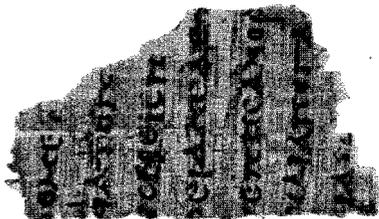
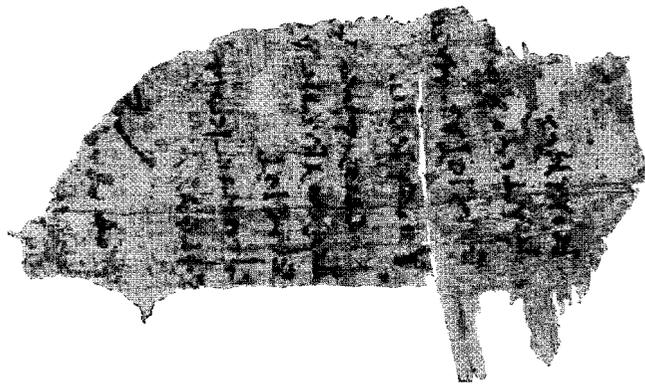




(a)



(b)



(c)

P. Ryl. Gk. 458.

TWO BIBLICAL POPYRI

IN THE

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MANCHESTER

EDITED BY

C. H. ROBERTS, M.A.

FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,
AND UNIVERSITY STUDENT IN PAPYROLOGY

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First published in July, 1936

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
THE ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY PRESS LIMITED

EDITOR'S NOTE

SHORTLY after the discovery of the fragment of St. John's Gospel, the Librarian drew my attention to a large and unexamined collection of papyri purchased for the Library by Dr. Rendel Harris in 1917. I was able to inspect them on a visit to Manchester last December, on Dr. Guppy's invitation, and found that the collection included a considerable number of theological and literary texts. This has necessitated a change in the plans for the Catalogue; Volume III will now consist entirely of literary and theological fragments (including those acquired in 1920 through the late Dr. Grenfell), and will, it is hoped, appear in the course of next year: Volume IV will eventually include all the remaining documents, both those acquired through

EDITOR'S NOTE

Dr. Harris and those originally intended for Volume III. The Ptolemaic text edited here was among the papyri purchased in 1917; its unusual character has been thought to entitle it to an early publication and it is accompanied by another text of some interest to students of a field of Biblical study, the pioneer in which was Dr. Harris, to whom the Library owes its possession of these papyri.

C. H. R.

Oxford, July, 1936.

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A PTOLEMAIC PAPYRUS OF
DEUTERONOMY¹

I

THE history of the Greek version of the Old Testament has gained much from the discoveries of the past fifty years, although these have been cast into the shade by the more sensational additions to our knowledge of the New Testament and the problems, at once more intricate and more

¹ I wish to thank the following gentlemen for their assistance in the preparation of this article: Sir Herbert Thompson, who very kindly came to Oxford and read the Demotic fragments, and later sent me a report (printed below, p. 17) upon them; Mr. G. R. Driver, whom I consulted on the relation of the papyrus to the Hebrew, and to whom I am indebted for some helpful suggestions about the text; Dr. H. I. Bell, with whom I have had the advantage of discussing several of the problems raised by the text.

important, that they have aroused.¹ Conspicuous among these discoveries was that in 1930² of the Chester Beatty papyri, which have enriched the study of the Old no less than that of the New Testament. It is not the least interesting feature in this collection that a codex containing Numbers and Deuteronomy could be assigned to the second century A.D. and probably to the first half of it; so that the darkness that hides the early history of the Septuagint³ has been pushed back some two hundred years. The fragments of papyrus published here, although far from extensive, and adding relatively little to the solution of particular difficulties of the text, can claim a unique place

¹ For a survey of recent work in both fields, see Sir Frederic Kenyon's Schweich Lectures for 1932, *Recent Developments in the Textual Criticism of the Greek Bible*.

² *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, edited by Sir Frederic Kenyon, fasc. i-v, London, 1932-5. For the date of the codex containing Numbers and Deuteronomy, see Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, xi, p. 112.

³ It should be mentioned that one fragment of a second century MS. of the LXX was published some years earlier, P. Baden 56, containing part of Exodus viii.

in the long list of Biblical discoveries; we can say with practical certainty that the MS. of which they formed a part was written in the second century B.C. and probably near the middle of the century. These fragments, then, are earlier by some three hundred years than any other MS. of any part of the Bible,¹ and are, moreover, of more than sentimental interest since they enable us to reach a definite conclusion about the type of text circulating in Egypt about a hundred years after the first translation had been made in Alexandria. This must be the excuse not only for the separate publication of this papyrus, but also for the somewhat lengthy introduction that precedes it.

II

Enclosed in the bundle of miscellaneous papyri purchased for the Library in 1917 by Dr. Rendel Harris was an envelope containing two pieces of

¹ Not only of the Greek Bible, since the earliest Hebrew MS. (excluding the Nash Papyrus of the second century A.D., which is probably liturgical: see below, p. 27) is not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

cartonnage (the papyrus wrapping used for the mummies either of human beings or occasionally, as at Tebtunis, of the sacred crocodiles¹), the larger of which measured some 10×6 cm.; it was accompanied by no indication either of the place of origin or of the dealer from whom the papyrus was purchased. In this context it may be worth while to recall Grenfell's description² of the method by which papyri of every kind were converted into funerary 'rag' and to which our knowledge of the life and literature of Ptolemaic Egypt is so largely indebted. "When rolls of papyri were used for mummy cartonnage," he wrote, "they were cut into sheets or strips of varying sizes, and three or four thicknesses were glued together, so as to form a kind of *papier-mâché*. Then the outside was covered with a

¹v. P. Teb. 1, introd. vi-vii. Most of the papyri recovered from the mummies of the sacred crocodiles at Tebtunis were used not as wrapping, but as stuffing for the inside or the throat.

²In a paper read to the Classical Association of Ireland in March, 1918.

