THE CHESTER BEATTY BIBLICAL PAPYRI
DESCRIPTIONS AND TEXTS OF TWELVE
MANUSCRIPTS ON PAPYRUS OF THE
GREEK BIBLE

FASCICULUS VIII
ENOCH AND MELITO

BY
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PLATES

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PAPYRUS no. XII was described in Fasciculus I of this publication as consisting of 8 leaves and 2 fragments in the Chester Beatty collection, and 6 leaves in the possession of the University of Michigan, containing the last eleven chapters of the Book of Enoch and a Christian homily of unidentified authorship. In view of the great generosity shown by the authorities of the University of Michigan in ceding to Mr. Beatty the publication of many fragments (and sometimes the fragments themselves), possessed by them, of other papyri in the collection, it was agreed that the publication of the text of Papyrus XII should be entrusted to the University, while the photographic facsimile of it should form part of the Chester Beatty series.

Since the text does not appear in this series, a somewhat fuller introduction than usual is required for the facsimile.

The editing of the text on behalf of the University of Michigan fell naturally into the hands of Prof. Campbell Bonner. His first service was to identify the homily as the work of Melito of Sardis, and as being in fact his homily on the Passover, to which references occur in early Christian literature. The identification was indeed plain to see, since the author's name appears at the head of the text; but it was overlooked by myself in the first description of the collection, and the credit of the identification and of its following up in all its ramifications belongs wholly to Prof. Bonner. The complete texts of both the Enoch and the Melito have now been published by him,1 with full introductions and commentaries, and it remains only to complete the publication by the issue of the facsimile of the papyrus.

1. DESCRIPTION

The manuscript in its present state consists of 14 leaves of papyrus, of which the best preserved now measures about $9\frac{1}{8}$ by $5\frac{1}{8}$ in., with a few detached fragments. All, however, have suffered mutilation. The lower margins, with two or more lines of text, are lost in all cases. The upper margins are generally intact, but not always. The outer side margins are

1 The Last Chapters of Enoch in Greek, edited by Campbell Bonner, with the collaboration of Herbert C. Youtie (Studies and Documents, edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, no. VIII, Christophers, London, 1937); The Homily on the Passion, by Melito, bishop of Sardis, and some fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel, edited by Campbell Bonner (Studies and Documents, no. XII, Christophers, London, 1940).
intact, but the inner ones have suffered in their upper and lower portions. The extent of the mutilation can be seen at a glance from the photographs. The original dimensions of the column of writing can be estimated at about 9\(\frac{1}{3}\) by 4\(\frac{2}{3}\) in. and of the whole page at about 10\(\frac{1}{3}\) by 5\(\frac{1}{3}\) in.

The codex had a page-numeration, in a large cursive hand different from that of the text. The following numbers are preserved: 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 3[2], 3[3], 3[4], 35, 36; also probably p. 40, though the \(\mu\) which is preserved might have been followed by another figure. Pages 15, 16, 19, 20 can be certainly identified, since the order of the text of Enoch is known from the Ethiopic translation; and although there is not the same guide in the case of Melito, the sequence of the sense makes the placing of pages 37, 38, 41, 42 practically certain.

These pages would accordingly have formed leaves 8 to 21 in the original codex, and of them nos. 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, and 21 belong to the Chester Beatty Collection, and nos. 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, and 20 to the University of Michigan.

We have therefore 14 consecutive leaves of a papyrus codex, with a certainty that seven leaves of text (besides one or more possible blank leaves) are missing from the beginning. In the first seven of the preserved leaves verso (vertical fibres) precedes recto (horizontal fibres);\(^1\) in the last seven recto precedes verso. These leaves may therefore have formed a single quire of 14 leaves, in which case it would be necessary to suppose that it was preceded by a quire of 8 leaves (one blank leaf and seven containing the numbered pages 1–14); or they may be the central portion of a quire of 28 leaves, seven preceding and seven following the fourteen preserved leaves.

