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978-1-107-65170-8 - The Sayings of Jesus: From Oxyrhynchus

Edited with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Commentary by

Hugh G. Evelyn White

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THE
SAYINGS OF JESUS

FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, CRITICAL
APPARATUS AND COMMENTARY

BY

HUGH G. EVELYN WHITE, M.A.

MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK METROPOLITAN MUSEUM
EXPEDITION IN EGYPT AND FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF
WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1920

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107651708

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First published 1920

First paperback edition 2014

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-107-65170-8 Paperback

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TO THE MEMORY OF
JEAN MASPERO
KILLED IN ACTION AT VAUQUOY IN THE ARGONNE
FEBRUARY 18, 1915

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ERRATUM

P. 2, col. 2, l. 21, and P. 48, col. 2, l. 8. *For* Litany of Sarapion,
read Liturgy of Sarapion.

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PREFACE

THE addition of one more item to the literature which has gathered round the famous Oxyrhynchus *Sayings* does not, in itself, need any apology; for large as that literature is, it has not solved all the problems which the papyrus fragments present, nor has it exhausted all the possibilities of text-reconstruction and interpretation. But inasmuch as I have no passport admitting me to the realms of theology, my intrusion into what appears to be a theological province demands explanation. From one point of view, indeed, the *Sayings* seem to fall well within the demesne of theology, but from another to lie on the vague borderland which parts theological from ancient literature in its broadest sense. I need hardly say that I prefer the latter. In this little study, therefore, I have regarded the fragments as remains of early Christian literature rather than as a theological document: the distinction, if fine, is real, and may serve to deliver me from the charge of exercising myself in great matters which are too high for me.

To multiply restorations of fragmentary texts is a process of doubtful benefit. Owing to accident my reconstructed text was drawn up before I had seen and weighed the restorations suggested by others; and though later study has led me considerably to modify my first draft, it has not prevented me from retaining certain supplements which take a new direction. That I have done so is due, I hope, neither to parental fondness for my own offspring nor to perverse

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PREFACE

love of novelty, but (if I may say so) to a feeling that the right track had not yet been found.

In the Introduction and Commentary I have tried not only to bring forward fresh considerations bearing upon the problems involved, but also to represent and consider the judgments of previous editors. This part of my work was begun in 1912 and continued during intervals of leisure in the following eighteen months. As a result I am conscious of a certain unevenness of treatment which recent revision has not, I fear, wholly eliminated.

For an editor to express obligations is often to accuse the guiltless of complicity. While, therefore, I cannot leave unspoken my very deep indebtedness to Professor J. F. Bethune Baker for much help and encouragement, I must add that I alone am responsible for my extravagances and my faults. With the late M. Jean Maspero I had the privilege of discussing many points relating to the *Sayings*, and it is to his memory therefore that I dedicate this little book.

I have to thank the Council of the Egypt Exploration Fund for permitting me to re-edit the fragments found by Professors Grenfell and Hunt under the auspices of that Society. I should also like to express my sincere gratitude to the Reader of the Cambridge University Press for the very great pains with which he has read my proofs, thereby saving me from a very formidable list of errors and imperfect references.

H. G. E. W.

CAMBRIDGE,

July 5, 1920.

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¹ No attempt has been made to make this Bibliography exhaustive : it is select in the sense that it contains all the editions and studies which directly or indirectly have influenced the following pages.

² *Editio princeps*.

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¹ For fuller bibliographies on this fragment, see Lock and Sanday, *Two Lectures on the Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 5 f.; Holtzmann in *Theol. Jahrb.* XVII, 115 ff., XVIII, 148 ff.

² *Editio princeps*.

³ Translation of the foregoing.

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THE TEXT OF THE PAPYRI

(*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 654)

