

LIVING YESTERDAYS



A NEW TESTAMENT FLORILEGIUM

LIVING YESTERDAYS

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE LANGUAGE OF
THE NEW TESTAMENT WITH APPENTICES
ON RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE PAPYRI
DISCOVERIES.

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INTRODUCTION

"But God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise."

Mr. Minn has written all about waste paper. It comes in heaps from the dry sands of Egypt, where the desert has swallowed green and populous oases of an ancient world. It pours from the cracked bodies of dead crocodiles stuffed and mummified by superstitious fellahin. There is something almost whimsical in the miracle which made spring-cleaners of Egyptian offices, or degraded worshippers of a river monster, the storemen of human texts for linguists and historians of another day. Yet storemen in very deed they were, and there are faded scraps of paper of their storing which we would not exchange for another acre of rock-carved boast of kings. It was only a tattered fragment which contained the two verses of John's Gospel found three years ago, but the papyrologist and the palaeographer showed that its faded script dated within a century of Christ. A little thing, yet all the theories of a school of scholars could have ship-wrecked on it seventy years ago, when Tübingen made havoc of the Testament. Mr. Minn is right. The foolish and the weak things matter, when they come to light to confound dramatically the wise and mighty. "If only," wrote Lightfoot in the middle of the last century, "we had the letters of ordinary men and women of the day!" He was faced with difficulties in the language of the New Testament. How the wish was granted is shown in the pages which follow.

"RACY OF THE SOIL."

And what a tale it is! The writer of an introduction must walk with lissom toe lest he trespass on the theme. It is a temptation to tell of Dionysia. She was a woman of set jaw and grim determination. She lost a case in a local court over a piece of land. Perhaps the judge was like the Menches whose office files, all reeking with intrigue and

graft came from the body of a crocodile at Tebtunis. But Dionysia appealed to Alexandria. The slave who carried her documents in a stone box perished that night when the inn where he slept blazed over his head. The sands of the desert and the east wind were his winding sheet, and he lay there till to-day. Charred bones and a stone despatch box! The archaeologists read Dionysia's appeal. "In order that my lord the judge may know that my appeal is just, I attach my 'hypothesis'." It was the difficult word in Hebrews II: 1. The attached document was examined. It was Dionysia's title deeds! So "faith is the title deeds of things hoped for." How full and rich the metaphor plucked from the busy world of trade and commerce! And we have given way to the temptation to tell a good story. But it is so typical of the history of the papyri. "Racy of the soil" is a phrase Mr. Minn uses of the language of the New Testament. It was. "The common people heard Him gladly," and the book about Him was written in their common speech.

There is the first verse of the eleventh chapter of that vivid epistle. Turn on to Chapter Twelve. Greek pulses would quicken at the picture of the games. The stripped athlete presses to the goal. The thousands tiered to the right of him, the thousands tiered to the left are a blur as he runs. What cares he for the roar of approbation or reproof? Dim figures are with him, the thud, thud of the sand is beneath his flying feet. His eyes are full of one thing, the seat where the judge sits with his crown of olive. It is at the end of the course. Even so, on life's course, past the watching world, "let us run with patience the race that is set before us looking unto Jesus." It is the language of common things.

FAMILIAR MOVEMENT.

So the New Testament never loses touch with life. The Gospels are redolent of the lakes and hills of the little land. The fisher's net, the seeking of shepherd, the sower on the hungry land, become the word pictures of the Lord. The Epistles move out into the teeming world. Paul goes to the window in Corinth. The street is full of the glint of bronze and the tramp of marching feet. And there goes Corbulo, "mighty of stature," in Tacitus' phrase. Nero has decided to settle the problems of the Parthian frontier, and the ports of Greece are full of transports which sail for Ephesus. Paul must hurry for a letter must go with the soldier-men. He is on the last chapter. Those soldiers! He sees the cloud of arrows as the galloping Parthians turn in the saddle to shoot. Up go the shields of the legion. They will come marching home again—or some of them. But there is an-

other war which knows no ending. Let the Ephesians, too, take the armour they need, and hold high the shield against a fierier dart! The word pictures of the Epistles fit their world. Sport, war, and commerce. Even to-day they fill our newspapers. They filled likewise the waking thoughts of a world where men were just the same. Those who wrote the Testament wrote a language these men could understand. "All things to all men." Paul was a shrewd philosopher on Mar's Hill in Athens. When he writes to the Roman colony of Philippi he speaks of the Roman Games. The Red faction won, perhaps, that day in the Circus. The sentry tells how the charioteer leaned over the chariot's rim, "pressing forward." He recked not "the things behind," for the last dolphin was down, and there was the goal. His Arab steeds went mad. A turn of phrase, and he is talking to them in the legal language of Roman citizenship. Then he thinks of their busy business lives and fills his last chapter with all the language of accountancy. "Racy of the soil"? More than that—full of all the familiar movement of life.

PLAIN AND SIMPLE LANGUAGE.

This is not to disparage the value of the documents as pure literature. If the function of speech is clearness, and surely Aristotle is correct in this, the literature of plain, clear, simple speech has a claim to quality. The charge against T. S. Eliot and his literary kin, is that they use words as vehicles for private interpretation. There are meanings given to common words which relate in no way to universal experience, but to the user alone. Their language is subjective. To understand, if we think the task worth the trouble, we must seek the literary climate of the utterance, trace the tortuousness of another's thought, guess or discover the tangle of associations which determine a meaning, and make a sentence speak. A message for men must be expressed in the language of men. Words must be redolent of their daily tasks, of life's common walk, of human ^{simple} things. This is the road to clarity. The New Testament, as Mr. Minn will show, has taken common terms and glorified them. Nowhere, as it might have done were it not a thing divine, nowhere has it lapsed into a mystic jargon hard to understand. Hence its potency. Hence the power of all who have effectively preached its message. We are reminded of strange words Spurgeon spoke in 1874. "In a little while there will be a concourse of persons in the streets. Methinks I hear someone inquiring, 'What are all these people waiting for?' 'Do you not know, he is to be buried to-day?' 'And who is that?' 'Why, Spurgeon!' 'What? The man that preached at the Tabernacle?' 'Yes, he is to be buried to-day.' That will happen very soon, and

when you see my coffin carried to the silent grave, I would like every one of you, whether converted or not, to say, 'He did earnestly urge us in plain and simple language not to put off consideration of eternal things. He did entreat us to look to Christ; now he is gone our blood is not at his door if we perish'." Plain and simple language! That is what makes the Book literature. That is why it spoke to its century. It was plain and simple language which took the Gospel like a fire from the Firth of Forth to the Persian Gulf. There is nothing more beautiful than the language of John's Gospel. Luke, with his dash of culture, and Mark with his racy simplicity, combine to produce memoirs which need no rhetorician's colouring. Paul is like Carlyle in his vigour of speech. His metaphors crowd, change, blend. His thought is a burden for his words. It outstrips them, overwhelms them. Now he is lyric, now calmly philosophical, now he can write of lives a living sacrifice, or of love transcending all, with a beauty of style which equals Plato. The Greek Testament is not to be despised as literature. And there are principles in what we have said for judging our translations.

