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in the declaration that even in a State ordered according to pagan ideals there must be given a place to God. In the lands to which the Christians went carrying the gospel, where men were forced to burn incense to the Emperor, this was a vital issue.

The passages relating to the implication of Christian loyalty will always be of significance. Without accepting the position of Bultmann and Dibelius that these utterances are based on the accepted practice of a group (the more intense group) within the later community, we should note that the characteristic feature of the passages is the demand for intensity in Christian living. The Christian's love of God and for his neighbour is not to be expended in any measured fashion; it is intense, unbounded; it goes all the way that love dictates.

Although it may be regarded as arbitrary to select such a stratum of thought as the subject of examination, similar results regarding the central place such doctrine held would emerge from a wider survey. We do not discover any teaching for our present situation which follows from the message of Jesus as corollaries may be deduced from mathematical propositions, but we are given certain 'ordinationes' (to use Brunner's phrase) or principles of action. The individual Christian is guided in the home, in the State, in his contact with people of other races or classes, and in association with his fellow-Christians. Thus the paradigms provide a challenge to which the Church of our day must give its attention; otherwise once again we shall hear the rebuke; 'A prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house.'

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## The Oldest Biblical Papyrus, and a Leaf from a Testimony Book.

BY THE REVEREND C. A. PHILLIPS, M.A., BOURNEMOUTH.

THIS new discovery, following up so quickly that of the second-century fragments of the Gospel of St. John, comes also from the John Rylands Library collection, and from the able editorship of Mr. C. H. Roberts of St. John's College, Oxford.<sup>1</sup> The first consists of fragments of at least four columns of a roll containing the Book of Deuteronomy, and its probable date is that of the middle of the second century B.C., and it is therefore the oldest existing MS., not only of the LXX, but of the Bible in any language.<sup>2</sup>

These fragments come from two pieces of cartonnage purchased in an envelope along with a bundle of miscellaneous papyri by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1917. He had gone out at the end of 1916 to join Dr. Glover and Dr. J. H. Moulton at their special mission in India; but his ship was torpedoed in the Mediterranean, and owing to the

consequent state of his health, he decided to remain in Egypt, and await their return there. The editor says that the purchase probably came from the Fayûm, and one particular name in a list on one of the accompanying fragments supports this. Dr. Harris himself in his memoir of that journey states that the Fayûm drew blank at his first visit, and that it was subsequently in some village that shall be nameless that the purchase was made.<sup>3</sup> When he returned home, he fortunately left the parcel with a friend in Cairo for safe keeping till the end of the War; for, as most of our older readers will remember, it was on this tragic return voyage that this ship too was sunk, and Dr. Moulton died from the exposure. When the collection reached England, it had been transferred by arrangement to the John Rylands Library.

Mummy cartonnage consists of waste papyri of all kinds, cut into sheets or strips, and three or

<sup>1</sup> *Two Biblical Papyri*, ed. by Mr. C. H. Roberts, M.A. (Manchester University Press; 2s. 6d.).

<sup>2</sup> The earliest Hebrew MS. is not earlier than the ninth century A.D.; the Nash papyrus of the second century, containing the Decalogue and the Shema, is probably liturgical.

<sup>3</sup> 'In the Fayûm villages were founded by Jews, and they lived on equal terms with the Greeks.' Swete, *Introd. to O.T. in Greek*, p. 7, with note referring to Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 86 n., and Philo, *De sept.*, 6.

four thicknesses glued together to form a kind of *papier-mâché*. 'Then the outside was covered with a coating of plaster and decorated with paint; and various pieces of the cartonnage were placed on or round the head, breast, and legs of the mummy outside the cloth wrappings. Papyrus was only used in this way as a background for plaster in the decoration of mummies during the three centuries preceding Christ; at other periods cloth or plaster alone was employed.'<sup>1</sup> In this case, there were six strata of small scraps placed haphazard—evidence that the work was hurriedly done, and that the mummy was probably that of one of the poorer members of the society—and so liberally coated with gum that the usual methods of separating with warm water or a hot iron were unavailing. 'Such was the resistance of the gum . . . the only solvent was found to be to immerse them in water at boiling-point for some sixty seconds. This drastic procedure was successful, and luckily resulted in no material damage either to papyrus or ink.' Twisted and folded along with a fragment from the First Book of the *Iliad*, there now came to view a leaf in uncial writing, which, along with several other fragments, was recognized by Mr. Roberts as a scrap from Deuteronomy in Greek. The hand is a book hand, 'stylised and careful and of considerable elegance; its most striking feature is the use of decorative serifs particularly noticeable on  $\nu$ ,  $\upsilon$ , and  $\tau$ ; it might well have been a part of a roll for Synagogue use. The family to which this hand belongs is fairly well known, and it can be 'securely assigned to the second century B.C., and was probably written not much later, if at all, than the middle of that century.'