Here the contents of the codex come into question. Pages 15–26 contain Enoch ch. xcvi. 6–cvii. 3 (cv as well as cviii being omitted). It is evident that fourteen pages would not suffice for the whole of the preceding portion of the book. Now it is universally agreed that the book of Enoch, as it has come down to us, is a composite work, and if the first seven leaves of the manuscript had been preserved they might have thrown some light on its formation. Unfortunately they cannot be made to correspond with any of the recognized major sections of the book. The last unit, apart from ch. cv (which is plainly an intrusion) and cvi–cvii (a fragment of a book of Noah),

\(^1\) I am afraid I am responsible for having misled Prof. Bonner on this subject; for he states, on information received from me, that on the first preserved leaf (pages 15–16) recto precedes verso. That this was a mistake on my part is plain even from the photograph. My correction only reached Prof. Bonner in time to be mentioned in an Addendum to his introduction to his edition of Melito (pp. 81, 82).
PREFACE

consists of chs. xci–civ, the exordium to which is found in xcii. 1–5, which should precede xci. But the text of xci. 1–xcvii. 6 is not nearly sufficient to occupy fourteen pages; while the preceding section (lxxxiii–xc) is too long to have been included. As Prof. Bonner has calculated, the fourteen pages would only suffice for the text from about lxxxix. 51 onwards. It seems probable therefore that the codex originally contained some short treatise, or extract from a treatise, preceding Enoch xci–cvii; and if it was a single-quire codex, with seven missing leaves at the end corresponding to the seven at the beginning, these also may probably have contained some work or extract following the homily of Melito, the conclusion of which, according to Prof. Bonner's very probable conjecture, was reached at the foot of the last of the preserved leaves.

This supposition is supported by the fact that among the Chester Beatty papyri there are three fragments (two of some substantial size and one very small) written in the same hand as the Enoch–Melito text, but of which the contents cannot be fitted into either of these works. Their nature will be discussed below; meanwhile their existence confirms the deduction from the bibliographical data already stated that the Chester Beatty–Michigan codex comprised, when complete, extracts from some other treatise or treatises in addition to the Enoch–Melito texts contained in the fourteen leaves constituting its main portion. A close parallel to such a composite volume, made up of extracts from various treatises rather than complete treatises, may be found in the vellum codex discovered at Akhmim in 1886, which contained the first thirty-two chapters of Enoch, together with excerpts from the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter.

2. CONTENTS

From what has been said above, it appears that the codex contained (1) the concluding chapters of the book of Enoch, (2) a homily by Melito of Sardis, (3) some other treatise or treatises, of which only small fragments remain.

1. Before the discovery of the Akhmim MS., just mentioned, the Greek text of Enoch was known only in the few words quoted in the Epistle of Jude (vv. 14, 15) and in excerpts by the chronographer Syncellus (eighth cent.), which cover chapters vi. 1–x. 14, xv. 8–xvi. 1. Otherwise the book had disappeared from knowledge until James Bruce in 1773 brought from Abyssinia three copies of an Ethiopic version of the whole work. From one of these manuscripts, presented by Bruce to the Bodleian, the book was given to the world in English by Richard Laurence, archbishop of Cashel, in 1821. Several
more copies of the Ethiopic version were subsequently found among the manuscripts brought back by the British expedition to Abyssinia in 1868. To these came as a welcome addition the Greek text of chapters i–xxxii in the Akhmim MS., and from all these materials a comprehensive edition of the whole book was published by R. H. Charles (The Book of Enoch, 2nd ed., 1912). Of the original Hebrew of the work no fragment has survived.