A SECOND SPEECH.

That such a speech was available is one of the romances of history. First came the miracle of Greece. The Bronze Age invaders cradled their race in the rugged peninsula, whose twisted fingers point south to Crete. She produced the savagery of Fascist Sparta, and the freedom of democratic Athens. In Athens, a city no bigger than Auckland, most of the ideas we think worth fighting for to-day were born. There was chiselled, too, chiselled to perfection, the loveliest language the lips of men have known. A language it was of the most infinite subtlety, fragile in its delicacy. But this was the language of a city and a tiny province. It was to become the wide-world's second speech.

Athens and Sparta fought themselves to death in a war of ideas. There was a twilight of the gods. Then on effete democracy, the dictator pounced. Philip brought Macedon from the north. Liberty fell, but out of the eater came forth meat. A unity unknown before was the wave that carried Philip's son, Alexander called the Great, on his career of conquest. The wave died on the banks of the Ganges. Alexander died at Babylon, but the world was never to be the same again. The great and rotting barrier of the dead Persian empire stood between East and West. Alexander beat it to powder, and Hellenism flowed east. It carried its influence almost to China. The heritage of Greeks and Jews could mingle now. They mingled in the soul of

Saul of Tarsus, the chosen instrument. He it was who turned the final gift of Judah's revelation into the form Greek hands could handle. And the world from the Rhone to the Indus in these crowded days had a second soul with a second speech. The second soul was Greek. So was the way prepared for the Greek New Testament and all that it contained.

FULLNESS OF TIMES.

And in the fullness of times Christ came forth.

"There went forth a decree from Caesar Augustus that all the world should be taxed."

Much need there was for revenue. The first of the Roman Fascist dictators sat uneasily on his throne. There was rebellion in Spain, war in Persia. Palestine was bandit-ridden. Beyond the Maginot Line which followed the Rhine to the Danube, was Germany, ever hostile. Behind Germany were dim hinterlands whence anything might come, as Rome had learnt and was to learn again.

There was political murder in the capital by the Tiber.

The statesmen heard nothing about a man and his wife, who, obeying the imperial decree, went to Bethlehem to pay their taxes. They knew nothing of the Babe Who was born.

Later He died a felon's death.

And yet the world exists to-day to prove that the end was not there.

It was a weary world, war-torn and disillusioned. Plutarch tells a strange story. A ship was becalmed one evening off the Echinades, when a voice hailed the helmsman over the twilight water. "Thamus, Thamus!" Thamus hesitated. The voice came again. He answered. Then from the gloom-wrapped beach the words, "When you come over against Palodes announce the Great Pan is dead." Over against Palodes the wind and water were still. Thamus mounted the stern. It was black night now. He cried aloud, "Great Pan is dead!" From the shore rose a wailing loud and sad.

It was in those days that Christ was born in Bethlehem.

"How can we say more," said Socrates' friend, "save we have some sure word of God."

And now the Word was made flesh.

The world was waiting. Virgil read a Septuagint, and wrote the Messianic Eclogue. Arose, too, Rome's Dictator.

The stage was set for the choice between a Man-God and God's Son. But Hell's hand was stayed for a generation while the Word ran through the world on the wings of the language which had paved the way, up and down peaceful roads kept by the troops of Rome, over the stepping-stones of the Synagogues, and clad in the thoughts the world could think.

* * * * *

The romance of it has led us astray. Mr. Minn is to speak of language. We began somewhere there, but we have drifted far on the current of the theme. Perhaps it has not been irrelevant. But now we stand aside. We recommend the pages which follow.

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December, 12th, 1939.



THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

PART I.

A ROMANCE OF SCHOLARSHIP.

The problem of defining the type of Greek encountered in the New Testament has afforded, in the past, ample scope for controversy. "New Testament" Greek has suffered possibly as much at the hands of over-enthusiastic friends as from its avowed enemies. Those scholars who idolised the classic Attic or Greek of the Golden Age had, naturally enough, an ingrained prejudice against the diction of the twenty-seven documents which constitute the title deeds of Apostolic Christianity. They were shocked by the "barbarisms" which they encountered. It was despised by them as a sort of local patois, written for the most part by an ignorant and uneducated peasantry, and quite beneath the notice of cultured people. The average classic frowned on New Testament Greek as poor stuff at the best, the tail-end of the classical decadence, scarcely worth the attention of the serious student—save, perhaps, as an awful example of how a language can deteriorate! Ardent "Leftists," too, added fresh fuel to the flame of scorn and depreciation in the dicta of those Semitists who were convinced that they had discovered not only Semitic or Hebraic idioms on every page of the Gospels, but transparently clear evidence through what they were pleased to regard as mistranslations—that the Gospels were not Greek at all, but simply Aramaic compositions masquerading in slovenly translationese!

On the other hand, devout biblical scholars, actuated by a sincere desire to safeguard the "cubit of the sanctuary," were led to explain the peculiarities of the New Testament by coming dangerously near to claiming that the Holy Ghost directed the writers to coin new words and idioms outright, thereby constituting "a language of the Holy Ghost." Generally speaking, till very near the close of the last century, treatments of our subject were inclined to rest in a false finality. New Testament Greek was regarded as something by itself, and following laws of its own, an abnormal excrescence in the Greek linguistic tradition rather than a feature of its natural development. This idea haunted, and, to a great extent, distorted, all the older methods of presentation. In harmony with it, students were taught that in the New Testament they were occupied with a specialised, isolated type of Greek, and to it the name "Biblical Greek" was widely applied. This

somewhat vague term was a convenient label for the sum of words and constructions found in the Septuagint or Greek translation of the Old Testament Scriptures, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament, which three together, it was believed, provided the only quarry that needed to be worked for a complete understanding of the sense content of New Testament words.

