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the board. 'From henceforth no man can trouble us, if we bear branded in our body the marks of the Lord Jesus.'

And, in fact, the one other thing needful happens. We saw that sometimes the urge 'to be marked' was dictated by the pathetic longing of men that their personality might survive. If really we desire to retain our personality, it is only in Christ

Jesus that we can hope to do so. But the condition is manifest :

Then shall ye be sons of God

And, if sons, heirs.

Heirs of God, and fellow-heirs with Jesus Christ
If so be that ye suffer with Him.¹

¹ G. F. MacLeod, *Govan Calling*, 133.

The Rendel Harris Papyri.¹

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

IN the winter of 1922-23 Dr. Rendel Harris, then Curator of MSS at the Rylands Library, made another visit to Sinai, and on his way acquired privately in Egypt a quantity of papyri, partly from dealers in Cairo, and partly at Behnesa. In 1925 he presented the collection to the Woodbrooke Settlement, and the trustees deposited it, *pro tem.*, in the Central Library of the Selly Oak Colleges. Up till 1932 less than half had been mounted, and little was known of the contents. But it has been worth while that they should have waited these years for the eyes, the patience, and the skill of so able and devoted a papyrologist as Mr. Enoch Powell, and one who, as he acknowledges in his preface, has been able to have 'the stimulus and encouragement gained through personal contact with the scholar from whom the collection takes its name'; and many will rejoice with him that the Doctor is still with us to observe the published results of this—the latest of his many lifelong researches and studies in this particular field.

The majority of these papyri come from Oxyrhynchus, and present in one volume of 165 documents a fairly representative collection of the whole rich store hitherto published in many volumes, with the exception that there is here no Logion or portion of the Biblical text. There are classical fragments, new and extant, census returns, tax receipts, loans, wills, contracts, notice of runaway slaves, a list of spices (?) for a medical prescription, prayers, magical formulæ, private letters, all, as should be expected in this Roman settlement, falling within the Christian era, with the exception of two, a decree of Ptolemy Philometor,

and a portion of *Iliad* xii., also of the second century B.C. For the frontispiece there is the best-known portrait of the collector; there are five excellent plates, chiefly of the new classical fragments to facilitate identification, and well illustrating the faithful patience going on in many libraries 'that nothing be lost,' and also happily including those seventeen new lines referred to below. The general arrangement of the texts, translations, notes, and indices is similar to that of the Grenfell and Hunt editions, with one or two useful improvements; there are separate vocabularies for the literary and non-literary texts, and the new words in the latter (some fifty) are marked with an asterisk.

The classical fragments come from the *Iliad*, Herodotus, Thucydides, Euripides, Plato, and Demosthenes, in some cases with variants which will be noted or adopted in future editions, or which confirm conjectures made by recent editors. Among the non-literary papyri, as might be expected from a neighbourhood already so well documented, there is little that is strikingly new either in matter or in the illustration of New Testament words or usages. A contract between officials (No. 64) throws further light on the phylarch; there is only one for the whole city, and among his duties is that of nominating to liturgies. This contract has to do with the hitherto unknown term, *φυλακρῖσῖα*, perhaps meaning the registration of members of the phyle. There are good examples of such testamentary words or terms as τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος, *καταντᾶν*, (to come down by inheritance, cf. 1 Co 10¹¹); ἀμετάθετος, of a will unchanged at the time of death (cf. He 6¹⁸); ἀπογράφειν and χρηματίζειν are well illustrated, as is also ἐπερωτᾶν (ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὠμολόγησα) in the sense of formal

¹ Edited, with Translation and Notes, by J. Enoch Powell (Cambridge University Press, 1936).