The Chester Beatty–Michigan codex, in its present state, contains chapters xcvi. 6–cvi. 3, which occupy the pages numbered 15 to 26, ending in the middle of the latter page. At the end is the title, ‘The Epistle of Enoch’. As suggested above, it is probable that in its original state it included the final section of the composite work passing under the name of ‘Enoch’, comprising chapters xci–civ, with an appendix (chs. cvi, cvii) containing a fragment of a Book of Noah, of which other portions are interspersed elsewhere in ‘Enoch’. Chapters cv and cviii, other alien intrusions appearing in the Ethiopic text, are omitted here. The exordium to this final section (misplaced in the Ethiopic as ch. xcii. 1–5) describes it as follows: ‘The book written by Enoch for all my children who shall dwell on the earth, and for the future generations who shall observe uprightness and peace’; and to this the title of ‘Epistle’, found in the present MS., may well apply. It begins with an exhortation not to be troubled on account of the times; for the Holy and Great One will be gracious to the righteous. Enoch then commands Methusaleh to call together all his brothers; ‘For the word calls me, and the spirit is poured out upon me, that I may show you everything that shall befall you for ever.’ He then foretells the increase of violence and apostasy, on which the chastisement of the Lord will fall. He recounts, ‘according to that which appeared to me in the heavenly vision, and which I have known through the word of the holy angels, and have learnt from the heavenly tablets’, the events of seven ‘weeks’, of which six are still to come, at the end of which, after a period of apostasy, the elect righteous of the eternal plant of righteousness shall be elected. Three weeks more shall follow, in the last of which ‘the first heaven shall depart and pass away, and a new heaven shall appear... And after that there will be many weeks without number for ever, and all shall be in goodness and righteousness, and sin shall no more be mentioned for ever.’ Then follow a series of exhortations to the righteous,

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and a much longer series of woes denounced against sinners. This theme occupies the rest of the book, ending with a forecast of the Day of Judgement, when the spirits of those who have died in righteousness shall rejoice and shall not perish, while the sinners, though they have died in prosperity, shall be made to descend into Hades; and there they shall be in great pain and darkness and in a snare and in a burning fire, and their souls shall come into great judgement to all generations of eternity. The righteous are assured that though they have suffered and been despised in life, yet in heaven the angels remember them for good; they shall shine as lamps in heaven, and the doors of heaven shall be open to them. ‘To the righteous and holy and prudent shall be given my books for their joy in the truth, and they shall believe in them and in them shall they be glad, and shall rejoice to learn of them all the ways of truth.’ So ends the book of Enoch, the chapters which follow (cvi, cvii) being evidently portions of another work, a fragment of a narrative of the birth to Lamech of a wonderful son, of whom Enoch, appealed to by Methusaleh, says that he shall be named Noah, and that in his days there shall be a great deluge, in which all mankind shall perish except himself and his three sons. At the end of the whole work is appended the title, ‘The Epistle of Enoch’, which seems properly to belong only to chapters xci–civ.

2. The excerpt from Enoch is followed immediately on the same page, after a decorative flourish enclosing the title of the former work, by the homily of Melito, headed by the name of the author, Μελίτων. Melito has hitherto been only a name known by scanty references in later writers. He is mentioned by Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. iv. 26) as bishop of Sardis in the time of Marcus Aurelius, with a list of his works, which includes two treatises on the Passover. References are also made to him by Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Jerome. Tertullian (as quoted by Jerome) described his style as ‘elegans et declamatorium’, and it is evident from other references that his writings were highly emotional and ‘enthusiastic’ (in the 18th-century sense of that term) in character. Such writings are generally ephemeral in their popularity, and Melito is little mentioned or quoted in later ages. None of his works survived, and the extant quotations from them were not numerous (see Harnack, Die altchristliche Litteratur bis Eusebius, i. 246–55). The recovery of a large part of one of his best-known works is therefore a welcome addition to the extant remains of second-century Christian literature. It is a sermon on the Passover and the Passion, evidently preached on Good Friday; for the
preacher begins, 'The Scripture of the Hebrew Exodus has been read, and the words of the mystery have been explained, how the sheep is sacrificed and how the people is saved'. He proceeds to state the 'mystery of the Passover', which prefigured the Passion, as the Law prefigured 'the new Word'. He then narrates the story of the Passover, with a vivid picture of the destruction of the first-born, and explains how the type, valuable in its own time, is superseded by its fulfilment. Then, setting out from a false etymology of the word *Pascha* from πάσχω, he dilates on the wickedness of the descendants of Adam, and the redemption by the Passion of our Lord, whose life was in many respects prefigured by many of the patriarchs and prophets. After a highly rhetorical enumeration of the fulfilments by our Lord of the several ante-types found in the Old Testament, he passes to an eloquent denunciation of the Jews for their treatment of Him, and a contrast between their insults and His essential glory. This occupies all the remainder of the homily, which probably terminated at the foot of the last preserved leaf.