To-day the problem which, in the past, from time to time occasioned so much academic heart-burning, has been largely solved. Here, as in so many respects, the twentieth century is in antagonism with its predecessor. The modern viewpoint is, if the expression be permitted, "anti-isolationist." Those competent to judge are agreed that in the New Testament we no longer have a kind of ancient Yiddish or muddy Greek, as used to be supposed. While placing different degrees of emphasis on individual aspects of the factors involved, on the main issue modern scholars stand together, believing that the New Testament provides us with "masterpieces of popular literature, the first books written in popular Greek."

For the lucid explanation and substantial proof of the real character of New Testament Greek we are indebted in the first place to the mental alertness of the German scholar Adolf Deissmann. The story is an interesting one—a good instance of the potency of small things. In 1895, Herr Deissmann, at the time not a university professor or even a clergyman, but a young candidate for the ministry, a privatdocent at Marburg, happened one day to be turning over in the University Library of Heidelberg a new section of a volume containing transcripts from the Berlin Collection of Greek papyri. As he read, he was suddenly arrested by the likeness of these papyri to the language with which he was familiar in his study of the New Testament. Further examination served to deepen the initial impression, and he realised that he held in his hand the true key to the old problem. No longer could "Biblical Greek" be regarded as an esoteric dialect! To Deissmann accordingly is attributed the honour of an inference "which is without doubt the greatest single discovery of an interpretative principle ever made in New Testament archaeology" (Cobern, *The New Archeological Discoveries*, p. 30). From a study of the Ptolemaic papyri of the same period as that in which the LXX or Greek version of the Old Testament was made (280-150 B.C.), Deissmann concluded that the real language of the Septuagint was the popular Egyptian Greek of the period. This elucidated several more or less obscure points, but in particular explained the frequently non-literal character of that translation. The LXX now emerged as an early example of a "People's Bible." The rendition had aimed at putting the thought into such phraseology as the average man of the time

could grasp. In the face of the new researches those scholars who had maintained that the divergencies from the literal Hebrew were due to the fact that the LXX translators had before them a text in places widely divergent from our own, were compelled to readjust their views. With regard to the New Testament, Deissmann saw that while, as was patent to all, the language differs from the Greek of the classics, it is neither "Special" Greek, nor "Judaic" Greek; not "Aramaic" Greek, not "Biblical" Greek, nor yet "Sacred" Greek; still less "tired" Greek, or "bad" Greek; least of all "Holy Ghost" Greek—but just the common language of the time, the everyday parlance of the masses of workaday folk throughout the confines of the Roman Empire in the first century of our era.

Though there had been perhaps foregleams of it, the announcement itself was startling. Deissmann's general conclusion quickly found an enthusiastic and brilliant advocate in England in the late Dr. James Hope Moulton, and although the enthusiasm awakened by the first discoveries may have violated theoretic chastity, and on occasion led the pioneers in the field to go rather far in ignoring the Semitisms—traces of Hebrew influence—on the one hand, and on the other the literary culture of the majority of the New Testament writers*, the main conclusion met with general acceptance and opposition gradually died away. We have come to realise that the Book intended for the people was written in the people's own tongue. The New Testament affords a striking illustration of the divine policy of putting honour on what men call common.

* Deissmann inclined to deny any literary quality to the writings of the New Testament, except Hebrews. ("Light from the Ancient East," p. 245); a judgment rejected by A. T. Robertson as "too sweeping" (vide "The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia," p. 1830).

PART II.

CHRISTIAN GREEK OR THE GREEK OF CHRISTIANS?

Can we then claim nothing distinctive for the language of the New Testament? By "humanising" our linguistic medium and equating a large part of New Testament vocabulary with the words scattered in rich profusion throughout the Graeco-Egyptian papyri, we may seem to have paved the way for such an inference. A thorough analysis and sympathetic appreciation of the facts will demonstrate that such fears are groundless. What may have been lost on one side, it will be found, has been more than compensated for by gain on another. What is involved is largely a question of *old words with new meanings*.

A distinction may be drawn between language *per se* and the associative idea which it conveys to the mind. It is this factor of association which assumes such importance in the present connection. The formative power of the Christian religion in the linguistic sphere shows itself not so much in the coining of new words, though there are undoubted instances of these,* as in a deepening and intensifying of the existent secular vocabulary. The differentiating factor was constituted by the intervention of the Gospel. An accession of fresh creative experience and thought made "all things new," the implications of language not less than the rest. This process of "sublimation," of investing words with enriched and more colourful meanings, may be faintly traced in the LXX. It is in the New Testament, however, that the immensity of the transvaluation becomes apparent. In passing from the Greek Old Testament to the New, we have crossed, as it were, a great gulf. We find the language of apostles and evangelists baptised with the spirit and fire of Christianity. Lifted as they were into a higher realm by a new and glorious experience, they found their glowing convictions reflecting themselves in the sphere of language. A creative force throbs and surges through the words of the New Testament writers, charging them with the tremendous vitality of a life that is "arresting and appealing, natural and supernatural," at once "human and divine." Transformations of meaning take place under the inspiring influences of Revealed Truth. Words in common use among the literary giants of Greece, as well as in popular intercourse, furnish the flesh and blood for the incarnation of divine ideas, and are clothed with a more august presence. "They are transplanted from a lower to a higher sphere,

(* Deissmann, "Bible Studies," p. 65, n. 177.)

from mythology to revelation, from the order of nature to the order of grace, from the realm of sense to the realm of faith." (Schaff). "Transformation" and "Baptism." These two words are master keys. Let us not forget them. As they remind us that the New Testament is invested with a halo of glory after all—albeit a different glory; so do they bid us remember that, however sincere be our acceptance of the thesis that the language of the New Testament is not a distinct entity, homogeneous within its own limits, and as a whole intrinsically different from all other Greek, "Classical" or "Post Classical," yet there is a sense—a very true sense—in which, as Moulton pertinently remarks, "The New Testament must still be studied largely by light drawn from itself."* The Christian community coined, it appears, some new words. To a far greater extent did it fulfil its commission by reminting old ones.