οι τοιοι οι λογοι οι [ρων επερωτησε πα[
λησεν ιησ̄ ο ζων κ[	ρων περι του τοπου τη[
και θωμα και ειπεν [	οτι
αν των λογων τουτ[	25 σετε πολλοι εσονται π[
5 <u>ογ μη</u> γευχταιϫ[	οι εσχατοι πρωτοι και [
μη παγσασθω ο ζη[	<u>σιν λεγει</u> ιησ̄ϫ[
ευρη και οταν ευρ[	θεν της οφεως σοϫ και [
βηθεις βασιλευσχη κ[	απο σοϫ αποκαλυφησεται[
<u>ησεται</u> ϫ λεγει ι[	30 <u>τιν κρυπτον</u> ο οϫ φανε[
10 <u>οι ελκοντες</u> ημας [	και θεθαμμενον ο ο[
η βασιλεια εν ογρα[	[..]εταζουσιν αυτον οι [
τα πετεινα του ογρ[	[..]γουσιν πως ησεται[
τι ῥπο την γην εστ[	[....]μεθα και πως [
οι ῖχθες της θαλα[	35 [....]ει τι παρατηρησ[
15 <u>τες ῖμας</u> και η βασ[	[....]νϫ λεγει ιησ̄ [
εντος ῖμων[.]ςτι [	[....]ειται μη ποιειτ[
γνω ταυτην ευρη[	[.....]ησ̄ αληθειας αν[
εαυτους γνωσσεσθαι [	[.....]ν δ[]οκεκρ[
ῖμεις	40 [.....]καρι [.] εστι [
εστε του πατρος του τ[[.....]ω εστ[
20 <u>γνωσθε</u> εαυτους εν[[.....]ιν[
<u>και ῖμεις</u> εστε η πτο[* * *
ογκ αποκνησει ανθ[

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TEXT OF THE PAPYRI

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(Oxyrhynchus Papyri 1)

<i>Verso</i>	ΙΑ	<i>Recto</i>	Ε
ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΑΒΛΕΨΕΙΣ		[...]ΕΙ[...]ΗΝ ΠΤΩΧΙΑ	
ΕΚΒΑΛΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟΣ		[...]ΕΙ[...]ΟΥ ΕΑΝ ΩΣΙΝ	
ΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ		[...]Ε[...].. ΘΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ	
ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΟΥ ΛΕΓΕΙ		[...]ΠΡΟ. Ε[...] ΕΣΤΙΝ ΜΟΝΟΣ	
5 Ἰ̅C ΕΑΝ ΜΗ ΝΗΣΤΕΥΣΗ		5 [...]ΓΩ ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΜΕΤ ΑΥ	
ΤΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΟΥ ΜΗ		Τ[...] ΕΓΕΙ [...]ΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΙΘ̅	
ΕΥΡΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ		ΚΑΚΕΙ ΕΥΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΜΕ	
ΑΝ ΤΟΥ Θ̅Υ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΜΗ		ΣΧΙΣΟΝ ΤΟ ΞΥΛΟΝ ΚΑΓΩ	
ΣΑΒΒΑΤΙΣΤΕ ΤΟ ΣΑΒ̅Τ		ΕΚΕΙ ΕΙΜΙ ΛΕΓΕΙ Ἰ̅C ΟΥ	
10 ΒΑΤΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΟΨΕΣΘΕ Τ̅Ο		10 Κ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΔΕΚΤΟΣ ΠΡΟ	
ΠΡΑ̅ ΛΕΓΕΙ Ἰ̅C Ε[...]ΤΗΝ		ΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΡΙΑ̅Ι ΑΥ	
ΕΝ ΜΕΣΩ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ		Τ[...]Υ ΟΥΔΕ ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΟΙΕΙ	
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΚΕΙ ΩΦΘΗΝ		ΘΕΡΑΠΕΙΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΥΣ	
ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΠΑΝ		ΓΕΙΝΩΣΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤ̅Ο	
15 ΤΑΣ ΜΕΘΥΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ		15 ΛΕΓΕΙ Ἰ̅C ΠΟΛΙΣ ΟΙΚΟΔΟ	
ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΕΥΡΟΝ ΔΕΙΨ̅Ω		ΜΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΠ ΑΚΡΟΝ	
ΤΑ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟ		[...]ΡΟΥΣ ΥΨΗΛΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ	
ΝΕΙ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ ΕΠΙ		ΤΗΡΙΓΜΕΝΗ ΟΥΤΕ ΠΕ	
ΤΟΙΣ Υ̅ΙΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ Α̅ΝΩ̅Ν		[...]ΕΙΝ ΔΥΝΑΤΑΙ ΟΥΤΕ ΚΡΥ	
20 ΟΤΙ ΤΥΦΛΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΡ		20 [...]ΗΝΑΙ ΛΕΓΕΙ Ἰ̅C ΑΚΟΥΕΙΣ	
ΔΙΑ ΑΥΤΩ[...] ΚΑΙ... ΒΛΕΠ̅		[...]ΙΣ Τ̅Ο Ε... Τ̅ΙΟΝ ΣΟΥ Τ̅Ο	
* * * *		* * * *	

