βασιλει Δαμασ]κου οτι εν ολι
 [γοις ανδρασιν παρεγ]ενητο Δυναμις
 [συριας και ο θ̄ς παρεδ]ωκεν εις τας χει
 [ρας αυτων Δυναμιν] πολλην σφο
 [δρα οτι εγκατελιπον] κ̄ν θ̄ν των πα
 35 [τερων αυτων· και μετα ἰωας] ε[ποίη]

- (25) [σεν κριματα· και μετα το απελθειν αυ]
 [τους απ αυτου εν τω εγκαταλιπειν]
 [αυτον εν μαλακiais μεγαλiais· και]
 [επεθεντο αυτω οι παιδες αυτου εν]
 40 [αιμασιν υιου ιωδαε του ιερεως και]
 εθ[αν]ατωσ[αν α]υτ[ον] ε[πι της κλινης]
 αυτου· και απεθανεν· κ[αι εθαψαν]
 [αυτο]ν εν π[ολ]ει λαρυει[δ· και ουκ]
 [εθαψ]αν αυτον εν τω ταφω των βα
 (26) 45 [σιλ]εων· και ε[πι]θεμεγοι επ αυτον 3α
 (27) [βελ] ὁ του σαμα. [. μ]ωαβ[ι]της και ὁι
 [υιο]ι αυτου παντες και προσηλθον
 [αυ]τω ὁι πεντε· και τα λοιπα τῶ ἰου[δα]
 [γεγρα]μ[με]να [επι τ]ην γραφην των

Bottom of page.

3. εγκατελιπον: ενκατελιπον Brooke-McLean (B). εγκατελειπον ANage₂. Presumably the papyrus read εγκ. in other places where the word occurs.

6. και ιερουσαλημ: possibly και επι ιερουσαλημ with B^{ab}AN rell., but the length of the lines is not sufficiently regular to decide the point.

11-15. These lines are of course merely printed *exempli gratia*, as it is impossible to be sure how the text was divided.

15. εγκατελιπετε: see note on l. 3.

17. 2ια: 2ι' all MSS.

20. ελεους: ελαιους A.

23. κρινατω: so Brooke-McLean (B). κρεινατω B*. κρινετω Aa.

23. ι2οι: the second ι is an addition, probably by the same scribe.

26. ιουδα: so Brooke-McLean (B). ιουδαν ANabd (ν ex corr.) efjnp-e₂.

27. κατεφθειρεν: so Agm. κατεφθειραν Brooke-McLean (B).

31. παρεγενετο: so Brooke-McLean (B). παρεγινετο Ac₂.

36-40. See note on ll. 11-15.

41. α]υτ[ον]: it is difficult to see what else can have occurred here, and the ν seems certain, but the remaining letters can hardly be reconciled with the traces.

43. λαουειδ: if correctly read, the spelling is unique.
45. επιθεμενοι: the omission of οι before επιθεμενοι is only found in a.
- 45-6. ζαβελ ο του σαμα ο αμμανειτης και ζωζαβελ ο του σομαιωθ ο μωαβειτης Brooke-McLean (B). ζαβεθ ο του σαμαθ ο αμμανιτης και ιωζαβελ ο του σαμαριθ ο μωαβιτης A. There are countless discrepancies in the proper names, and the papyrus has apparently telescoped them into something like ζα[βεθ] ο του σαμαθ [ο μ]ωαβ[ι]της, omitting a whole line of text.
48. τω. The beginning of των βασιλεων, i.e. the scribe dropped another line of text, but noted the error in time and cancelled the two letters he had written.
- ιουδα: so A only. ιδου all other MSS.
49. την: om. A only.

4. LEAF FROM A LITURGICAL BOOK

Inv. No. Egerton Papyrus 5. Fourth-fifth century. Leaf of a codex, 19 cm. × 16.8 cm.

PLATE V (recto).

CONSIDERING how scanty is our knowledge of the primitive liturgies of the Church, the recovery of a complete page from a liturgical book written in the fourth or fifth century is an event of considerable interest. Most of the liturgical fragments on papyrus previously discovered,¹ even when of very late date, reveal only slight points of contact with extant liturgies, and the present document is no exception; in fact it is if anything more difficult than most of the earlier finds to identify.

In the upper margins of verso and recto respectively appear what at first sight would seem to be page-numbers, A, B. But the occurrence of what is certainly the numeral B at the end of l. 13 shows that these numbers must refer to a succession of prayers; the verso might well have been headed A for the reason that Prayer A is continued at the top of this page, and occupies the greater part of it. Similarly B at the top of the recto indicates that Prayer B is continued at the top of this page, and, as no further numeral occurs, occupies the whole of it. The lectional signs in lines 26-7 cannot be read as marking the beginning of a third prayer, and certainly neither can be taken for Γ.