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." The task of separating the various strata—no less than six—of which the lump of cartonnage was composed was complicated in this case by the fact that, instead of consisting of layers of regularly cut papyrus, the cartonnage proved to be an amalgam of small scraps, with one or two larger pieces, torn rather than cut, and placed haphazardly one on top of the other—evidence that the work was hurriedly done and that the mummy was probably that of one of the poorer members of society. Worse still, the fragments had been twisted and folded, with the strange result that the fragment of the Deuteronomy text which appears in the photograph was found with a strip

of a roll containing *Iliad*, Book I, wrapped round it—a discovery which to another age might well have seemed symbolic of the history of Judaism in Egypt and of material support to those who have thought the civilisations of Judaea and Hellas not irreconcilable. The remains of plaster on top of the cartonnage were quickly removed by acetic acid, but the usual methods of separating the pieces of papyri by moistening them with warm water or by applying a hot iron through a dampened cloth were unavailing, and eventually, such was the resistance of the gum with which they had been liberally coated, 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. (It should be said that the two pieces of cartonnage did not, as far as I could tell, touch at any point, but fragments both of the Deuteronomy and of the other texts were recovered from both, so that it has not seemed worth while to preserve the distinction between them.)

III

The small collection of fragments yielded by the cartonnage was sufficiently heterogeneous. Apart from a number of scraps of Greek and Demotic documents too minute to be of any interest (and it may be noted that of the Demotic papyri only two, and of the Greek only one was larger than the fragment of Deuteronomy which appears in the photograph, while the document (*c*) was found in three separate pieces), the list of the texts recovered is as follows:—

- (1) Fragments of at least four separate columns of a roll containing the Book of Deuteronomy.
- (2) Six fragments, the largest of which measures 12 × 3 cm., of a roll containing *Iliad*, Book I; the surviving fragments cover ll. 92 *sqq.*, 244-250, 252 *sqq.* One of these, containing part of ll. 244-250, is reproduced as (*b*) in the plate.¹

¹ These and the other literary fragments will appear in the forthcoming third volume of the Catalogue of Greek Papyri in the Rylands Library.

TWO BIBLICAL POPYRI

(3) Two pieces, perhaps of a tragedy, both small; if the citations of ἀφθιτος in the tragic lexica are complete, the play is not extant.

(4) One fragment, probably of a historical work.

(5) A larger piece, but badly mutilated; apparently lyric verse.

(6) Part of an account, reproduced as (c) in the plate. Two or three other pieces of the same or a similar document were also found, but as they add nothing, except, at the best, parts of names, they need no further consideration.

(7) A number of Demotic fragments of which six offer a legible text: for these, see Sir Herbert Thompson's report below (p. 17).

Finally, before being thrown away as waste paper and converted into mummy cartonnage, the verso of the Deuteronomy roll was used for the writing of some account or memorandum; the hand is large and sprawling and very little that is legible survives (a transcript of the text on the verso of fragment (d) of the Deuter-

PAPYRUS OF DEUTERONOMY

onomy appears below). But this fact is of some importance when we come to consider the date of the Deuteronomy text; for the presumption is that the Greek and Demotic documents, and perhaps also the other literary fragments, are contemporary not with the Deuteronomy text, but with the account written on the verso. This gains in importance when we reflect that a manuscript of the Books of the Law was not likely to have been so degraded very soon after it was written.

IV

With this abundant and varied material it is disappointing that no precise indication either of date or provenance is forthcoming. It will be convenient to state first the meagre evidence obtainable from the Demotic fragments: I give Sir Herbert Thompson's report *verbatim*: "Among the Demotic fragments, all very small, there are only six which offer a legible text. These are all in different hands, and all seem to have

originally formed parts of lists of names, mostly followed by numbers. None is part of a literary text, and none contains a date or a place-name. . . . With respect to their date on palæographical grounds, they are undoubtedly 'Late Ptolemaic,' by which is meant between the accession of Philometor in 181 B.C. and the death of Soter II in 80 B.C., later than which hardly any dated Demotic documents are known till Roman times. A possible earlier date cannot however be excluded. The only indication of provenance is that among the names which occur, viz. Phib, Peteharwer (or -harmin), Psenese (twice), P-ḥne (?), there is found twice a name beginning with St . . . (the rest being lost). This can at this period only be Setwoti = Στοτοῆτις, a name very common in the Fayum and very scarce elsewhere, and so far it is an indication, though not a decisive one, that these Demotic fragments come from the Fayûm."

When we come to the Greek papyri, naturally we can expect little help from the literary texts.

None of them have any writing on the verso; all of them, though by different scribes, show writing of the same general type (an example of it—*Iliad*, I, 244-250—may be seen in the photograph (no. *b*)). The style of these fragments is very different from that of the Deuteronomy text and, to my mind, distinctly later; I should prefer to regard it as contemporary with the verso rather than with the recto of the latter. It may be compared with that of the *Laterculi Alexandrini* published by Diels¹ and attributed variously to the later second or the early first century B.C., or with that of P. Teb. 3, a collection of epigrams assigned to the early first century B.C. Of the documentary fragments the only one of any importance is that which appears as (*c*) in the photograph. This belongs to a well-known type of hand which can be assigned with some confidence to the end of the second century B.C.; the nearest parallel I have been able to find

¹ *Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1904.

is a record of a lawsuit (the process of Hermias) preserved in the Louvre (Papyrus Grec 15: plate in the Palæographical Society, Series II, 181). This document is dated 120-119 B.C. and might almost have been written by the very scribe who wrote this fragmentary account (*cf.* 'Ερμίου in l. 5 of the Louvre text with the same name in our document). The text of the account or list of names is as follows (omitting ll. 1-3, which are in another hand and of which very little survives) :—

Εργευσ[
 5 Σιωνης Κουδ[
 Ερμιου[
 Πετουβαστις Α . [
 σπονδης α[
 Αρπαησις . [
 10 Ερμιου Ασμαπ . [
 Πλατευς [
 νομης μ[

5 Σιωνης. This name does not appear to have occurred before: Κουδ[ωνος] may be supplied (*v.* Preisigke, *Namenbuch*) or possibly Κουδυλου.

- 8 σπονδης. Possibly a tax: a tax of this name on garden land is known to have existed in the Roman period and there is a strong presumption that it was Ptolemaic in origin (*cf.* P. Ryl. Gk. II, 216, 128 note). Or it may have its more common meaning of libation.
- 10 Ασμαπ . [: no such name is recorded in the *Namenbuch*. The reading is uncertain, but Ασκληπ[ιαδου] cannot be read.
- 11 Or perhaps Πλαγευς. Both names are otherwise unknown.

The writing on the verso of fragment (*d*) of the Deuteronomy text, perhaps an account of expenditures, reads:

Ιππαλωι[
 και οι()δ . δ . . [
 εις το β (έτος) πε . [
 Ιππευθ[
 το επι της [. .]σ[

The "second year" referred to here in l. 3 might be that of Ptolemy Soter II (116-115 B.C.): the name Ιππευθ[ης?] is not otherwise known.