The other Greek fragments, besides those of *Iliad*, 1. 244–250, 252 ff., are pieces of a tragedy, of some historical work, of lyric verse, and of an account, and there are also a number of Demotic fragments, all belonging to the end of the second century B.C. or the beginning of the first. Finally, the verso of the Deut. leaves, before they were thrown away for waste-paper, was used for writing some account or memorandum, in a large sprawling hand probably of the same date as the *Iliad* or other fragments. This fact by itself may be an additional support for the date reached from the palæographical evidence; for it is not likely that a MS. of the Law would be so degraded soon after it was written. On the other hand, it might have been made for an honoured or wealthy proselyte

<sup>1</sup> The editor here quotes Grenfell in a paper read to the Classical Association of Ireland in March 1918.

whose family, or at least the next generation of it, did not sympathize with him in his use or veneration of a Jewish sacred Book.<sup>2</sup>

The passages contained are: Dt 23<sup>24</sup> (26)–24<sup>3</sup> 25<sup>1-3</sup> 26<sup>12, 17-19</sup> 28<sup>31-33</sup> and some unplaced fragment, including [κα]ι χωνε[υτρον],? from 27<sup>15</sup>. It is remarkable how much can be learnt from just these fifteen verses about the textual tradition of the roll; there are some eighteen to twenty variants with a remarkable affinity to Cod. Alexandrinus (A), and the result of the study of these 'makes still more difficult the view which other discoveries have done much to shake, and which, formerly associated with the name of Hort, was the basis of the Cambridge Septuagint, namely, that Cod. Vaticanus (B) "on the whole presents the version of the Septuagint in its relatively oldest form."' Unfortunately the Chester Beatty Papyrus of Deut. which occupies a place half-way in date between our MS. and the great Uncials is not extant for this part of Deut., but in the first half it has the least affinity with B, while in Numbers it has the most. Thus 'our first glimpse of the Septuagint some hundred years after the original translation was made<sup>3</sup> reveals that a text approximating to that of one of the great families was already in existence; then for three hundred years the history of the LXX text disappears, and when it again emerges into the light with the Chester Beatty papyri, it is significant that it is the A text rather than the B that is predominant in the Book of Deuteronomy.'

Of the readings, two peculiar ones may be noticed. In 23<sup>26</sup> ἐπέλθης for εἰσέλθης looks like an instance of the influence of popular usage, the former being the technical word for trespass, which, though it is a case of entering another man's property, does not, however, really apply to the circumstances. In 25<sup>2</sup> καθιεί αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, where ὁ κριτής has to be supplied, and AFM<sup>Ⓞ</sup> and the versions read καθιείς αὐτὸν ἐναντίον τῶν κριτῶν, while B reads καθιείσ αὐτὸν ἐναντίον αὐτῶν. With regard to Sacred Names, ὁ Κύριος does not unfortunately occur where the actual text is extant, but in 26<sup>17</sup> the average line of twenty-seven letters makes it probable that it was written in full like those in the Johannine fragments; but only four lines farther down there is a twenty-three letter line.

<sup>2</sup> None of the names on the verso, or in the other accounts are Jewish.

<sup>3</sup> The commonly accepted date of the LXX, or at least the Pentateuch part of it, is about 250 B.C. in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Professor Adolf Deissmann<sup>1</sup> calls attention to the fact that the best preserved of these fragments (Dt 25<sup>1-3</sup>) contains a passage of the O.T. Law, τεσσαράκοντα μαστιγώσουσιν αὐτὸν, οὐ προσθήσουσιν, which played a painful part no less than five times in the life of St. Paul (2 Co 11<sup>24</sup>, ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων πεντάκις τεσσαράκοντα παρὰ μίαν ξλαβον). 'We may gather from this that the Septuagint was for the Diaspora not only a book of edification but was still used,' with the characteristic precaution of παρὰ μίαν to ensure the οὐ προσθήσουσιν, 'as the accepted code of legal penalties by the spiritual rulers. The "scourging" paragraph on our old leaf from Egypt must have carried very much the same authority two centuries later in the Bible rolls of the Diaspora.'