"Retention is a function of repetition," the educators tell us. To summarise, therefore. The setting of the New Testament Scriptures in their realistic historical linguistic connections, so far from impairing their peculiar genius, serves only to enhance it. The cosmopolitan *lingua franca* of the Graeco-Roman world had a purpose to serve in history. It served that purpose well. Born of the conquests of Alexander the Great, before whose resistless and impetuous genius the once mighty Persian Empire crumbled, and losing from its wide diffusion much of the rigidity which had marked it in the hands of the "scepter'd sovran" of Hellas, undergoing extensive alterations in grammatical structure and especially in vocabulary, it finally became the medium of international intercourse from the far East to the remote West, carrying racial and linguistic barriers before it. At one point in its life—in the New Testament—when the Christian content was in due season poured into the earthen vessel, it became sublime.

(* Moulton: "Grammar of N.T. Greek," vol. I., Prolegomena, p. 20.)

A THEOLOGICAL POT-POURRI.

HINTS LINGUISTIC AND OTHERWISE—FOR STUDENTS.

(a) *Apropos of language as written and spoken.* There is always the standardised literary language, essentially conservative, sometimes anachronistic, the cloistered, artificial dialect of books, and beside it at any period what can fairly be called a second language. This differs from the other in vocabulary, in syntax, in idiom, in pronunciation, and is subject to constant change. No one to-day speaks, e.g., in the phraseology and style characteristic of the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Burke, or Emerson. It is questionable if anyone ever did. From the literary historian's point of view the Greek found in the New Testament is the greatest of those revolts against artificialism which have recurred through the centuries and kept true literature alive. As Moulton puts it, "Paul uses the tongue of the unlearned for the same reason that John Wesley did"—that all might have inducement to understand.

(b) *To what extent the Semitic languages Hebrew and Aramaic (the tongue spoken in Palestine at the time of Christ) have affected the purity of New Testament Greek is a burning question.* The problem is a knotty one, and there is scope for a variety of opinions. There was a time when every phenomenon of "Biblical" Greek which from a classical point of view was felt to be strange was regarded as the effect of Hebrew or Semitic thought. The fact, however, that Aramaisms and Hebraisms have been grossly overworked in the past furnishes us with no brief for running to the opposite extreme. A sane and restrained recognition of "foreign influence," established, preferably, by rigorous proof, is called for. In themselves Semitisms are surely inevitable "birthmarks" of the writer's origin and Jewish upbringing.

(c) *Why Greek?* "It is miserable to see with the eye of others, and especially for him who is appointed the eye of others" (Gerhard). "A little is a big per cent. on nothing" (Broadus).

(d) *An excellent working rule for Greek Testament study is the following:* "Attend to all the finesses proper to the Greek, only do not be so meticulous in so doing as if Plato or Thucydides were in question." The late Professor A. T. Robertson's final estimate of the Greek diction of the New Testament ("The chief treasure of the Greek tongue is the New Testament"; "Grammar is nothing unless it reveals the thought and emotion hidden in language"—"Grammar of New Testament Greek in the Light of Historical Research," p. 1207) merits careful pondering.

(e) *What was the general character of the KOINE?* Perhaps the best answer has been given by the German scholar, Robert Helbing, in his *Grammar of the LXX*: "in the language of the KOINE period the general tendency is towards simplification and regularity." Some of the more noteworthy deviations from the classical idiom may be signalised. 1. Disappearance of the dual. 2. Rarer use of the optative and corresponding encroachment of the subjunctive. 3.—MI verbs recede in favour of corresponding —O forms. 4. A more elastic use of 'HOSTE' in result clauses, as also of 5. 'HINA,' limited in classical Greek to final clauses. 6. Analytic in preference to synthetic comparison of adjectives.

(f) *According to a folder issued in the interests of the Dallas Theological Seminary, Texas, U.S.A. (President, Dr. Lewis Sperry Chafer) as a requirement for graduation every man must sign a statement that he has read the entire New Testament in the Greek. Is there any other college where such a qualification is demanded?*

(g) N.B.—"The sun of Hellas sets in the New Testament; but that sun, even in its setting, is still the sun."—KLEIST, after NORDEN.

APPENDIX A.

THE PAPYRI AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

Papyrus is a kind of reed that grows by the Nile, the pith of which was cut into thin strips and pasted together to form a white, smooth surface for writing upon with pen and ink. The dry sands of Egypt acted as an excellent preservative of this otherwise flimsy material, with the result that literally tons of papyrus MSS. have survived, little the worse for their long burial. Papyri began to come to light in 1752, when the library of an Epicurean philosopher was uncovered in Herculaneum, and twenty-six years later, in 1778, a group of forty or fifty rolls was found in Egypt. Another caché was revealed in 1820, when the so-called Serapeum papyri were dispersed among the museums of London, Paris, Leyden, Rome, and Dresden. The first large-scale discovery took place in 1877 on the site of Arsinoe or Crocodilopolis, in the Fayum. This great mass of private documents found its way into the Rainer Collection at Vienna. All these finds had been attributable to native diggers, and had been made by chance. In 1889 systematic exploration began at Gurob, under the direction of the archaeologist and Egyptologist Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie. Excavations resulted in important accessions to our knowledge of classical literature, beside much non-literary matter.

The "new era of papyri discovery" which was to constitute such a dramatic and important chapter in the history of New Testament studies began in 1896-97, when the Oxford archaeologists, Grenfell and Hunt, started work at Behnesa, in Upper Egypt. There the Romans in early Christian times had cleared out their record office, and sent out baskets crammed with old documents to be piled up and burned. The fire had smouldered and gone out, however, so that Grenfell's men carried the papyri to his camp in some cases in the very baskets in which the Romans centuries before had sent them out to be destroyed. At Oxyrhynchus *tons* of papyrus texts were found. It may be added that the papyri cover a period of about 1000 years from the third century B.C. to the seventh or eighth A.D., though those dating from Roman and Byzantine times are much more frequent than those which belong to the Hellenistic period. Great excitement was caused in 1900 by the discovery of a cemetery of sacred crocodiles, which were accidentally found to be stuffed with papyri. And so the work goes on. Truly in this minor sphere it may be said that "the harvest is great, but the labourers are few."