On other small scraps several of the names which figure in the account reappear and with them a few new ones, e.g. Τεως, [Π]ετουβαστις, []ουθευς, [Ηρα]κλειδης; it is perhaps worth noting that none of these names is Jewish. To sum up the evidence which we so far considered, we may say (i) that there are grounds for thinking that the provenance of these texts is the Fayum, (ii) that it is probable that they, i.e. the documentary and Demotic fragments and probably the other literary texts as well, were written near the end of the second century B.C.

V

It is time to consider what conclusions, if any, about the date of the Deuteronomy manuscript can be drawn from the text itself. The hand is a book hand, stylised and careful and of considerable elegance, if rather formal; its most striking feature is the use of decorative serifs, particularly noticeable on ν, υ and τ. At first sight it has a somewhat archaic appearance, but this may well be deceptive and the formal

character of the hand as a whole must be taken into consideration. The family to which this hand belongs is by no means unknown; its place in the development of the Greek book hand is somewhere between that of the Petrie *Phaedo* (Schubart, *Griechische Paläographie*, Abb. 67) of the third century B.C. and that of the Berlin Hypereides (*ibid.* Abb. 72), attributed by Schubart to the first century B.C.; probably it is nearer to the latter than to the former, though it may be noted that in the Hypereides papyrus, while ε is similar to that found in P. Ryl. Gk. 458, the α, μ and υ are of a distinctly later type. Some more examples of this style have recently been published in the third volume (part 1) of the Tebtunis papyri; the scripts that seem to me to resemble P. Ryl. Gk. 458 most closely are that of P. Teb. 697, a manuscript of *Odyssey* IV and V of the second century B.C. written in a formal and upright hand, and that of P. Teb. 692, some fragments of Sophocles' *Inachus*, which came from the same mummy as did a document (P. Teb. 783) of the

middle of the century. In conclusion, then, we may say that P. Ryl. Gk. 458 may 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. Such a conclusion would not clash with the other evidence; for it is the verso and not the recto that is contemporary with the documents and it is *a priori* improbable that such a manuscript would be lightly or quickly thrown away.

As might be expected from the beauty of its handwriting, in other respects also P. Ryl. Gk. 458, at least in its original condition, was an unusually handsome manuscript. The papyrus itself is light in colour, of a fine texture and with an even surface; the spacing is generous and the upper margin (as is clear from fragment (c)) measured at least 3.5 cm. If, as is likely, fragment (d) belongs to the same column as fragment (c), we should have to allow for a column of rather more than 30 lines and *c.* 28 cm. in height; the length of a line of text, with an average of

27 letters to the line would be *c.* 10 cm.¹ But what is palæographically of most interest about the text is the scribe's system of punctuation, or rather of interspacing. As can be seen from the photograph of fragment (b) the writer regularly leaves a space not only at the end of a verse or sentence, but at the end of a *κῶλον* or group of words. At the end of a verse, as in l. 14, a wider space is left and a high point added; otherwise the writer's principle seems to be to leave a fairly large space at the end of a sentence or clause (*cf.* ll. 20 and 21 in the photograph) and a smaller one at the end of a group of words. The interspacing does not seem to follow the sense of the passage; for example, there is a gap in l. 35: [καὶ αἱ θυγατέ]ρες | δεδ[ομεναι κτλ, and none where we should expect it after *γυναικα* in l. 8. But there is no attempt at word division. As a rule Greek manuscripts make very few

¹ For rolls of this format, which were commonly, but not always *de luxe* editions, see Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*², pp. 57, 59.

concessions to the reader, and though spaces might be left at the end of a paragraph in lieu of a stop, no Greek literary papyrus that I know of (apart from the exception mentioned below) has a system resembling this.¹ Later on, word division is found in Latin texts, and an irregular spacing between clauses or groups of words may sometimes be noticed in Greek documents; our text, however, shows no sign of documentary influence and we cannot ascribe to this cause the systematic use of it found here. But it may be noticed that the scribe of the recently acquired Apocryphal Gospel in the British Museum (P. Egerton 2) employed roughly the same system, although the pauses appear to be less frequent and to correspond more to definite breaks in

¹ For the complete absence of word division in Greek literary texts, see Schubart, *op. cit.*, pp. 80 and 180; the only exception known to me is an unpublished fragment of hexameter verse in the Rylands collection, but the handwriting suggests that it may have been a school text (*cf.* the example given by Schubart, p. 180, of a school text in which the words are divided by vertical strokes). For interspacing between *sentences*, see *ibid.*, p. 85.

the sense; perhaps, too, it is to be recognised in P. Ryl. Gk. 457 (the second-century fragment of St. John's Gospel).¹ Possibly it may be due to Aramaic influence, as word division is found in the Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C.; Mr. G. R. Driver, whom I consulted on this point, wrote as follows: "The Aramaic papyri leave gaps between the words and early Hebrew inscriptions often have dots between words; but, as the LXX often *misdivide* words (*e.g.* take the plural ending *-m* as the preposition *m-* attached proclitically to the following noun), it is fairly certain that their Hebrew text had no or few divisions between the words." The Nash papyrus, however—a Hebrew text, probably liturgical, which contains the Decalogue and the Shema and was written not later than the second century A.D.²—has spacing between words but no

¹ Prof. E. Fraenkel first pointed this out to me, but it is far less clearly marked in this text and probably the scribe only employed it at the end of clauses.

² First published by S. A. Cook in *The Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, 1903, pp. 34-56. See

verse division. At any rate, this system did not last long, for, apart from the two texts already mentioned, it is not to be found in Biblical manuscripts; its origin may perhaps be due to Aramaic influence or if, as is possible, this roll was the property of some Jewish synagogue, to the exigencies of public reading.

There are no abbreviations in the papyrus. It is unfortunate that the word *κύριος*, which alone of the *nomina sacra* occurs frequently in the passages of text represented here, is nowhere extant; but there is good reason for thinking (*v.* note to l. 27) that it was not abbreviated, as was probably the case with *Ἰησοῦς* in P. Ryl. Gk. 457.