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[More information](#)THE RESTORED TEXT¹

*οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι οἱ ζωοποιοὶ οὓς ἐλάλησεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ζῶν
 καὶ ὄφθεις τοῖς δέκα καὶ Θωμᾶ. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· πᾶς
 ὅστις ἂν τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀκούσῃ, θανάτου οὐ μὴ
 γεύσῃται.*

α΄. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·

*μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζητῶν τοῦ ζητεῖν ἕως ἂν εὔρῃ, καὶ
 ὅταν εὔρῃ θαμβηθήσεται·*

*καὶ θαμβηθεὶς βασιλεύσει, καὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαή-
 σεται.*

*β΄. λέγει Ἰούδας· τίνες ἄρα οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς,
 καὶ πότε ἐλεύσεται ἡ βασιλεία ἢ ἐν οὐρανοῖς οὐσα ;
 λέγει Ἰησοῦς·*

*τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅτι ὑπὸ τὴν
 γῆν ἐστιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλάσσης—
 οὗτοι οἱ ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς.*

*καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστι. καὶ
 ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν γινῶ ταύτην εὐρήσει· καὶ εὐρόντες αὐτὴν
 ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε ὅτι υἱοὶ καὶ κληρονόμοι ἐστε ὑμεῖς
 τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ παντοκράτορος· καὶ γνώσεσθε ἑαυτοὺς
 ἐν θεῷ ὄντας καὶ θεὸν ἐν ὑμῖν. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἡ πτόλις
 θεοῦ.*

γ΄. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·

*οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἄνθρωπος τὴν ὁδὸν εὐρῶν ἐπερωτήσῃ
 πάντα...διαιρῶν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆς καθέδρας; εὐρήσετε*

¹ The restorations are not here distinguished. The parallel clauses are as far as possible indicated by the arrangement.

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RESTORED TEXT

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ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι, καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι
πρῶτοι· καὶ ζῶν κληρονομήσουσιν.

δ'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·

πάν τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ὄψεώς σου,
καὶ τὸ κεκαλυμμένον ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφθήσεται σοι·
οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτὸν ἢ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται,
καὶ τεθαμμένον ἢ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται.

ε'. ἐξετάζουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγουσιν·
πῶς νηστεύομεν, καὶ πῶς προσευξόμεθα, καὶ πῶς ἐλεη-
μοσύνην ποιήσομεν, καὶ τί παρατηρήσομεν τῶν παρα-
δοθέντων;

λέγει Ἰησοῦς·

οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί· μὴ ποιεῖτε ταῦτα φανε-
ρῶς·
ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντέχεσθε, καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη ὑμῶν
ἀποκεκρυμμένη ἔστω.

λέγω γάρ·

μακάριός ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐν κρυπτῷ,
ὅτι ἐν φανερῷ ἔσται ὁ μισθὸς αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ
ὅς ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

* * *

ς'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·

ἔκβαλλε πρῶτον τὴν δοκὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου,
καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ
ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

ζ'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·

ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ εὔρητε τὴν
βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ·
καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε
τὸν πατέρα.

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RESTORED TEXT

η'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·
ἔστην ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄφθην αὐτοῖς·
καὶ εὗρον πάντας μεθύοντας, καὶ οὐδένα εὗρον διψῶντα
ἐν αὐτοῖς·

καὶ πονεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῶν,
καὶ οὐ βλέπουσι τῇ διανοίᾳ αὐτῶν.

θ'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·
... εἰν τὴν πτωχείαν ...

ι'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·
ὅπου ἐὰν ᾧσιν β', οὐκ εἰσιν ἄθεοι·
καὶ ὅπου εἷς ἐστὶν μόνος, λέγω ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐτοῦ.
ἔγειρον τὸν λίθον, κάκει εὐρήσεις με,
σχίσον τὸ ξύλον, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

ια'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·
οὐκ ἔστιν δεκτὸς προφήτης ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ,
οὐδὲ ἰατρὸς ποιεῖ θεραπείας εἰς τοὺς γινώσκοντας
αὐτόν.

ιβ'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·
πόλις ὠκοδομημένη ἐπ' ἄκρον ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ
ἑστηριγμένη
οὔτε πεσεῖν δύναται οὔτε κρυβῆναι.