The masses of papyri which have been exhumed in comparatively recent years are regarded by most of those who take an interest in their recovery as being of the nature of mines from which may be extracted lost literature, either in the nuggets of whole documents or the gold dust of identified fragments. But these discoveries of papyri are not merely valuable from the accretion which they make to our classified literature; they contain an immense amount of information which does not properly belong to literature at all, but which is of the highest value for the historical and literary student. It is difficult, for instance, to find a place for tax receipts or wills or agreements for letting of houses, for butchers' bills, coroners' reports regarding the suicide of so-and-so, invitations to weddings, inventories of property, deeds of divorce, medical treatises, articles of adoption, pawn tickets, police descriptions, a miser's memorandum on how to evade death duties, census returns, and suchlike odds and ends in the province of strict literature; they are sub-literary, rather than

literary; valuable enough for the light they throw on geography, on history, and on law, and as enabling insight into the nooks and crannies of private life for which the formal historian has no spectacles. They take us—and this literature seldom does—into the very heart of the popular life in its most natural forms of expression. Yet such compositions do not properly constitute literature. They were never intended to do so. We might as well, for that matter, describe conversation as literature, for letters of the everyday sort are only an awkward substitute for conversation; they are *prae-literary* rather than literary. Who would venture in the present day, were he given the run of a post office, to print five hundred letters taken at random from the multitudinous pseudo-conversation that goes on from day to day and from hour to hour in every civilised country? The reason for this low esteem lies in the fact that they add nothing, or next to nothing, to what we know, or want to know, about our own time. But put the case that it were some other age or time than our own, concerning which our information is relatively scanty and our judgment ill-formed, and how readily may such trifling matters acquire value!

We propose to show that from the examination of some of these trifling documents much light in unexpected directions is sometimes to be gained for the understanding of the New Testament. Only in these ephemeral letters and memoranda retrieved from the waste-paper baskets of humble homes long ago can one meet face to face the "weary and heavy laden" to whom the Cross appealed in the early days of Christianity. These plain, unpretentious scraps of papyrus help us to reconstruct the background of the New Testament with a wealth of detail impossible of achievement before. "It is almost as though we were witnessing a talkie film of the first century," says Caiger, "a travelogue showing the contemporaries of our Lord and His apostles seeking their pleasures, loving, quarrelling, sorrowing, rejoicing," making their way, "through all the changing scenes of life," and going about the business of living very much as their descendants to-day. Through the lens of the papyri we can see the New Testament standing out at last in stereoscopic fashion against its proper background. We can, too, take the early Christian teachers off their artificial pedestals and make them verify what they were so fond of impressing upon their hearers in their lifetime, that they are men of like passions with ourselves, and in no respect de-humanised by the processes of Divine grace. They were in a very real sense "ambassadors for Christ"; and in a not less real sense a part of the world in which they lived.

In the elaboration of our design we may be permitted perhaps first of all to catalogue a series of terms from the New Testament and Septuagint upon which the papyri throw new light and which effectively illustrate the linguistic sublimation to which reference has earlier been made in these pages. *EIRENE*—"Peace"—in classical Greek usually means "a state of peace" as opposed to war. The Greek polis or city-state was *normally* at war, *abnormally* at peace. In the Septuagint it is used to denote the idea of "security" or "welfare," a sense found, e.g., in Acts 16: 36, Matt. 10: 13. But it rises to its very highest ethical level in the distinctively Christian meaning of "tranquillity of soul." Thus John 16: 33, Phil. 4: 7—"the peace of God" and the familiar apostolic salutation (1 Cor. 1: 3, etc.). *SOTERIA*—"Salvation"—in usual Greek has the force of physical deliverance, then "health" or "well-being." The New Testament urges the claims of the soul in terms borrowed from

the welfare of the body, and assigns to "salvation" a doctrinal significance covering the whole scope of the deliverance wrought by Christ; cf. Luke 19: 9, Rom. 11: 11, etc.

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-as
ἡ ἁμαρτία
-ης
ἡ ἀγάπη
-ης
ἡ χάρις
-τος

HAMARTIA—"sin"—means in ordinary Greek "a missing of the mark." It may also carry an ethical sense as "an offence" against king or realm. In the Septuagint it develops the idea of "sin against God," e.g., Gen. 20: 6. Christianity gives the term its deepest content, cf., "Sin is lawlessness or outlawry"—1 John 3: 4. **ZOE**—"life"—in classical Greek bears the sense of physical existence as opposed to death. It is life intrinsic. In the New Testament, however, especially in John and Paul, it comes to mean "the highest blessedness"—cf. John 4: 36, Phil. 2: 16, etc. **AGAPE**—"love"—hitherto deemed exclusively biblical, has appeared at last in a pagan text. In the Septuagint it generally borders on the idea of sexual love. But by the time we reach the New Testament it has been purged of its carnal associations and is spiritual in import, so that the New Testament writers use it to denote the love of God for men, of men for God, or for their brethren. We find its high water mark, perhaps, in 2 Peter 1: 7. **CHARIS**—"grace." This is an ideal word, and may well be called a "rose of joy." With it is "Immortal Hilarity." The seven steps of its history are given in Trench's "New Testament Synonyms" as follows: 1. Something causing joy. 2. A thing of grace and beauty. Think of Keats' exquisite "Ode on a Grecian Urn"—"O Attic shape! fair attitude," etc. 3. Beauty and graciousness of thought, word, deed, and personality. 4. Favour. 5. Thankfulness evoked by recipients of favour. 6. The grace and goodness of God to man—called "mercy" (eleos) in the Old Testament. Of this lovely word the Archbishop writes: "It is hardly too much to say that the Greek mind has in no word uttered itself and all that was in its heart more distinctly than in this." The Greeks were lovers of beauty, in nature, in their architecture, their statuary, their poetry, their drama. Anything which called out of the heart wonder, admiration, pleasure or joy was designated by this word. "Among the Greeks it stood for all that is most winning in personal loveliness, for a warm, free-handed, and spontaneous generosity which is kind when there is no claim, merit, or hope of return" (Dale). Transplanted into a Christian environment, it received (7) its crowning beauty in Paul's use of the term to denote the Divine "grace," universal and unbought—vide Eph. 2: 5, 7, Rom. 3: 24, Tit. 3: 7, Rom. 5: 17, 2 Cor. 13: 14, Eph. 1: 6, 1 Cor. 3: 10, 2 Cor. 6: 1, etc. Thus in the New Testament does Charis mount the empyrean.