assent to a stipulatory question in contracts (cf. 1 P 3²¹); and there is an example of the less well-known use of *χορηγείν*, not of *lavish* supply, but of a payment to be regularly and surely forthcoming like that of interest or an annuity—in this case of the former—*χορηγήσαι σοι ὑπὲρ λόγου διαφόρου κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ κεράτια δύο*. Outside New Testament vocabulary or usage there are instances of *σύμμαχος* = messenger, and a new use (No. 112) of *ἐπηρεάζειν*, of damage done to a boat, elsewhere only of injury or insult to persons, and on the other hand *συνέρχεσθαι* occurs in a spiritual sense. This comes in a sixth-century prayer (No. 54) in which the speaker is invoking the presence and blessing of the Almighty and of his patron saint Philoxenus (*ἀγιε Φιλόξενε πρόστατά μου*, as in P. Oxy. 1150, 1926) in the undertaking of what is apparently a banking business—the actual form of the word is new—*ἐὰν θέλημα ὑμῶν ἐστὶν καὶ συνέρχεσθέ μοι λαβεῖν τὴν τραπέζιτιν, παρακαλῶ κελύσαι μοι μαθεῖν*. . . . A second-century magical formula (No. 55), containing instructions for holding commerce with a spirit, has this elaborate invocation. ‘Thou that in thy might governest all things, before whom the demons tremble, whom the mountains fear, whom angels adore, whom sun and moon adore, whose seat (*θρόνος*) is the heaven, and air thy revelling-place (*κωμαστήριον*), and the earth thy footstool (*πόδιον*).’¹ Among the private letters is one from a Christian boy to his mother (No. 107), which has several points of interest, the unusual invocation,² the trichometry in the order of the Egyptian liturgies, and the very human touch in the order of the two requests at its close:

‘To my most honoured mother Mary from Besas many greetings in God. Before all things I pray to our Father, the God of truth, and to the Spirit Paraclete (*τῷ παρακλήτῳ πνεύματι*) that they may preserve you in both soul and body and spirit, and give to your body health and to your spirit gladness and to your soul life everlasting. Whomever you find coming my way, please do not hesitate (*μὴ δκνήσης*) to write to me of your health so that I may hear and rejoice. Don’t fail (*μὴ ἀμελήσης*)

¹ Compare and contrast the Semitic form in Is 66¹, Mt 5³⁶: *ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου (αὐτοῦ)*.

² This letter is in a rough hand and cannot be more certainly dated than ‘? third century.’ The omission of the Second Person of the Trinity may be unintentional in such a letter, or it may be a unique bit of evidence of the prevalence in North Africa of the teaching of Montanus and Madi. Manichæism was a real menace to the Egyptian Church in the fourth century.

to send me the coat against the Easter holiday, and send my brother to me. I salute my father and brethren: I pray for the lasting health of you all.’

But the outstanding feature of the collection, and its chief interest to many readers—and to the collector himself—is the first document, a literary papyrus of the third century, consisting of two columns of fifty lines each, the first with the left half missing, the second fortunately complete, except for three or four letters at the end of each of the lines. To the editor it appeared to come from some romance or dialogue on the unusual subject of the value of large families—the blessings of Mr. Quiverful. It has since been identified as a part of one of the discourses of C. Musonius Rufus, a first-century Stoic, who numbered Epictetus among his pupils, and whose teaching is known partly from the latter’s quotations, but chiefly through a certain Lucius, from whom Stobæus in the sixth century made his selections. This discourse is No. XV. in the Teubner edition of the remains of Musonius, but contains some seventeen *new* lines missing in the MSS of Stobæus—lines of much literary charm and of special interest to the New Testament student. The identification is due to Mr. Martin Charlesworth of St. John’s College, Cambridge, who in a recent course of lectures had been taking Musonius as a ‘good specimen of the average philosopher of the time.’³

Of Musonius himself the reader should bear in mind, with special reference to those new lines, that for a philosopher he was a man of unusually wide and varied contacts high and low, through most of the latter half of the first century; he was banished by Nero to Gyaros, one of the Cyclades, where students from all over the Near East used to visit and consult him; there is a possible glimpse of him engaged with slaves in manual labour—as political prisoners often were—on the canal at the Isthmus of Corinth; he was restored to Rome and favour and Roman society under the Flavian emperors.