VI

There is nothing either in the text itself or in the other papyri found with it to suggest in further R. H. Charles, *The Decalogue*, pp. xiii *sq.*, and S. A. Cook, *The Old Testament* (Cambridge, 1936), p. 38, and for spacing in Hebrew MSS., *ibid.*, p. 23.

what circle of society this copy of Deuteronomy was written or used; unless the presence of such a heterogeneous collection of texts points to the conclusion that the *milieu* in which it originated was not exclusively Jewish. That it was, however, in Jewish possession, may be taken for granted, especially as there is such abundant evidence of the activities of the Jews in Egypt at this period.¹ After the Greeks, they formed the most important element in the foreign population of Egypt at this period. Not only was there a considerable Jewish community in Alexandria; in the country side as well Jews are found as soldiers and farmers. Their settlement in the Fayûm, the province from which this papyrus may come, is vouched for by the papyri;² and in view of the possibility that this copy of Deuteronomy may have been meant for

¹ See the references in Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, E. Bevan, *The Ptolemaic Dynasty* (especially pp. 111-114): also A. N. Modona in *Aegyptus*, II, pp. 253-275, III, 19-43.

² For some additional evidence on this point, see P. Teb. III, 817, introd.

use in a synagogue, it may be noticed that we know of the existence of two synagogues in this province, one in Crocodilopolis, the capital, another in Alexandrou Nesos, a small village on the western edge of the province.¹ As yet there is no evidence of the existence of a synagogue at Tebtunis, which has provided us with so much cartonnage, although Jews are not infrequently mentioned in the papyri from that site.

Of this Jewish settlement in Egypt the most important consequence—at any rate in the realm of religion and literature—was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures in Alexandria. To the controversy surrounding the origin of the

¹ Bevan's note (*op. cit.*, p. 112) is misleading. Thus the synagogue referred to in P. Lille, ii, 35 (lately re-edited by O. Guéraud as no. 30 in his *Enteuxeis*) was not, as Bevan says, at Magdola, but at Alexandrou Nesos; similarly that referred to in P. Teb. 86 was not in Kerkeosiris, but in Crocodilopolis. And Xenephyris, so far from being in the Fayûm, was a village in the Delta not far from the modern Damanhour, *cf.* S. Reinach in *Revue des Études Juives*, 66 (1913), p. 135.

Septuagint¹ this papyrus has little contribution to make, for it is almost universally accepted that there are no good grounds for doubting that the Pentateuch at least was translated during the third century and probably in the reign of Philadelphus.² Possibly the fact that we find a copy of it in some Egyptian village some hundred years or so after the translation was made may support the view of those who hold that the translation was due not so much to the scholarly interests of Philadelphus (as the ordinary form of the story would have us believe) as to the needs of the Jewish community. But it does make still less tenable the somewhat improbable views of Gaster,³ who has argued that

¹ For a discussion of these problems, see Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, pp. 1-28, and H. G. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible* (London, 1932).

² It may be noted that our oldest authorities, Aristéas, Philo, Josephus, and, later, St. Jerome, do not assert that more than the Pentateuch was translated at this time. For a statement of the evidence and discussion, see Meecham, *op. cit.*, chapter iii.

³ Advanced in his Schweich Lectures for 1923, *The Samaritans: cf.* Meecham, pp. 145 sq.

the translation was not made in Egypt at all (on the grounds that the Jews would not have forgotten their mother tongue and that the LXX would not have supplanted the Hebrew), and of Graetz,¹ who was of the opinion that the translation was not made until the reign of Philometor (182-146 B.C.).

VII

It is surprising, if we consider how little of the manuscript has survived, what definite results as to the character and affinities of the text are yielded by these fragments. Briefly stated, the result is that this papyrus makes still more difficult a 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 the Codex Vaticanus (B) "on the whole presents the version of the Septuagint in its relatively oldest form."²

¹ See Meecham, pp. 164 sq.

² Swete, *op. cit.*, p. 486, and *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. i, p. xi. But it must be noted that Swete points

But before discussing this further, it would be as well to tabulate the evidence which leads to this conclusion. The text has been collated with the invaluable edition of Brooke and McLean:¹ the principal MSS. for this part of Deuteronomy are, besides B, the Codex Alexandrinus (A), with which are generally associated in these passages the Ambrosianus (F), the Coislilianus (M) and the Basiliano-Vaticanus (N), and the Washington MS. (Θ). The result of the collation, details of which will be found in the notes, is as follows:—

out (p. 487) that it would be an error to suppose that this holds good for every context and even every book, and quotes Burkitt (p. 488) to the effect that B cannot claim to transmit to us an unrevised text of the *κοινή έκδοσις*. Again, on p. 489, he remarks: "The citations of the LXX in the N.T. and by Christian writers of the first three centuries often support the readings of A with a remarkable unanimity."

¹ *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. i, part iii, Numbers and Deuteronomy (Cambridge, 1911). For the collation of the British Museum Sahidic MS., see part iv, pp. xi sq.

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Readings not recorded in any other MS .	4 (5) ¹
Agreements with A and Θ against B .	7 (8)
Agreements with A against B and Θ .	2
Agreements with Θ against B and A .	2
Agreements with A and B against Θ .	1
Agreements with Θ and B against A .	2

Thus on 11 (12) occasions P. Ryl. Gk. 458 is in agreement with Θ, on 10 (11) with A, and on only three with B, while its disagreement with B are five times as numerous as its agreements,² The new readings are discussed in the notes; here it may be noticed that one at least, *επελθης* in l. 4, has a claim to consideration on linguistic grounds. In l. 28 another, the omission of *σε*, supports the Hebrew and the Armenian version against most of the tradition. But they are not of sufficient importance to give an inde-

¹The figure in brackets gives the total of readings of this class inclusive of probable but not certain supplements to the text.

²It should be pointed out that especially in fragment (b) one disagreement with B really involves a second—there are three very close together—and to this extent the figures may be misleading.