But indisputably the most vivid of these "Christianisms," to adopt De Ghellinck's recent terminology, are bold adoptions or adaptations of phrases already familiar in the pagan world. Most of the appellations applied to Jesus Christ, for instance, had already been ascribed in popular usage to the Emperor of Rome. The Caesar in the State Ruler-cult claimed divine honours. We know that the Emperor was saluted as "God made manifest," as "the Son of God," as "Divine," and, as the first century progressed, even as "God of God." As early as A.D. 1 Augustus is spoken of in the papyri as "God and Lord." The latter title applied also to Caligula, Claudius, and especially to Nero. It may surprise the modern reader to find Nero described as "the good genius of the world and the source of all good things" in a papyrus draft of an official circular or public proclamation of the death of Claudius and the accession of Nero in A.D. 54. Forty years later, when Domitian dictated an imperial rescript in the name of his ministers he began, "Dominus et deus noster sic fieri iubet"—

"Our Lord and God commands"—(Suet. Domitian 13). To Paul the use of this title by earthly emperors was abhorrent. Hence his moving protest against "lords many," and his confession of "one Lord" in 1 Cor. 8: 5, 6; cf. Phil. 2: 11. To the totalitarian claims of Caesar were opposed by the Apostle the totalitarian claims of Christ. How tremendous the antithesis! "When we consider the audacity of the apostolic claims for the King of Kings and Lord of Lords we are able to understand more clearly how Nero's outraged vanity flared up at last in the bitter persecution of the Christian Church" (Caiger). It is interesting to notice, too, as the same authority points out, that in later times, for saluting Christ as "My Lord and my God" (John 20: 28), Thomas could easily have exposed himself to a charge of lèse-majesté! It was for refusing the formula *Kurios Caesar*—Lord Caesar—that Polycarp was martyred about A.D. 156. The word **SOTER**—"Saviour"—appears, too, in a pagan setting. The term was current in profane Greek as an epithet applied to pagan kings and emperors. In the light of this fact the application of the term by Biblical writers to God (Is. 12: 2, 1 Tim. 1: 1) and to Christ (Luke 2: 11, Acts 5: 31, 13: 23, Phil. 3: 20, 2 Tim. 1: 10, 2 Peter 1: 1, 2: 20, 3: 18, etc.) assumes a deeper significance. The title "Saviour of the World" (John 4: 42, 1 John 4: 14) had already been reserved for the Emperors before it became in the Christian community the unique title of Christ. "The ample materials collected by Magie show that the full title of honour, Saviour of the World, with which St. John adorns the Master, was bestowed with sundry variations in the Greek expression on Julius Caesar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, and other Emperors in inscriptions in the Hellenistic East" (Deissmann, "Light," etc., p. 364). Even the word Gospel, i.e., Evangel or Good News, meets us. An inscription from Asia Minor, paralleled by a tattered scrap of papyrus, and which is dated at about the year of Christ's birth, has this astounding sentence, "The birthday of God, the Emperor Augustus, has become because of him the birthday of Good Tidings." Facts such as these, brought to light by the study of the papyri and inscriptions, help us to realise the atmosphere in which the early disciples lived and moved and had their being; and they are surely richly suggestive in this our day as comments of rare and delightful flavour on the past.

APPENDIX B.

THE PAPYRI AND EXEGESIS.

We have seen that from the most unexpected quarter there has come to us light which invests the study of the New Testament with a new and lively interest. We are now able to lay aside certain lexical helps of a generation ago, which, though ingenious, were largely speculative and far from satisfying, and we have the comfort of placing our feet on the rock-bottom of linguistic assurance. In the present essay we shall consider the rôle of the papyri in the sphere of exegesis. Considerations of space make a method of selective "flood-lighting" inevitable.

A good instance of the aid to be obtained from these humble papyrus fragments is afforded by a word which Paul uses in 2 Thess. 3: 11 to describe the attitude of some of his converts in that city in view of the "Parousia" or "Coming" of Christ. The word **ATAKTOOS**—translated "disorderly" in the Authorised Version—with its cognates, is confined to these epistles in the New Testament, and what exactly is meant by it

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ἀτακτως

is at first sight by no means clear. Some commentators have inferred serious moral misconduct on the part of the Thessalonians. It is a question, however, as we now see, of "theological dead-beats too pious to work." In a papyrus contract of A.D. 66 a father arranges to apprentice his son to a weaver for one year. The lad is to be supported and clothed for the stipulated period by his father, while his master is to allow him five drachmae at the termination of the period for clothing. We then read that if there are any days on which the boy "fails to turn up" or "plays truant," it is incumbent on the parent to see that the absentee serves for an equivalent number of days afterwards. The use of the allied verb shows that what the Apostle really has in view is a neglect of daily work and of "the simple dues with which each day is rife." So excited were these idlers at Thessalonica by the thought of the imminence of the Parousia that they were deficient in that quiet attitude of confidence and diligent application to prosaic tasks which their Lord would expect of them. Why go to their daily work in the morning, they reasoned, when before night Christ might have come?

Another instance in which the new light cast upon the exact local meaning of a word has made the New Testament text more coloured meets us in **Galatians 3:1**, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you . . . before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified among you?" Bishop Lightfoot's rendering "posted up, placarded before you," receives confirmation when we find in a papyrus a father using this same term (*PROGRAPHENAI*) when he speaks of having had a notice "posted up" to the effect that he would no longer be responsible for his son's debts. Interestingly enough, too, in the body of the document the young man is described as "living riotously"—*ASOOTEUOMENOS*, cognate with the word used in Luke 15:13. ἀσώτως

An important and difficult New Testament context which has been illumined by the papyri discoveries is **Romans 8:23**. The phrase generally rendered "first fruits of the Spirit" (*TEN APARCHEN TOU PNEUMATOS*), the late Professor Milligan tells us, has been suggestively elucidated by Professor Stuart Jones. On the evidence of a section in the Code of Regulations dealing with the Department of Special Revenues in Roman Egypt, he has shown that this is a technical term for the birth certificate of a free person. He assigns in consequence the following general meaning to the section: "When we read the passage which begins at v. 16," he observes, "we see that St. Paul is here arguing that our claim to spiritual freedom is based on the witness of the Spirit to our spirit, just as in Egypt the testimony (*MARTUROPOIESIS*) of the parent was among the documents put in evidence in the procedure of examination (*EPIKRISIS*) by which claims to privileged status were judged; and that in spite of this—in spite of the fact that we have, as it were, obtained through the mediation of the Spirit the certificate which entitles us to be registered as the sons of God—we are still waiting our formal release from the bondage of the flesh and the law."