The subject of the discourse is *Εἰ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα θρεπτέον*, and it is remarkable that though Musonius reaches a high level in his teaching on simplicity, duty, and fortitude, and in some ways is well ahead of his times, *e.g.* in his views on the education of women, he has not a word to say from the moral aspect against the exposure of unwanted children, but speaks only of the strength and honour which the children of a large family

³ *Five Men, Character Studies from the Roman Empire*: Martin Classical Lectures, vi. (Camb., Mass., 1936).

can bring to their parents, and the picture is typically Greek, as contrasted with that in Ps 127: 'No one could bring before the gods a procession so fair to behold, or a religious dance at their feasts so admirable in the splendour of the dancers, as a troop of children in the city with their own father or mother at their head, or leading their parents by the hand, or in some other way surrounding them with dutiful respect (περιεπόντων κηδεμονικῶς).' Then follows an objection from the disciple, beginning with the usual *Νῆ Δία, φησίν, ἀλλὰ . . .*, and the text in the Teubner edition breaks off with this 'but'; here is the new part in full in Mr. Powell's translation:

'No doubt,' says he, 'but I am a poor man without means, and have a good many children already. How should I feed those I have?' 'How do those tiny little birds, the swallows, and nightingales and larks and blackbirds, with far less means than thou, feed their chicks' (πόθεν δε τὰ μικρὰ ταῦτα ὀρνίθια . . . πολὺ σοῦ ἀπορώτερα, τρέφουσιν τοὺς νεοττοὺς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν;)? Homer says thus of them:

Even as a bird bringeth a morsel to her young,
Whensoever she findeth one, though she go short
herself.¹

'Are these creatures cleverer than man? That cannot be. What then? Do they surpass him in strength and endurance? Still less so. What then? Do they hoard and store their food? (τί δε; ἀποτίθεται καὶ φυλάσσει τροφήν . . .);'

¹ *Iliad*, ix. 323 f.

It is a happy case that the new leaf included just that last line. This use of ἀποτίθεται, recalling that of ἀποθηκῆ in the Sermon on the Mount, comes already in Aristotle, *H.A.* 9. 32. 8, ἀποτίθεται τὴν περιτρούσαν τροφήν τοῖς νεοττοῖς διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐπορον εἶναι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτὴν πορίζεσθαι, but this is about the habits of eagles in a Natural History and not in a philosophic treatise; and the reader is left wondering—as the collector of these papyri is wondering—whence came to Musonius the thought of using this parable for freedom from anxiety? Have we here the earliest use of the written Gospel? In some varying tradition did the Master speak of other little birds, the sparrow or the swallow as well as the raven, but St. Luke recorded only the one familiar in this context in the Old Testament, although the natural genius of Aramaic demands a doublet here as in the rest of the verse?

Behold the fowls of the heaven,²

Consider the sparrows and the ravens,

They sow not neither do they reap;

They have neither store-chamber nor storehouse.

At any rate, before the close of the first century, a Roman philosopher who has also lived some years in the East, and perhaps toiled with slaves near Corinth, can already teach an anxious disciple to consider 'the little birds.'

² Cf. *Acts of Thomas* 28: 'Look at the ravens, and consider the birds of heaven.' In Lk 12²⁴, P⁴⁶ reads: κατανοήσατε τὰ πτεῖνα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τοὺς κόρακας, and Cod. Bezae and some Old Latins, the former only.

Recent Foreign Theology.

Varia.

Positive Christianity in the Third Reich, by Professor D. Cajus Fabricius (Hermann Püschel, Dresden), is a translation of a German work published in 1935, and has been translated obviously to create a more favourable impression of National Socialism than prevails in this country. The author was at the Lausanne Conference, has brought out an Ecumenical Handbook of the Churches of Christ, and is now editing a large work appearing in parts, *Corpus Confessionum*. In view of the Church controversy, to which there is very scant allusion, he wishes to secure a more favourable estimate of

National Socialism than, he is aware, prevails among our churches. He is a convinced, almost fanatical Nazi, but remains a sincere and earnest Christian Protestant believer, and proves himself a competent theologian. His aim is to show not only the compatibility of the one and the other, but even their congruity. The book is divided into two parts—'The Religious Policy of National Socialism,' and 'The Christian Foundations of National Socialism.'

He states (1) What we reject is (a) Liberalism, (b) Attacks on Christianity, (c) Substitutes for religion; (2) What we affirm is (a) Positive Christianity, (b) Two Great Churches (Catholic and Pro-