This numeration might perhaps suggest that we have here a collection of prayers like those attributed to Serapion of Thmuis; but the intimate connexion of A and B, and the lack of any titles, are against this, and it is far more probable that this is a definite service-book, possibly indeed something corresponding to the modern Euchologion. That it is not a complete text of the liturgy is abundantly clear from the abrupt ending of A, not to mention the absence of rubrics.

The most obvious parallel for this numbering of prayers is the Prayers of the Faithful in the Byzantine Rite (Εὐχαὶ πιστῶν α', β'), and that the papyrus contains some part of the Mass of the Faithful is likely enough. It must, however, be admitted that it is impossible to point to the slightest resemblance with the extant Prayers of the Faithful in any Byzantine Liturgy; not only are phraseology and vocabulary entirely different, but the papyrus makes no direct reference to the

¹ Convenient though very incomplete collection by C. del Grande, *Liturgiae Praeces Hymni Christianorum e papyris collecti*², Neapoli, 1934. Subsequent finds include P. Würzb. 3, and G. Ghedini, 'Frammenti liturgici in un papiro milanese' (*Aegyptus*, xiii, 1933, pp. 667-73).

Oblation such as is normal in the extant prayers. At the same time it is even more difficult to fit the papyrus into the Egyptian Rite; for the 'Three Great Prayers' which there follow the Prayers of the Faithful, and to which the numeration of the papyrus might be held to refer, are for very definite objects, viz. the Church, the Patriarch, and the Congregations. That Prayers A and B of the papyrus cannot be identified with the first and second of the 'Three' is sufficiently obvious.

The phraseology and vocabulary of the papyrus are equally far removed from those of the extant liturgies. Though using for the most part the Biblical vocabulary, the composer of these prayers made little use of direct quotation from the Bible, indeed the only phrase which can be called a quotation is four words from Ps. lxxviii. 13 (l. 8). The result is thus very different from the centos of Biblical phrases which make up so large a part of extant liturgies; and the appearance of originality is enhanced by the use of unusual words, such as ἄλεκτος (l. 12), ἀφθίτος (l. 20), κοτέειν (l. 20), ἐπικήριος (l. 20), τέκος (l. 26), εὐκτήριος (l. 33), several of them drawn, as is characteristic of the Byzantine period, from the Epic vocabulary.

In the upper and lower margins of the recto is some Coptic writing in red ink, for the interpretation of which we are indebted to Mr. W. E. Crum. According to him it is a list of 'sprigs', τερ (Middle-Egyptian for ταρ) of various kinds, possibly an extract from some magical recipe, and certainly having no connexion with the text of the papyrus. Mr. Crum compares A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte*, i, p. 49 = ii, pp. 59-60, and (for the number seven) K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, ii, No. XII, ll. 15-39.

ζ ἡτερῆ	ζ ἡτερ ἡϣε ἡ[
ζ ἡαγρσι(ἡη)	ζ ἡτερ ἡαρτεαισιαι
7 ἡτορε	ζ ἡτερ ἡααφῆ
	ζ ἡτερ ἡηαα
	αἱῖ ε[. η]ογ κοῖῖ ἡαααααα ¹

Translation:

Seven sprigs of	Seven sprigs of wood ² of [
Seven of myrtle	Seven sprigs of wormwood
Seven of willow	Seven sprigs of laurel
	Seven sprigs of tamarisk
	. . . . . a little rue

¹ = Greek ἄρωμα, with the common metathesis of ρ and λ. Cf. L. and S., s. v.

² 'Wood of' sometimes forms part of the name of a particular tree, cf. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, p. 546 *a infra*.

Verso.

$$\begin{array}{c} \dot{\alpha} \\ \rangle \alpha \langle \\ \underline{\alpha} \end{array}$$

ἀγίασον, Διάθρεψον, ἐπισύναξον, Διοίκησον
 στήρισον, Δόξασον, βεβαίωσον, ποιμανον,
 ἀνάσθησον, φώτ[ισ]ον, εἰρήνευσον, οἴκο-
 5 νόμησον, τελίωσον }————— τ[ὸν] λαὸν
 ὃν ἐκτίσω, τὸν λαὸν τὸν [π]εριούσιον,
 τὸν λαὸν ὃν ἐλ[υ]τρώσω, [τ]ὸν λαὸν ὃν
 ἐκάλεσας, τὸν λαὸν σου, [τὰ] πρόβατα τῆς
 νομῆς σου. [ψ]υχῆς ἡμῶν υ[σ]οφύσης ἰατρὸς
 10 μόνος εἶ σύ, σῆ ἀγαλλ[ιάσει . .]ρει, νοσέοντας
 ἡμᾶς θεράπευσον, μὴ ἡμᾶς ἀπ[ο]ρίψης
 ὡς ἀλέκτ[ο]υς σῆς θεραπ[ε]ίης. σοῦ ἀπὸ
 στόματος λόγ[ο]ς ὑγιείας [ἐ]στὶν ζωτήρ. β
 ταῦτ' αἰτούμεθα παρ[ὰ] σοῦ,] Δέσποτα, παρῆς
 15 ὅσα ἡμάρτομεν, κάτ[ε]χε εἶ τι ἀμαρτάνειν
 [φ]έρι, καὶ μὴ [ἡ]μῶν κ[ατα]γράφης ὅσα πα-
 ρανόμως ἐπράξαμεν. [σ]ῆς ἀνεξικακίας