ιγ'. λέγει Ἰησοῦς·
ἀκούεις εἰς τὸ ἐν ὠτίῳ σου,
τὸ δὲ ἕτερον συνέκλεισας.

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§ I. THE PAPYRI.

In 1897 Messrs B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, while excavating on behalf of the Graeco-Roman Branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund, recovered from one of the rubbish-mounds of the city of Oxyrhynchus a leaf of a papyrus book containing eight (or, as some think, seven) Sayings of Jesus¹. This fragment, which measures 15 cm. by 9 cm. in its actual state, is a leaf from a codex and is inscribed on both sides. The lower edge of the leaf is broken leaving no indication to show how much has been lost. While the discoverers think that as many as five or even ten lines may have been lost, on the ground that the page of an early codex such as this would resemble the high, narrow column of a papyrus roll², later editors fascinated by the temptation of combining Sayings VIII and IX [Logia III and IV], claim that what has been lost is not great in amount, and that the lacuna between the texts of the *recto* and *verso* can be bridged by restoration: I have preferred to follow the expert authority of Grenfell and Hunt. The upper edge of the leaf has not suffered severely, and the right-hand side is also intact, but the left side is very ragged, though fragments of the original edge seem to be preserved here and there³. There is an ample

¹ Published by the discoverers under the title *Λόγια Ἰησοῦ*, Sayings of our Lord (Frowde, 1897), and in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. 1, No. 1. Since the discovery of *Ox. Pap.* 654 the term Logia as applied to these Sayings has been proved to be mistaken: it is abandoned in this edition. The original is now in the Semitic Library, Harvard.

² *Ox. Pap.* 1, p. 1.

³ So far as I can judge from the facsimile in the *editio princeps*.

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upper margin, while the left and right margins are decidedly narrower: a strip of papyrus has been gummed along the left edge of the *recto*. A few holes in the area of the text do not in themselves constitute formidable lacunae; but while the *verso* is tolerably legible throughout, the writing on the left side of the *recto* is rubbed or faded and far less distinct.

The discoverers concluded that the *verso* (which bears the numeral¹ 18, written by a later hand, at the top right-hand corner of the text) came uppermost in the book, "since it was usual to foliate the right-hand pages of a book." A page from a codex of Sophocles² also shows the *verso* uppermost: the *verso* indeed must necessarily come uppermost as often as the *recto* where a codex consists in gatherings of sheets once folded. Grenfell and Hunt advance another reason for their conclusion which is surely decisive. The scribe has filled out the ends of his short lines on the *verso* with the character 7: this device is intended to make the outer edge of the text even throughout, just as mediaeval cutters of inscriptions, scribes, and printers fill out short lines with pieces of conventional ornament. On the *recto* no such device is used, surely because this side was undermost and the ends of the lines being next the inner edge (and so less conspicuous) did not need such filling out.

This conclusion has been disputed by Batiffol³, who argues that it was usual to number the last page of each quire in a codex and that the papyrus is, therefore, the last leaf of the eleventh quire of a codex, the *recto* lying uppermost. He thinks that the ragged left edge of the *verso* has reached its present shredded state because it was the outer edge and so exposed to wear, and that the slip of papyrus gummed along the left border of the *recto* (which the discoverers explain as

¹ Wessely (*P. O.* IV, p. 153) treats the 18 not as a numeral, but as a correction.

² *Ox. Pap.* I, no. 22 (pp. 47 sqq.).

³ *Revue Biblique*, 1897, p. 502.

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intended to strengthen the outer margin) is simply a trace of the juxtaposition of another leaf. This last point can only be decided by experts after examination of the original; but it may be remarked here that the ragged state of the left edge of the *verso* is very likely due to the tearing out of the leaf, and that Batiffol overlooks the fact that in any quire there would be as many *versos* uppermost as *rectos*. There is, then, no good reason for doubting the discoverers' conclusion.