How are we to understand the apostolic precept, "Pray without ceasing" (**1 Thessalonians 5:17**)? How can a busy man in this modern "rush" existence carry out such an exhortation? Here again the papyri come to our aid. The writer of a papyrus letter of the first century A.D. speaks of an incessant cough, and the adverb *ADIALEIPTOOS* is used to describe it. Hence the correct thought is "not uninterrupted prayer, but constantly recurring prayer" (Hogg and Vine on Thess. 1:3). "The

ideal to be attained . . . is that temper of mind and state of heart whereby the child of God turns to his Heavenly Father in prayer as often as need constrains and opportunity arises, even as the needle of the compass swings to north whenever it is free to do so."

When the Apostle Paul wrote his beautiful letter to the Philippians, he had seen life under many aspects—amid the rude tribes of the Galatians and Phrygian highlands, in philosophic Athens, in wealthy and luxurious Corinth, in Oriental and superstitious Ephesus, and now, at last, in imperial Rome, mistress of the world. He has learnt that over against the gains which life once possessed he must now place the hatred of his countrymen, the persecutions of the heathen, the perils of travel, the pangs of hunger and cold and nakedness, the exhaustion of manual labour; but with them "the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord . . ." When, though prematurely aged and spent, he might well have desired the fulfilment of the dream of his early life, he reiterates his choice: "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss" (Philippians 3:8.) How absolute his great renunciation becomes when we find this identical word *ZEMIA* used in a papyrus for the bones thrown out on the streets to the dogs! ζῆμια

No theory of the Atonement can be adequate. Verily the well is deep, and what have we to draw with? There is, no doubt, an element of truth in all our theories. Each exhibits a facet of the infinite Reality. The *Patristic* Theory is grotesque in form; but the Cross nevertheless *does* redeem us from a hostile Power. The theory of *Anselm* is passing beautiful. It embodies the spirit of mediæval chivalry adoringly interpreting the Supreme Chivalry. In this first real "metaphysique" of Christian doctrine on the subject the awfulness of Sin is stressed and the Honour of God. The appearance of Anselm's tractate* in the eleventh century after five hundred years of stagnation and darkness "finds its analogy in those processes in the vegetable world, in which the one common principle of life, after periods of long external slumber, breaks forth into unusual external power and splendour, as when the dull and prickly cactus suddenly, and to all outward appearance without any preparation, bursts into a gorgeous flower." (Shedd.) The *Lutheran* and *Reformed* viewpoints affirm the truth that our Lord really did become Sin and that He is the Law of righteousness. The *moral* theories with their emphasis on the need of the spirit of the Cross on the part of Christians are similarly in possession of some truth. *Schleiermacher* and *Ritschl* would connect the Atonement with the Church. They discern rightly thus far that the renewed life is designed to be social. *McLeod Campbell* with his classic exposition, the brilliant work of *Bushnell*, and *Dale's* massive argument—all of these powerfully rivet diverse aspects of the one fathomless reality.

The *substitutionary* theory of the Atonement has been hotly assailed. Many have succumbed before the "vociferated logic" of its opponents. Is it to be consigned, on grounds of pure scholarship, to the limbo of exploded conceits? Are we to believe that "Paul's use of *HUPER* proves that he did not conceive of vicarious sacrifice"? The papyri overrule theological prejudice, and demonstrate the futility of trying to get rid of substitution on the strength of grammatic arguments about the force of this preposition. Time and time again in the papyri documents do we come across the words, "I, A, have written *HUPER* B, seeing he does

* *Cur Deus Homo*—"Why did God become Man?"

not know letters," i.e., in behalf of, instead of, the individual in question. A. T. Robertson closes his discussion of the papyri usage by drawing attention to the "almost monotonous story of the substitutionary use of *HUPER*." Two crystal clear New Testament usages are John 11: 50 and Galatians 3: 13, "Christ became a curse for us or over us, i.e., the Damascus blade of the violated Law fell on Him in lieu of on us." It is only imperial prejudice, from a linguistic standpoint, that would disown the plain meaning of *HUPER* in, e.g., 2 Cor. 5: 15 and 21; Romans 5: 6 f.; Titus 2: 14; Heb. 2: 9. Meantime we may be thankful that the power of the Cross continues to be evidenced by vivid Christian lives rather than by the greyness of theory. *Vide* A. T. Robertson, "The Minister and His Greek New Testament," §III, "The Use of *HUPER* in Business Documents."

We venture in closing to review that much-debated verse, 1 Corinthians 9: 27: "But I keep under my body and bring it into subjection lest by any means, when I have preached to others [lit., 'played the herald'] I myself should be a *castaway* (*αδοκιμος*).

The word which the Authorised Version renders, "keep under"—*HUPOPIAZO* (*υποπιαζω*), is well known to have been a pugilistic term, corresponding to the word "punish" in the slang of the prize-ring, but having special reference to the eyes of an antagonist. Hence John Trapp, the Puritan, rather quaintly, "give it a blue eye." Pugilism was so much more respectable among the Greeks that the Apostle could use a pugilistic term which can find no admissible equivalent in decent English. Way translates—felicitously—"I browbeat my own animal nature." Spiritual discipline, mental discipline, physical discipline—Paul was careful of all three.

"A castaway" (Gk.: *ADOKIMOS*). Most writers take the Apostle to refer to the possibility of ultimate rejection in his personal salvation at the end of the race—"Cast out of heaven," Trapp tells us. This interpretation is doubly defective. Firstly, it violates the context, which is one, not of final salvation, but of *service* and *rewards*. Salvation on the absolute side is "a free gift with no strings tied to it; an over-size salvation, shooe proof, strain proof, unbreakable, equal to every emergency." Secondly, the explanation in question clashes with John 6: 37.

The papyri have furnished us with "an account of a woman in the first century who dropped her water jar. It cracked and was no longer fit to contain water. She set it aside as a water jar. It could be used for other purposes, but not to hold water. The act of setting it aside was described by the Greek word used in the Corinthian passage translated "castaway." (Wuest, "Golden Nuggets from the Greek New Testament," p. 115.)