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pendent character to the text; P. Ryl. Gk. 458 aligns itself fairly clearly with A and Θ, a fact of some interest when we remember that it is some six hundred years younger than the elder of these two MSS. It is particularly unfortunate that this section of Deuteronomy is missing in the Chester Beatty codex of Numbers and Deuteronomy which occupies a place in time half-way between our MS. and the great uncials. Yet the evidence of this codex (963), as analysed by Kenyon,¹ on the text of the first half of Deuteronomy, is extremely interesting and perhaps relevant to our conclusions. Kenyon's findings are as follows: (1) compared with the same MS. of Numbers, the number of singular or sub-singular readings is ten times as great; (2) in this book the MS. has least affinity with B: in Numbers it has most; (3) its closest ally is the Codex Sarravianus (G)—not extant for our part of Deuteronomy—and (4) its disagreements with B outweigh its agreements. The

¹*The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri*, fasc. v, pp. xi sq.

result, taken together with the analysis of our fragment, is striking and suggests that the Chester Beatty text of Deuteronomy *may* have been very close to that of P. Ryl. Gk. 458. Elsewhere the same authority has pointed out,¹ in writing of the British Museum Sahidic MS. (Orient. 7594), that "with 963 and Θ, it agrees decidedly with AF rather than with B, a consensus of early evidence that goes far to support the A text rather than the B in this book." (It should, perhaps, have been pointed out above that P. Ryl. Gk. 458 shares none of the peculiar readings of the Sahidic MS.) This view can now claim the support of a MS. some three hundred years earlier even than 963, and although, as Kenyon remarks, what is true of the text of one book in a MS. is by no means necessarily true of another book (Chester Beatty Papyrus vi is itself a striking example of this), yet the evidence suggests that here at least the text of B represents a revised version of the κοινή ἔκδοσις which may

¹ *Recent Developments*, p. 109.

be relatively well preserved in A. Thus our first glimpse of the text of the Septuagint, some hundred years after the original translation was made, 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.¹

(a) xxiii, 24 (26)—xxiv, 3.

10·7 × 4·5 cm.

· · · · ·
 σου [και συλλεξεῖς εν ταις χερσιν στα-
 χυς και δρεπα[νον ου μη επιβαλης επι]
 τον αμη[τον του πλησιον σου εαν]
 δε επελθης ε[ις τον αμπελωνα του]
 5 [πλ]ησιον σου φα[γη σταφυλην οσον]
 [ψυ]χη σου π[λ]ησ[θειη εις δε αγγος]
 [ο]υκ ενβα[λεις εαν δε τις λαβη γυ-]
 [ναι]κα και συνο[ικηση αυτη και εσται]
 [εα]ν μη ευρη χ[αριν εναντιον αυτου]

¹ *id.*, p. 101.

TWO BIBLICAL PAPYRI

- 10 [οτι] εὑρεν εν α[υτη ασχημον πραγμα
[και] γραψει αυ[τη βιβλιον αποστα-]
[σι]ον [και δωσει εις τας χειρας αυτης]
[και εξαποστ]τελει αυτην εκ της οικιας
αυτου· και [απελθουσα γενηται αν-]
15 [δρι ετε]ρωι [και μισηση αυτην ο α-]
[νηρ ο εσχ]ατο[ς κτλ.]

(b) xxv, 1-3. 8 × 8·4 cm.

- [δι-]
καιον και καταγνωσι[ν του ασεβους]
[και εσται εαν αξι]ος η πληγων ο ασε-
[βη]ς και καθιει αυτον εν[αντιον]
20 [αυτ]ον και μαστιγωσιν [αυτον εναντι-]
[ον αυ]των κατα την ασεβ[ειαν αυτου]
[αριθμω]ι τεσσαρακοῦτα [μαστιγωσου-]
[σιν αυτο]ν ου προσθησου[σιν εαν δε]
[προσθω]σιν μαστιγω[σαι αυτον κτλ.]

(c) xxvi, 12. 4·9 × 2·3 cm.

- 25 [τη χηρα και] φαγον[ται εν ταις πο-]
[λεσι]ν σου] και ε[μπλησθησονται κτλ.]

(d) xxvi, 17-19. 4 × 5·4 cm.

PAPYRUS OF DEUTERONOMY

- [της φων]ης αυτο[υ] κα[ι κυριος ειλατο
[σε σημερ]ον γενεσθαι αυ[τω λαον περι-]
[ουσιον κ]αθαπερ ειπεν φυλα[σσειν πα-]
30 [σας τας εν]τολας αυτου κα[ι ειναι σε]
[υπεραν]ω παντων [τ]ων εθνω[ν ως]
[εποιησε]ν σε ονομαστον κ[αι καυχημα]

(e) xxviii, 31-33. 5·7 × 1·8 cm.

- [τα προβατα σου δε]δομε[να τοις εχθροις]
[σου και ουκ εστ]αι σοι ο β[σητων οι υιοι]
35 [και αι θυγατε]ρες δεδ[ομεναι εθνει]
[ετερωι και οι οφ]θαλμοι [σου οψονται]
[σφακελιζοντες εις] αυτα κα[ι ουκ ισχυ-]
[σει η χειρ (σου) τα εκφορ]ια τη[ς γης σου και]
[παντας τους πονους σο]υ φ[αγεται εθνος]
40 [ο ουκ επιστασαι κ]αι εσ[η αδικουμενος κτλ.]

Unplaced Fragments.

- (f)]·λλ·[
]·ι χωνε[
(g)]·[·]·[
]· ευρ[
45 (h)]ον[
]ο·ου·[
]··[
39

1. This line as it stands is rather longer than the rest : that the *και* was omitted (with some of the versions) is unlikely, as it is retained in the parallel passage l. 19. One of the cursives, *i**, reads *τῇ χειρί* and this may have been the reading of our text. It is to be noted that in placing *στάχυς* after *ἐν ταῖς χερσίν*, P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with all the uncials against the Ethiopic and Bohairic versions and Eusebius. But the length of the line makes it very probable that it agrees with *k* and *l* in omitting *σου* after *χερσίν*.
2. This line appears to project into the margin more than the others, whereas 3 is inset.
3. In reading *ἐπι τον αμητον* P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with A^aFMNΘ and the cursives against the *ἐπ' αμητόν* of B.
4. The reading *επελθης*, peculiar to P. Ryl. Gk. 458, is of some interest, since *ἐπέρχομαι* is the *terminus technicus* in the papyri for *trespassing, making an illegal entrance*, and as such occurs frequently in documents of the Ptolemaic period : whereas *εἰσέρχομαι* (*εἰσέλθης* is the reading of all MSS. here) in legal language denotes *to proceed against* or *make claims against in a court of law*. Thus the reading of our text is interesting evidence of the influence of the ordinary terminology of the period.
6. In reading *ψυχη* our text is supported only by A^a and some cursives, *f, l, n, y*. Subsequently all MSS. (with the exception of *f*, which reads *ἐμπλησθῆ*) give *ἐμπλησθῆναι* : *πλησθῆναι* may have been the reading of P. Ryl. Gk. 458, but, with the preceding nominative, *πλησθείη* is more likely. On this passage, Driver