The style of the homily fully justifies Tertullian's epithet, *declamatorius*. It is full of elaborate antitheses, and of balanced rhetorical passages, of which one may be quoted as an example:

'This is he who clothed death with a garment of shame, and bound the devil in anguish as Moses bound Pharaoh. This is he who smote iniquity, and made unrighteousness barren, as Moses made Egypt. This is he who rescued us from slavery to freedom, from darkness to light, from death to life, from oppression to an eternal kingdom, and made us a new priesthood and a chosen people for ever.' He is the Passover of our salvation, he it is who in many men suffered many things. This is he who in Abel was slain, in Isaac was bound, who in Jacob dwelt in a strange land, who in Joseph was sold, who in Moses was cast out, in the lamb was sacrificed, in David was hunted, in the prophets was dishonoured. This is he who was made flesh in a virgin, whose bones were not broken upon the tree, who in burial was not resolved into earth, who arose from the dead, and raised man from the grave below to the heights of the heavens. This is the lamb that was slain, this is the lamb that was

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1 Prof. Bonner discusses at some length the question whether these words imply that the reading of the Scriptural passage was followed by a paraphrase before the sermon. As against the need for such a paraphrase (normal in the Jewish synagogues) he observes that the text read was in Greek, which would need no translation, and that the elucidation of it was supplied by the sermon itself. Some critics have further urged that the second clause is merely a repetition of the first, in accordance with the parallelism which is rampant in Melito's style. Nevertheless his own conclusion is that two separate processes are indicated, a reading of the text and a paraphrase before the preacher took up his detailed commentary. But does not the phrase 'the Hebrew Exodus' (ἡ μὲν γραφή τῆς Εβραίτης εξώθου) imply that the original reading was in Hebrew (no doubt a ritual formality, as in the synagogues), after which a paraphrase or translation would be essential?

2 The parallel with 1 Peter ii. 9 is noteworthy.
dumb, this is he that was born of Mary the fair ewe, this is he who was taken from
the flock and dragged to slaughter and slain at evening and buried by night.’

The Gospel story is evidently as familiar to Melito as the Old Testament,
from which he draws so many parallels and illustrations; and it is interesting
to notice that he makes reference to the uncanonical tradition (found also in
Tertullian, Hilary, and other early writings) which describes the veil of the
Temple as being rent by an angel leaving the sanctuary. Melito’s sermon
does not add to our knowledge of our Lord’s life, but it is a valuable addition
to early exegetical, as distinct from apologetic, literature.

3. The three fragments which cannot be assigned to either Enoch or Melito
have been brilliantly identified by Prof. Bonner as belonging to an apocryphal
Book of Ezekiel, of which some slight evidence already existed. Frag. 1 verso,
ll. 11–18 has the following mutilated passage:

Prof. Bonner has identified these words with the following passage in Clement
of Alexandria (Paedagogus I. ix. 84. 2–4, ed. Stahlin, 1905):

It is evident that the two passages are identical, and Prof. Bonner has been
able to restore the mutilated lines of the papyrus from Clement, with only
the slightest verbal divergences. Clement refers his quotation to Ezekiel, and
there are certain coincidences with the canonical Ezekiel (xxxiv. 13–23), where
the phrases occur, Βοσκήσω αὐτούς ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἰσραήλ . . . τὸ πλανώμενον ἑπιστρέφω
καὶ τὸ συντριμμένον καταδίκη . . . καὶ ἀναστάσις ἐπὶ αὐτούς ποιμένα ἐνα καὶ ποιμαίνει
αὐτούς, τὸν διόλον μον Δανείδ, καὶ ἔσται αὐτῶν ποιμήν. It is manifest, however, that
Clement is quoting from quite a different text from the canonical Ezekiel,
and that it is the uncanonical text that is found in the Chester Beatty frag-
ments. The papyrus also proves that the words καὶ ἐσομαι ἐγγὺς αὐτῶν ὡς ὁ χιτῶν τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτῶν, which Stahlin treats as an amplification by Clement, belong to the Ezekiel text.