The second papyrus, a fourth-century fragment, is a part of a double leaf of a Codex containing a collection of O.T. passages, and, as is the case with other of the literary papyri in the John Rylands Library, other fragments of the same Codex have found their way into another collection. These were published by G. Rudberg under the title *Septuaginta Fragmente*, and are now known as *Pap. Osloenses*, ii. 11. The combined texts contain Is 42<sup>3</sup>.<sup>4</sup> 66<sup>18</sup>.<sup>19</sup> 52<sup>15</sup> 53<sup>6</sup>.<sup>7</sup> 53<sup>11</sup>.<sup>12</sup>, an unidentified verse, Gn 26<sup>13</sup>.<sup>14</sup>, 2 Ch 1<sup>12</sup>, Dt 28<sup>8</sup>.<sup>11</sup>. The Oslo fragments were described by Rudberg as a *Textbuch für kultische Zweck*, and the later editor of the Oslo papyri thought that 'Isaiah combined with Genesis suggests that the book was meant for liturgical use.' But the addition of the new fragments, Is 66<sup>18</sup>.<sup>19</sup>, 2 Ch 1<sup>12</sup>, Dt 28<sup>8</sup>, suggests a different purpose. All the passages can be classed as 'Messianic'—prophetic of Christ or of Pentecost,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'The Oldest Bible Leaf,' in *The British Weekly*, Aug. 6, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the use of Is 66<sup>18</sup>. in Cypr., *Test.* i. 21, not ii. 21, a little slip on p. 51, as is also the statement on p. 52

and we have here a part of a Testimony Book, a collection of extracts from the O.T. to prove the witness of O.T. writers to the truth of the Christian faith. The inclusion of Gn 26<sup>13</sup>, the prosperity of Isaac, in such an anthology seems at first strange, but it is a good example of popular allegorical interpretation, and the clue lies in the opening words of v.<sup>13</sup> (the actual line is missing in the MS.), και ὑψώθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος . . . ; that one word is enough to link up the passage with Nu 21<sup>9</sup> and Jn 3<sup>14</sup>.

It is an appropriate coincidence that these fragments which have now come to prove the first extant bit of a Testimony Book should form a part of one of Dr. Harris's finds; for his study of the *Testimonies* is the standard work on the subject.<sup>3</sup> It is not likely that they form a part of a copy of a Testimony Book such as Dr. Harris envisages—the first written book in Christian use, perhaps already used by St. Paul and the Evangelists, and later on by Cyprian and Tertullian, Gregory of Nyssa and Barsalibi. There is no trace in this collection of introductory formulas, and the passages outside Isaiah are not used by Cyprian or Gregory. But it may be rather, as Mr. Roberts suggests, a copy of what Dr. Harris had in mind when he wrote: 'It was *a priori* probable they would be little books of wide range. The parallel which suggests itself to one's mind is that of the little handbook known as the *Soldier's Pocket Bible*, which was carried by the Ironsides of Cromwell and was composed of a series of Biblical extracts, chiefly from the Old Testament, defining the duty of the Puritan soldier in various circumstances in which he found himself, and arranged under headings of questions appropriate to the situation.'<sup>4</sup> that only the quotations from Is 52, 53 are employed by Cyprian.

<sup>3</sup> *Testimonies*, by Rendel Harris and V. Burch (Cambridge University Press; Pt. i. 1916, Pt. ii. 1920).

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* Pt. i. p. 1.

## In the Study.

### Virginitibus Puerisque.

#### Road or Street?

BY THE REVEREND A. E. WILLMOTT, BOW, LONDON.

'Jesus saith . . . I am the way.'—Jn 14<sup>6</sup>.

Do you live in a road or street? It does not really matter very much where your home is, because our

homes depend upon us and not where our house is situated, yet there is a great difference between a road and a street. A road is a riding: if you have read Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, you will remember how Griffith describes Wolsey's last ride from York to Leicester: 'At last, with easy roads, he came to Leicester,' which means that he came with easy