Recto.

$$\begin{array}{c} \dot{\beta} \\ \rangle \beta \langle \\ \underline{\beta} \end{array}$$

ἔργον ἄφεις ἀμαρτιῶν. εὐπρεπον ἔστιν,
 20 ἄφθιτε, θνητοῖς μὴ κitéειν ἐπικηρίοις,
 ὀλιγοβίοις, ἐπίμοχθον [γ]ῆν ἔχουσιν. εὐ-
 [ερ]γετῶν οὐ διαλείπεις, ἀφθονος γὰρ εἶ σύ,
 πᾶν δίλωος, οὐθὲν λαμβάνων, ἀνε-
 25 Δεῆς γὰρ εἶ, πᾶν ἀγαθὸν [ἐ]στὶν σόν, κακὸν
 Δὲ μόνον οὐ σόν, φαῦλόν ἔστιν ὃ μὴ

θέλεις, τέκος ἐννοιῶν ἡμετερῶν)——

- ζ προσδέξαι παρ' ἡμῶν τὰς ψαλμωδίας,
 τὰς ὕμνωδίας, τὰς εὐχάς, τὰς παρακαλή-
 σεις, τὰς δεήσεις, τὰς ἀξιώσεις, τὰς {τὰς}
 30 ἔξομολογήσεις, τὰς αἰτήσεις, τὰς εὐχαριστίας,
 τὴν προθυμίαν, τὴν σπουδὴν, τὰς ἀγρυπνί-
 ας, τὰς . . . [. . .]εἶας, τὰς χαμευσίας, τὰς
 εὐκτηρίους φωνάς. φιλάνθρωπον ἔχ[ον-]
 τες δεσπότην, σὲ τὸν αἰώνιον βασιλέα,
 35 ἵκετεύομεν τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἴκτου ἄξια

28. ὕμνωδίας παρ.

34. I. αἰώνιον.

35. ἵκετευομεν παρ.

TRANSLATION

. . . sanctify, sustain, gather, govern, establish, glorify, confirm, pasture, raise up(?), enlighten, pacify, administer, perfect—the people which Thou hast established, the peculiar people, the people which Thou hast ransomed, the people which Thou hast called, Thy people, the sheep of Thy pasture. Thou art the only physician of our ailing souls, keep us in Thy joy (?), heal us in sickness, cast us not away as unfit to receive Thy healing. The word of Thy mouth is the giver of health.

II. These things we beg of Thee, Master; remit whatever we have done amiss, check(?) whatever leads(?) us to sin, neither record against us all that we have done unlawfully. Forgiveness of sin is the expression of Thy long-suffering; it is a fair thing, O Immortal, not to be wroth with mortals, doomed to destruction, short-lived, inhabiting a toilsome world. Never dost Thou cease to do good, for Thou art bountiful; Thou givest all, taking nought, for Thou lackest nothing; every righteous thing is Thine, unrighteousness alone is not Thine. Evil is that which Thou wouldest not, the child of our imaginations.—Receive from us these psalmodies, these hymnodies, these prayers, these supplications, these entreaties, these requests, these confessions, these petitions, these thanksgivings, this readiness, this earnestness, these vigils, these, these couchings upon the earth, these prayerful utterances. Having a kindly master in Thee, the eternal King, we beseech Thee [to behold?] our pitiful state

5. The stroke in the centre of the line apparently serves to mark the end of the long succession of imperatives, and is intended to give help in reading.

8–9. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 13 ἡμεῖς γὰρ λαός σου καὶ πρόβατα τῆς νομῆς σου. See also Ps. xciv. 7, xcix. 3.

9-10. For this very common metaphor see Wilcken, P. Würzb. 3 verso, l. 18 note; Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 340, &c. σὴ ἀγαλλ[ιάσει τη]ρεῖ is a possible restoration.

16. [φ]ῆρι is not very satisfactory, but an alternative reading is not obvious.

27. The purpose of the sign in the margin is obscure, unless it is to mark the main verb.

31-2. Cf. *Const. Apost.* ii. 56 ἀγρυπνίας, ἀστίαις, χαμευνίας, διωγμοῖς, πληγαῖς, φυλακαῖς κτλ. Both are of course ultimately based upon 2 Cor. xi. 23, 27. In line 32 the letters after τὸς might be read κλις[, but there seems no obvious restoration.