Paul is speaking of his apostolic service. He is apprehensive that he may fail to measure up to standard, not as a *Christian*, but as an *apostle*. Rejection for the prize is the point, not entrance to the race. The thing being evaluated is the worth of service. A verse like this is a tonic for any smug complacency in *standing* at the expense of *state*, or in *position* to the detriment of *condition*.

APPENDIX C.

THE PAPYRI AND "MODERN SPEECH" VERSIONS.

We have seen that the Greek of the New Testament is "racy of the soil." Because the language of the sacred writers grew in the same environment as the papyri, the discovery of the latter has meant a re-discovery for us of much of the atmosphere that surrounded the first preaching of the Gospel; for many of the papyri were written while the New Testament was in the making. It is the privilege of the modern translator to turn to account these additional advantages. The Church's commission to render the Bible into the vernacular—by which we mean not ultra-colloquial forms of speech, but the language of ordinary educated people in the transactions of everyday life—has surely not expired in these latter days. The Bible is a part of Christ's message to man, a message for all times, for young and old, for learned and illiterate.

Since the original stands outside the stream of literary Greek, it seems inconceivable that a modern rendering should not be allowed to speak to the plain man in his own everyday English. The glorious prose-poetry of the Jacobean version, so pure and beautiful and so majestic in its cadences, has a claim on the continued love and affection of us all. It was accepted with reverence at the outset, and has been canonised by centuries of tradition. Its style is recognised as unrivalled in English literature, and many of its words and phrases have become imbedded in our poetry, sermons, speeches, and devotional writings. It is an accurate translation on the whole. It was made, moreover, with the common people in mind. When it appeared "it was as though the sun had suddenly burst through a cloudbank, lighting up the fields and cottages, making them different and more lovely." Christianity became real in a way that it had never been before. At the same time it should be borne in mind that the Authorised Version does not give an historically exact reproduction of its original. "It is a literary rather than a vernacular translation, and is, in fact, even less colloquial than the version made by Tyndale a century earlier. It is chiefly in this respect that it fails to reproduce on English readers the impression which the original New Testament writings made on those who first heard them." Furthermore, the very qualities of style for which the King James' version is praised have a tendency to conceal the meaning; a man who feels a profound admiration for the rhythm or stately beauty of a phrase is apt to be satisfied by admiring it and to omit going on to inquire exactly what it means.

It is not to be desired, surely, that we should sacrifice sense to sentiment and allow an "associative" attachment to the Bible in any particular version to become a hindrance to the propagation of the Divine message of salvation. Such a mistaken sentiment led Augustine and others in his day to champion an ill-advised and unintelligent conservatism and oppose Jerome's revised translation of the Greek, and the same feeling held the Catholic Church in bondage to the Vulgate for a thousand years in countries where the common people knew no Latin. It was responsible, too, for the difficulties the great Dante had to face in elevating the *lingua vulgaris* to the literary rank of Latin, and largely explains why the language of Luther was so long in winning a victory over the German dialects of the North and South. The "battle of speech" has a universal interest. Human language is living, and in consequence is prone to change. Thus there can be no such thing as a *final* translation, no matter what the merit of individual versions at any particular epoch.

Let the reader not infer that it is our aim airily to lampoon his most cherished prejudices. We yield to none in our love for the Authorised Version. The following words of Conybeare and Howson, in their great work, "The Life and Epistles of St. Paul" (London, 1854), may be cited as clarifying the point at issue. In justification of their departure from the Authorised Version, "whereof so much is interwoven with the memory and deepest feelings of every religious mind," in favour of a translation that is pleasantly explanatory and not dangerously free, they observe: "The Authorised Version was meant to be a standard of authority and ultimate appeal in controversy; hence it could not venture to depart, as an ordinary translation would do, from the exact words of the original, even where some amplification was absolutely required to complete the sense. It was to be the version unanimously accepted by all parties, and therefore must simply represent the Greek text word for word. This it does most faithfully so far as the critical knowledge of the sixteenth century permitted. But the result of this method is sometimes to produce a translation unintelligible to the English reader.* Also, if the text admit of two interpretations, our version endeavours if possible to preserve the same ambiguity, and effects this often with admirable skill; but such indecision, although a merit in an authoritative version, would be a fault in a translation which had a different object." (Vol. I, p. xiii.)

Some of the "modern speech" renderings would be better described as terse paraphrases, concise running commentaries, interpretations rather than strict translations. They are in various degrees interesting and helpful, and from some of them much illumination can be gained. The best known are:—

1. The Twentieth Century New Testament (1898-1904). Often thought challenging. In some other respects less happy.

2. The Letters of St. Paul and Hebrews (1901), by A. S. Way, D.Litt. Work of a high order of excellence. Ultra-poetical, if anything, with a tendency to overwork interjection and apostrophe.

3. The Weymouth Testament (1903). Clear, simple, and dignified. Reset 1938.

4. The Moffatt New Testament (1913). A "strikingly independent" rendering. Some brilliant turns. Fresh and stimulating in style. Yet "James Moffatt subordinates considerations of euphony, dignity, and, not infrequently, accuracy to a colloquialism far in excess of anything that can with confidence be predicated of St. Paul." (Wilfrid H. Isaacs, 1921.) Tends to "scramble" his text. Some of his transpositions are quite unwarrantable and singularly unhappy. We regret that the Moffatt Old Testament cannot be recommended.

5. The Centenary Translation of the New Testament (Mrs Helen B. Montgomery, LL.D., etc.; 1924). Fairly even in texture. Conversation in dialogue form.

6. A New Translation, by W. G. Rutherford, formerly Head of Westminster School, is of superb quality. Out of print.

* A note adds: "Yet had any other course been adopted, every sect would have had its own Bible."

7
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Ind.

New Testament

Greek

Papyri

Book-mark

*Whoever thinks a perfect work to see,
Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor
e'er shall be.*

— Pope

CORRECT YOUR COPY, reading
p. 5, l. 31 the seeking shepherd
p. 6, l. 31 of human simple things
p. 21, l. 17 3:8)

COMMENTS.

p. 8. 'Socrates' friend.' Vide also
in this connection the passage on
'the instructor from heaven' in
Plato's Alcibiades (ii).

p. 24. Way's, being a 'sectional'
rendering only, is listed, but not
underlined.

Of the scholars mentioned in these
pages, deceased are Drs. J. H.
Moulton (1917,) B. P. Grenfell
(1926,) A. S. Hunt, G. Milligan,
A. T. Robertson, (all 1934) and
Deissmann.