- writes that the Hebrew is nearer to the text of B than to that of P. Ryl. Gk. 458 : but that the Hebrew infinitive ("thou shalt eat grapes according to thy soul thy being filled") is so awkward that it is generally thought to be a gloss. He suggests that our text may be an attempt to simplify it by substituting a finite verb, much as the Syriac ("until thy soul (is) being satisfied") tries to do.
7. In reading *ενβα[λεις]*, P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with B (*ἐμβαλεῖς*) and other MSS. against A^a F* and a few cursives.
 10. *ευρεν* : so B and other MSS. (including Θ) against the *εὔρηκεν* of A^aFMN and a number of cursives.
 11. Θ and M, together with some cursives, read *γράψη* here.
 14. It seems probable that the scribe only punctuated at the end of a verse, as here after *αυτου* : the space between it and the following *και* is larger than is usual.
 19. Here P. Ryl. Gk. 458 has a somewhat remarkable agreement with Θ in its reading *ἀσεβῆς*, supported also by a number of cursives, including 54, 75 and 134 : all other uncials read *ἀσεβῶν*.
 20. Between the *α* and *σ* of *μαστιγῶσαι* a dot is visible : apparently the scribe wrote *ματ*, then corrected the *τ* to a *σ*, erasing the left horizontal stroke of the *τ*, and the dot (which can be seen in the photograph) is the hook of the original *τ*.
 20. *sqq.* The text of this and of the following lines now in agreement with AFMNΘ, and now pro-



viding new readings of its own, differs so markedly from that of B that before discussing the readings in detail it may be as well to give the text, considerably shorter than ours, supplied by B. Continuing from δ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\omega}\nu$, B reads: $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$. καὶ $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}$ $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\acute{\omega}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omega\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$, $\omicron\upsilon$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omega\nu$. $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\eta$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\theta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\acute{\omega}\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$.

(i) In reading $\kappa\alpha\iota$ before $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}(s)$ P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with AFMN against B and Θ .

(ii) $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ is peculiar to P. Ryl. Gk. 458. The only variants noted to $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ are the $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ of l and Cyril and the *constituent* (or *-unt*) of the Armenian and Ethiopic versions.

(iii) Whereas B reads $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$, AFM Θ and the versions give $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\eta\tau\iota$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ and then add, as does P. Ryl. Gk. 458, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\acute{\omega}\sigma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\omega\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$. Neither of these texts can have been that of P. Ryl. Gk. 458, but in sense it is closer to the reading of AFM Θ . After $\epsilon\nu[\alpha\eta\tau\iota\omicron\nu]$ it seems best to supply $\alpha\upsilon\tau]ου$ (or $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau]ου$), as suggested by Driver; it is, however, short and $\epsilon\nu[\alpha\eta\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ $|\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\lambda\alpha]ου$ would fill the space a little better, but though this phrase is found in Deut. x, 11, the sense is different and there is no support for its presence here: whereas $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ = $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$ corresponds to the $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\eta\tau\iota$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ of AFM Θ . For the sense of the text of P. Ryl. Gk. 458 must be "for he (*sc.* the judge) shall cast him (the offender) down in his (the judge's) presence." Both the Hebrew and the Syriac Peshitta provide an interesting parallel to this version (for what follows I am indebted to

Driver): in this and the following lines the Peshitta has "if the guilty be guilty of chastisement, the judge shall cast him down and they shall scourge him according to the due of his folly." Similarly the text implied by the Hebrew is: $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\eta}$ $\pi\lambda\eta\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu$ δ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ (or rather $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\iota$) $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ δ $\kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\acute{\omega}\sigma\eta\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\eta\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron}\upsilon$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ ($\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon$) $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}$ $\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\alpha$ $\kappa\tau\lambda$. Thus P. Ryl. Gk. 458, unlike the Hebrew, leaves the subject of $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ unexpressed, but agrees with both Hebrew and Peshitta in placing the verb in the 3rd, not in the 2nd, person singular, while both have a word to correspond to $\epsilon\nu[\alpha\eta\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau]ου$. Alternatively, it would be possible to read $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\epsilon\acute{\iota}\langle s\rangle$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$ $\epsilon\nu[\alpha\eta\tau\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $|\kappa\rho\iota\tau]ου$: but though this would be a little closer to AFM Θ , it is not safe to assume gratuitous error in the MS.

(iv) $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\omega\sigma\omega\nu$ must be a scribal error for $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\acute{\omega}\langle\sigma\omicron\upsilon\rangle\sigma\omega\nu$, as it is clear from the other verbs that a future was intended here.

(v) After $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\omega\langle\sigma\omicron\upsilon\rangle\sigma\omega\nu$ (l. 20), P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with AFMN Θ , the versions and most of the cursives in reading $\epsilon\nu\alpha\eta\tau\iota\omicron\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$; the whole clause is unrepresented in B. It may be noted that P. Ryl. Gk. 458 may well have read $[\epsilon\nu\alpha\eta\tau\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon]τ\omega\nu$ —it would suit the space rather better—and that the large space left after $\alpha\upsilon]τ\omega\nu$ suggests that $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\eta}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta[ε\iota\alpha\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$] belongs to the following rather than to the preceding sentence.

(vi) In l. 22 P. Ryl. Gk. 458 certainly omitted the

και before αριθμωι, found in B, but omitted by AFMNΘ and the versions.

24. Here again P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with AFMNΘ and other authorities in reading προσθωσιν against B's προσθῆς : and I have followed these MSS. in supplying αυτον in this line (omitted by B).

It may be noted that the Syriac Peshitta also has "when they add" and the Hebrew "he shall not add" : the singular verb in the Hebrew is probably due to Massoretic vocalisation, as in early unvocalised texts singular and plural forms of the verb were hardly distinguished (Driver).

26. In the supplement I have followed AFMNΘ and their allies rather than B's εὐφρανθήσονται.
27. It is probable that κυριος was written in full, i.e. that the scribe did not employ the theological contractions almost universal in later MSS. If he had written $\bar{\kappa}\varsigma$ there would be only 24 letters in the line, whereas the average number of letters in a line is 27. Similar calculations in the case of P. Ryl. Gk. 457 (see *An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel*, p. 18) led to the conclusion that there also *nomina sacra* were written in full. Unfortunately in both cases conclusive proof is lacking ; but it looks as though the practice, whatever its origin, did not become general till the second century A.D.
28. The omission of σε after γενέσθαι is of some interest, for while all uncials agree in reading it, it is not in the Hebrew text, which has simply "to be" (Driver), and is also absent from the Armenian version and

the cursives *agkux** and in the texts of Philo and Clement. It is at least evidence that such a reading, which might have been thought to be, in Greek MSS., of comparatively late origin, is, even if wrong, of considerable antiquity.