Nicephorus, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the stichometrical list of the books, canonical and uncanonical, of both Testaments attached to his Χρονογραφικῶν Σύντομον, mentions at the end of the apocryphal books of the Old Testament (which begin with Enoch) Βαροῦχ, Ἀμβακοῦμ, Ἱεζεκιήλ καὶ Δανυήλ Φευδεπίγραφα. To this pseudopigraph of Ezekiel Harnack (op. cit. i. 856), following Resch (Agrapha, p. 290), refers a quotation from 'Ezekiel' in Clement, Paed. I. x. 91; but neither Harnack nor Resch associates with it the more extensive quotation in ix. 84, and Stahlin merely refers to Ezek. xxxiv. The Beatty fragments prove beyond doubt that the work from which Clement is quoting is quite distinct from the canonical Ezekiel, and thus give more substance to a work which has hitherto had a somewhat shadowy existence.

The third fragment is of interest only because it has at the bottom of its verso side part of a herring-bone pattern indicating the end of a treatise; but it is impossible to say whether it belongs to the Ezekiel or to Melito or to some other excerpt contained in the codex.

There are a few other tiny fragments which appear to be written in the same hand. One of them contains the name ενοχ, followed by the letters γρα (see Bonner, The Last Chapters of Enoch, p. 11); but it is impossible to find a satisfactory place for it.

3. WRITING AND DATE

The codex is written in a large and coarse hand, which is certainly not that of a trained scribe. It is full of mistakes in spelling, which mostly reflect the common deterioration of popular pronunciation (interchange of e and a, of τι and τι, of o and w), besides not a few others. There are also many mistakes due to carelessness or lack of understanding; these, Prof. Bonner remarks, occur much more frequently in the Enoch than in the Melito, which suggests that they may be due to the scribe’s exemplar, not to the scribe himself.

The date of the MS. cannot be earlier than the fourth century, and there is no need to place it later. The nearest parallel to it is Pap. 46 in the British Museum, a magical text assigned to the fourth century. It is therefore to be regarded, with the Ecclesiasticus fragments, as one of the latest additions to the ecclesiastical library represented by the Chester Beatty Collection.

F. G. K.
PLATES
ENOCH XCVIII, 12-XCIX, 5
ΕΝΟΧ Κ, 1-9
ENOH C, 11–12, 7
ENOCHE III, 2-13
καταβάλει, έναν ικάνον καπνό προς τον θεό. Με τον θεό, ο άνθρωπος μπορεί να συναπτείται και να συνεργάζεται με τον θεό. Με την ανθρωπογένεια, οι άνθρωποι μπορούν να συνεργάζονται με τον θεό. Με την ανθρωπογένεια, οι άνθρωποι μπορούν να συναπτείται και να συνεργάζεται με τον θεό.
ENOCH CVI, 19-CVII, 3, MELITO, 1-4
MELITO, 5-14
MELITO, 21-26
MELITO, 35-42
MELITO, 52-58
Το γενικόν των αποτελεσμάτων και της οπίσθιας κατανόησης των ιστορικών μας είναι η μοναδική επιλογή των κατάλογων που μας εξάπλωσε τα θέματα. Αυτό είναι δημοφιλές και αποτελεί το βάση της επιλογής των κατάλογων. Στην ίδια συνέχεια η επιλογή των κατάλογων είναι η μοναδική επιλογή των κατάλογων που μας εξάπλωσε τα θέματα. Αυτό είναι δημοφιλές και αποτελεί το βάση της επιλογής των κατάλογων.
MELITO, 66-71