In general the papyri found in the rubbish-mounds of Oxyrhynchus date from the first to the eighth century, but the mound which yielded the fragment under consideration contained a great number of papyri of the first three centuries of the Christian era¹, and the Sayings were found in immediate association with documents of the second and third centuries. The hand is typical of the Roman period and indicates 300 A.D. as the latest date to which the MS. can be assigned, while the Biblical contractions, $\bar{\iota}\bar{\epsilon}$, $\bar{\theta}\bar{\epsilon}$, $\bar{\pi}\bar{\rho}$, $\bar{\alpha}\bar{\nu}\bar{\omega}\bar{\varsigma}$ together with the codex-form as opposed to the roll-form make an earlier date than 100 A.D. impossible and 150 A.D. unlikely as a *terminus ante quem*. The discoverers, considering that the type of uncial here used is decidedly earlier than that in use immediately before 300 A.D., conclude that the probable date of their papyrus is not much later than 200 A.D.²

In addition to the contractions already mentioned, final $\bar{\nu}$ is sometimes represented by a stroke over the preceding vowel, and in the fifth so-called Logion (Saying X) the word $\delta\bar{\nu}\bar{o}$ was written in numeral form β' . Marks of punctuation are wholly absent, but a sign γ —as we have already seen—is used for filling in blank spaces at the end of lines. Some eccentricities in orthography, such as are common in Egyptian Greek, occur: e.g. $\alpha\bar{\iota}$ for ϵ and $\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ for ι : in ll. 36 and

¹ Eg. *Expl. Fund Arch. Rep.* 1896-7, p. 6: $\Lambda\delta\gamma\iota\alpha$ 'Iησοῦ, p. 5.

² See $\Lambda\delta\gamma\iota\alpha$ 'Iησοῦ, p. 6.

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38 mistakes are found, but the second of these has been corrected.

Each Saying is introduced by the formula λέγει Ἰησοῦς¹, and the regular use of this together with the codex form, the use of practically no abbreviations other than Biblical, prove the papyrus to be a fragment of a literary work and not a series of notes or jottings for temporary use.

In 1903 the same two scholars resumed work at Oxyrhynchus and found a second papyrus containing five further Sayings of Jesus preceded by a Prologue². The new fragment is part of a roll, 244 m. high by 078 m. wide, and, as it stands, is easily legible throughout. The entire right-hand side of the column has been lost, so that only one half of each of the 42 lines it contains has been preserved. Moreover, after l. 31 the beginnings of the lines also have been destroyed, the lacunae increasing as we descend until in l. 42 only two characters remain. These Sayings are written upon the *verso* of the roll, the *recto* being occupied by a land-survey list in a cursive hand which belongs to the end of the second or early part of the third century A.D. The hand of the *verso* is "an upright, informal uncial of medium size," not so fine as that of the fragment found in 1897, but clear and well-formed, which the discoverers assign to the middle or end of the third century. A date later than 300 A.D. is regarded as most unlikely by them³. The new papyrus (hereafter referred to as 654) is therefore nearly contemporary with the "Logia-fragment," which is assigned to an earlier decade in the third century.

¹ For a discussion of this formula see below, § 9.

² Published by the discoverers in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. IV, as no. 654, and, with less detail, in the Egypt Exploration Fund's *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a lost Gospel* (Frowde, London and New York, 1904). I have borrowed the term Prologue in preference to Introduction from Dr Swete, as the latter seems to misrepresent the character of the opening five lines.

³ For this section see *Ox. Pap.* IV, pp. 1 ff.

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The only abbreviation which occurs is the normal $\overline{\text{IHC}}^1$. The scribe places diaeresis over initial $\ddot{\text{i}}$ and $\ddot{\text{y}}$, but has employed no punctuation marks. Though the words are sometimes separated, this is by no means generally or systematically done. In ll. 20, 25, words have been omitted but subsequently supplied above the line. In l. 1 there is obviously an uncorrected mistake, as also in l. 20; and in ll. 18, 23 and 31 are eccentricities, Δ_1 for ϵ , ϵ for Δ_1 , such as are common in Egyptian papyri and ostraka. The end of each Saying² is marked by the *coronis* \times , and is marked off from the following Saying by a *paragraphus*, a horizontal stroke drawn from the margin between the two Sayings.

The use of these signs together with the uncial script, the general absence of abbreviations, the systematic use of the formula $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\text{'}\text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ before each Saying, and above all the presence of a *Prologue*, prove that 654, like 1, is a fragment of a literary work³.

§ 2. THE OXYRHYNCHUS COLLECTION.

The results of the preceding section may be summed up as follows: (1) both 1 and 654 are fragments from literary works, (2) both were written during the third century and probably in its earlier half, though 1 is considered by the discoverers to be the earlier by a few decades.