30. The fact that elsewhere P. Ryl. Gk. 458 consistently follows AFMNΘ and other MSS. in preferring the longer version makes it very likely that πασας (omitted by B) was inserted before τας εντολας : it also fills the space better.
33. A new column begins with this fragment. In this column the lines are slightly longer than in preceding columns : the average number of letters to a line is 29.
34. ο βοηθων : omitted by B. The length of the line makes it highly probable that P. Ryl. Gk. 458 omitted σου after υιοι as it certainly did after θυγατερες in l. 35. For this latter omission it has the support of the second corrector of F : for the former there is no other authority. We should expect both to be written or both to be omitted : probably this may be claimed as a new, if unimportant, variation for P. Ryl. Gk. 458.
36. Reasons of space as well as the general affinity of the MS. make it fairly probable that the papyrus read οφονται with FGMNΘ and most of the cursives rather than βλέπονται with B : it is in any case preferable to the εσονται—equally suitable as far as the space goes—of A.
37. As usual, P. Ryl. Gk. 458 agrees with AFMNΘ

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and the versions against B and reads *και* before
ουκ ισχυσει.

44. If some part of *εύρισκω* is to be recognised here, this fragment cannot stand in close relation to any of the others, as, except in xxiv, 1, the text of which is preserved in (i), the word is not found. It does, however, occur in xxii frequently and in xxviii, 2.



P. Ryl. Gk. 460.

FRAGMENT OF A TESTIMONY BOOK

*P. Ryl. Gk. 460. Acquired in 1917. 11.4 × 14.1 cm.
Fourth century A.D. Written on papyrus of poor
quality in reddish-brown ink. Provenance: prob-
ably the Fayûm.*

THIS manuscript, part of a double leaf of a papyrus codex from which both the top and bottom are missing, consists of verses from different parts of the Septuagint; and, as is the case with not a few of the literary papyri in the Rylands collection, it has been found to be part of a manuscript, other fragments of which have made their way to another collection. In 1923 two fragments of a papyrus codex were edited by G. Rudberg in *Videnskapsselskapets Forhandlingar*, 1923 (2), under the title *Septuaginta Fragmente* and were later republished as no. 11 of *Papyri Osloenses II*; from the photograph accompanying the original publication it was evident that

TWO BIBLICAL POPYRI

P. Ryl. 460 belonged to the same MS., and a closer examination revealed that P. Oslo 11 fr. 1 forms the upper part of folio i, and P. Oslo 11 fr. 2 the upper part of folio ii of our text, thus confirming the conjecture of their original editor that both Oslo fragments were part of the same sheet. The Oslo fragments do not quite touch the Rylands papyrus at any point, although in neither folio is the gap more than a single line in depth; that the collocation is correct is, I think, conclusively proved by the *ουστω* of l. 12 and the *νος* of l. 62, both of which complete the verses extant in the Oslo papyrus and cannot be related to the subsequent extracts in the Rylands papyrus. For the sake of completeness the Oslo fragments are, with Dr. Eitrem's kind permission, reprinted here; ¹ they are underlined to distinguish them from the Rylands text.

As rearranged the combined texts contain the following extracts from the Old Testament:—

¹ The text followed is that in P. Oslo 11, a little more complete than that of the original publication.

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Folio i recto	Isaiah xlii, 3, 4. Isaiah lxvi, 18, 19.
Folio i verso	Isaiah lii, 15. Isaiah liii, 1-3.
Folio ii verso	Isaiah liii, 6-7 and 11-12.
Folio ii recto	An unidentified verse. Genesis xxvi, 13, 14. II Chronicles i, 12. Deuteronomy xxviii, 8 and 11.

This order may seem peculiar in that Isaiah lxvi precedes Isaiah lii; but it has the advantage of placing next to each other the two extracts from Isaiah liii and the alternative method of arranging the pages, *i.e.* beginning with folio ii verso would result in greater disturbance of the proper order and would, moreover, be contrary to the obvious crease in the fold of the papyrus. That any other leaves intervened between folio i and folio ii is possible but hardly likely, as the quotation from Isaiah liii, 6 probably followed directly on that of Isaiah liii, 3; in the absence of numeration proof is impossible.

The Oslo fragments were described by their first editor as a *Textbuch für kultische Zweck*, the

property of some poor Christian community in Egypt, and the editors of the Oslo papyri write that "Isaiah combined with Genesis suggests that the book was meant for liturgical use." But it is difficult to see how a collection of apparently random extracts could serve a liturgical purpose and the addition of the new fragments suggests a different solution. Anthologies, especially of passages of a gnomic or moral character, were popular in the ancient world and fragments of them have been found among papyri;¹ but the anthologist of these verses from the Septuagint probably had a more definite purpose. The verses from Isaiah include part of the famous Messianic passages from chapters lii and liii, and all the other extracts in this papyrus, if not exactly Messianic in character, can, I think, be related to the history either of Christ or of Christianity. Thus the verses from Genesis become intelligible when the beginning of v. 13, which

¹ Cf. Schubart, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 71 and 376.

must have stood at the foot of the preceding column, *i.e.* just after Isaiah liii, 7, is replaced:

καὶ ὑψώθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ προβαίνων

This verse, written of Isaac, would allow of the same sort of allegorical interpretation as is applied to Numbers xxi, 9 in John iii, 14—the keyword is the same in both cases, *ὑψώω*—and the rest of the passage takes its colour from the opening words. The passages from 11 Chronicles and Deuteronomy admit, if less obviously, of a similar interpretation, and the verses from Isaiah lxvi clearly can be regarded as prophetic of Pentecost. (Verses 18 and 19 of this chapter are cited by Cyprian, *Testimonia*, ii, 21; the heading of the section is *Quam gentes magis in Christum crediturae essent*.) In fact, what we have is part of a Book of Testimonies,¹ a collection of extracts from the

¹ I have to thank Dr. H. I. Bell for referring me to the standard work on the subject, *Testimonies*, by Rendel Harris and V. Burch (2 vols., Cambridge, 1916 and 1920), to which I am much indebted. Dr. Harris' main theses, that a Testimony Book was the first Christian book to be written, that its influence is to be traced not