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3 recto

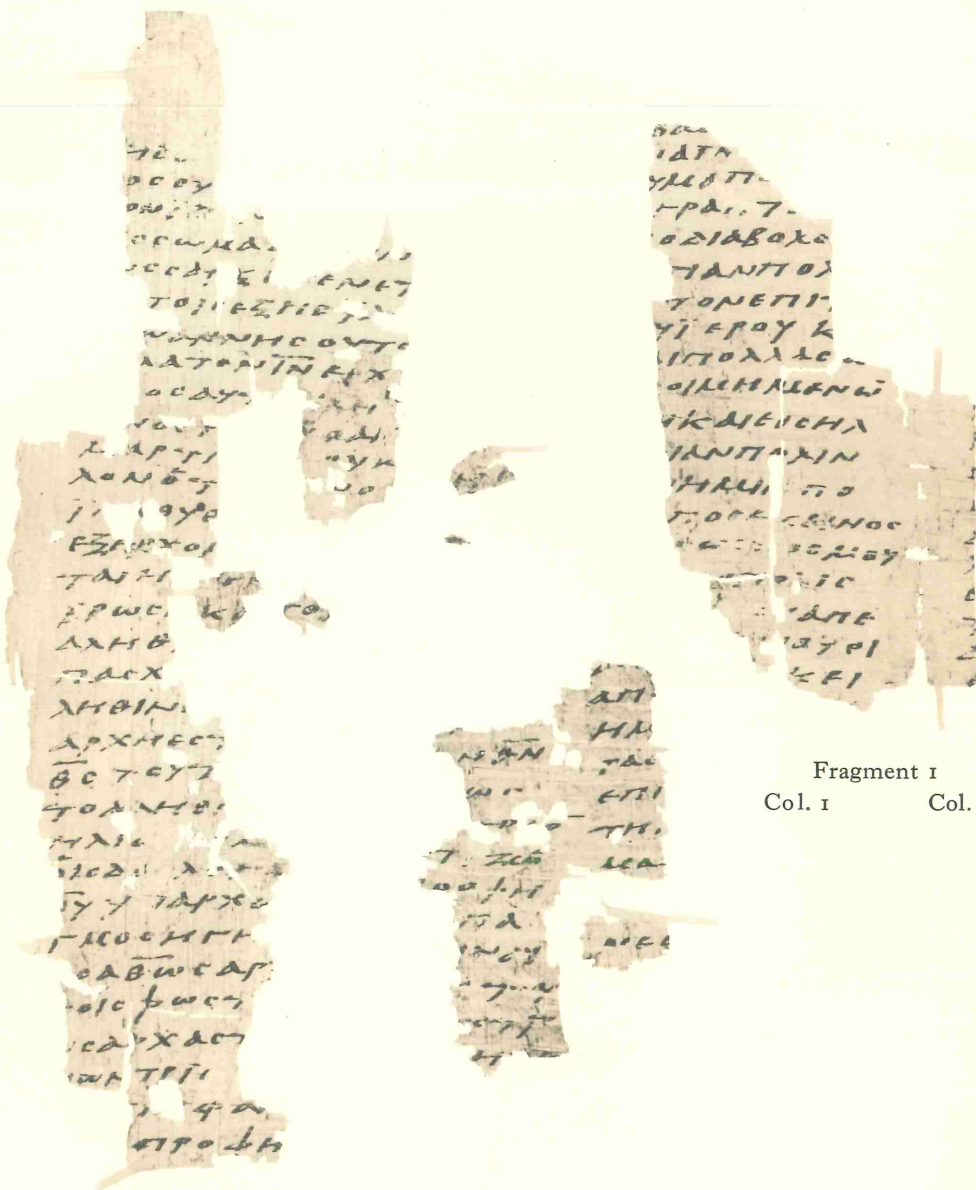
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 ΙΕ Π
 ΕΙΣΤΑ

recto

verso

UNKNOWN GOSPEL (Fragment 2)



Fragment 1
Col. 1 Col. 2

Fragment 2
Col. 1 Col. 2

FRAGMENTS OF A GOSPEL COMMENTARY (recto)

ΔΕΥΔΑΚΑΤ
 ΔΕΥΤΟΙΕΣΤΗ
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 ΤΕΡΩΤΕΡΩΤΩ
 ΣΤΑΡΤΑΙΟΚΑΥ
 ΤΟΡΜΕΤΙΟ
 ΕΝΤΗΝΑΕΡΑΤ
 ΔΥΤΟΥΣΤΡΩΦ
 ΚΑΙΟΥ

ΚΑΙΟΥΚΕΧΑΙ
 ΕΧΕΥΟΥΡΕΤΑΙ
 ΔΕ ΣΟΠΑΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΝΑΥΤΟΥ
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