Old Testament designed to prove the witness of the writers of the Old Testament to the truth of the Christian religion. Two such works have come down to us from antiquity, the *Testimonia* of St. Cyprian and the *Testimonia adversus Judaeos* attributed to St. Gregory of Nyssa. That the book of which these papyrus fragments form a part was distinct from both of these works, may be inferred from the fact that, apart from the quotations from Isaiah lii and liii which would inevitably find a place in any such collection, none of the other verses is employed either by St. Cyprian or St. Gregory. Further, they do not appear among the passages discussed or cited in *Testimonies*, and this, together with the fact that there is no trace of the introductory formulas which, in Dr. Harris' view, occasionally took the place of the initial words of a quotation from the Old Testament, suggests that it is not only in the Fathers, but throughout the New Testament, and that it may be identified with the Logia attributed to St. Matthew and is still in existence, are not affected by the papyrus.

a fragment of *the* Testimony Book desiderated by Dr. Harris. But there may well have been more than one anthology of this kind¹; nor, if the original Testimony Book was distinctly polemical in character and directed at first against the Jews and in later times against the Mohammedans, need we assume that this book was of the same type. More probably it was simply a collection of "prophetic" passages from the Old Testament such as any devout Christian might possess, and in the fourth century, when our manuscript was written, the need for polemics against the Jews would be less than in the second. In one respect this discovery confirms a remark of Dr. Harris (*op. cit.*, i, p. 1) when he writes that it is "a priori probable that they would be little books of wide range," and compares them to the Pocket Bible

¹ It is interesting to note that Dr. A. Lukyn Williams, in Chapter 1, "The Earliest Books of Testimonies," of his *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935), writes (p. 6) that there is "no direct evidence for the existence of *one* Book of Testimonies *par excellence*," and again (p. 7) "in fact there is every probability that there was not only one Book of Testimonies, but several."

carried by Cromwell's soldiers; the range of the passages quoted here is wide enough and the exceptional narrow format of the book (although its height was quite considerable) has already been discussed by G. Rudberg, *op. cit.* (who gives examples of MSS. of similar design).

The size of the book cannot be precisely determined as the bottom of both pages is missing. But probably not much is lost; only one line is needed to complete the quotation from Isaiah at the bottom of folio ii verso, two lines would be adequate for the opening words of Genesis xxvi, 13 and the title would occupy the space of another two lines. Another extract may have intervened, but I think we may reckon with a column of c. 30 lines to the page and, with an existing top margin in the Oslo fragments of 4 cm., we may calculate that the book would have been some 28 cm. in height and 11 cm. in width (of which a full line of text would occupy only 5 cm.).¹ Rudberg,

¹For this type of book, *cf.* Schubart, *Das Buch*,² 131 sq. and 186: there are grounds for thinking that codices of this format are of relatively early date.

after pointing out that the papyrus is rough and of poor quality, remarks that the hand is a "gute Buchschrift"; but with this description I cannot agree, for though large and clear, the hand is crude and irregular, with the letters slanting now in one direction, now in another. In general style it resembles that of P. Oxy. 209, a copy of Romans i, 1-7 (according to the editors, the work of a schoolboy), which can be dated in the early fourth century. Our text may be assigned to the same period, and as the Oslo fragments were purchased in the Fayûm, the Fayûm is the most likely place of origin. The usual theological contractions occur, and in place of final *v* a short stroke is commonly added above the preceding vowel. Stops have been added by the first hand, with the exception of that in l. 12, which, with the mark against l. 15, is in black ink. The rest of the manuscript is written in a reddish-brown ink which is better preserved in the Oslo fragments than in the Rylands text. The end of a quotation

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πολλων α[νηνεγκεν]

75 [κς δι]α τ[ας ανομιας]

Folio ii Recto

[μει]ζων εγενετο

Genesis xxvi, 13

[ως ο]υ με[γα]ς εγε-

[νετο σ[φοδρα εγε

14

[νετο δε] αυτω

80 [κτηνη π]ροβατω

[και κτην]η βοω

[και γεωργ]ια πολλα

[] · λα

[]ατος

85 [] · ε[]τι ·

[Παραλειπο]μενω

[την σοφια]ν κς τη̄

II Chronicles i, 12

[συνεσιν δι]δωμι σοι

[και πλουτον] και

90 [χρημα]τα και δο-

[ξαν δ]ωσω σοι

60

FRAGMENT OF A TESTIMONY BOOK

[Δευτε]ρονομιον

[αποστε]λει κς̄ επι σε Deuteronomy xxviii, 8

[την ευ]λογιαν εν τοις

95 [ταμειοι]ς σου εν πασι

[ου αν επι]βα[λ]ης τη̄

[χειρα σου επι] της γης

[και πληθυ]νει σε κς̄

11

[ο θς̄ σου εις α]γαθα

100 [εν τοις εκγο]νοις τη[s]

15. The papyrus agrees with \aleph against the other MSS. in adding *επισταμαι* after *αυτων*. The sign placed in the margin against this line is probably a form of the common ⚡ = *ωραιον*; that it calls attention to the uncertain reading is not likely.

17. All MSS. insert *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ* before *πάσας*.

20. Read *κα<τα>λειψω*.

22. No other authority is cited for *αποστελω* in place of *ἐξαποστελῶ*.

24. After *Θαρσεῖς* the MSS. read *καὶ Φοῦδ καὶ Λοῦδ*; one of the two has clearly been omitted in the papyrus.

25. Read *Θοβελ*.

45. *εκλειπο(ν)*: so A and a later hand of Q; B reads *εκλιπόν*.

46. Probably read *του<ς>*; it is just possible that the scribe wrote the *s* in the next line, cf. *ε|ργα* in l. 12.

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TWO BIBLICAL PAPYRI

49. *και εν πονω*. This addition, not found in any other MS., was probably transferred by the writer from v. 4: *ελογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνω καὶ ἐν πληγῇ*.
- 83 sq. It is fairly clear that the writer did not continue the passage from Genesis which runs *ἐξήλωσαν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Φυλιστιεῖμ*; these three lines probably contained a quotation from another book, the title of which—a short one, as it has left no traces—was written in the space between 82 and 83.
93. *αποστελει*; so the versions and some of the cursives; the uncials read *αποστελλαι*.
95. *εν πασι(ν)*: so AFM^Θ and the versions; *ἐπι πάντα* B. *και* before *ἐν πᾶσιν* is also omitted in the Bohairic and a few cursives.