Did these two fragments belong to one Collection? Of course they do not come from the same MS., since 1 is from a codex and 654 from a roll; but they may represent two

¹ But others may well have occurred in the missing portion of the papyrus.

² In l. 27 the coronis is placed after the formula $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\text{'}\text{I}\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ obviously by accident, and in l. 36 at the end of the series of questions put by the disciples.

³ The discoverers (*Ox. Pap.* IV, p. 1) point out that there is nothing at all uncommon in the use of the back of an ephemeral document for a literary text.

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copies of the same document. Now **1** is numbered **1A** and is therefore the eleventh leaf of a codex: it contains eight Sayings. If we allow for the occasional occurrence of longer Sayings, such as the second and fifth in **654**, we may conclude that on an average each leaf of the codex to which **1** belonged contained five Sayings: more than fifty Sayings must therefore have preceded **1**, which, moreover, need not have been the last page in the codex, and the Collection which it represents must have been a large one. The same may be said of the Collection of which **654** is a fragment, for the papyrus begins with a formal Prologue which would be unsuitable to anything but a work of some length; and the text is written on the back of a document which is likely to have been a long one¹. When we recall further that both fragments are of one provenance and are approximately of one date, we have a good *prima facie* case for treating them as parts of one and the same Collection. Internal evidence bears this out. (1) The use of λέγει Ἰησοῦς absolutely, as a formula to introduce Sayings is unique—though this argument is not very forcible since the Oxyrhynchus fragments are the only extant remains of any formal collection of Sayings of Jesus. (2) The peculiar relation of both to the canonical Gospels is the same in the character of their divergencies and resemblances alike². (3) Both show distinct traces of the influence of Hebrew literature³. (4) The general level of thought, the doctrinal development, and the colouring is equal in both fragments. And in pure style there is the same similarity: if the parallelistic form of the Sayings in **1** is not as uniformly present in **654**, this means no more than that at some points in his source the compiler of the Collection found much, and at others little parallelistic matter; and as a matter of fact at least one, if not two, Sayings in **654** are

¹ See *Ox. Pap.* IV, pp. 2, 10.

² See § 4 (pp. xxxiv ff.), where this subject is discussed in detail.

³ Pp. lxiii ff.

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cast in this shape (Sayings IV and V). Similarly the presence of a context in Saying V (and probably in Saying II), and the greater length of two of the Sayings in 654 are due to purely accidental causes. Here the compiler of the Collection might find short epigrammatic utterances, here longer Sayings which needed something of a context to bring out their meaning,—and would wish to include both alike in his “Treasury.”

All our evidence then, so far as it goes, distinctly favours the supposition that 654 is the first part of a literary Collection of Sayings, to which 1 also belonged.

§ 3. COLLECTIONS OF SAYINGS IN GENERAL.

Is the Oxyrhynchus Collection unique in Christian literature, or is it but one example of a numerous class? The answer to this question must obviously determine the standpoint from which we regard this document. And first we must remember that Collections of noteworthy Sayings are by no means unknown in literature generally. The Jews preserved the Sayings of their famous doctors in the Talmud and later in the Collection known as *Pirke Aboth*; and since Jewish colonies were to be found in many parts of Egypt, and Jewish influence was necessarily strong in the early Christian period, it is not impossible that the Oxyrhynchus Collection was formed, directly or indirectly, after a Hebraic model¹. But it is not necessary to assume this. The Egyptian also was naturally inclined to form Collections of Sayings, recording in aphoristic form the virtues and teaching of famous men; and the *Apophthegmata Patrum*² has come down to us as a remarkable fruit of this tendency, while the *Precepts of Ptah-hotep*³ is partly preserved to us as a somewhat similar

¹ Lock and Sanday, *Two Lectures*, p. 48.

² For a Greek text of the alphabetic recension see Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, LXV, cols. 71 ff. On the origin and date of this and other recensions see Butler, *Laus. Hist. of Palladius*, I, pp. 208 ff.

³ See Budge, *Literature of the Egyptians*, pp. 224 ff. To the same general class belong the *Maxims of Ani* (see *op. cit.* pp. 228 ff.).

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monument from the Dynastic Period. We need not therefore go outside Egypt to find the origin of such literature.

The discoverers have suggested that the Oxyrhynchus Collection may well have been but one of many such works and cite the *Logia* of Matthew and the *Logia Kyriaka* on which Papias commented as other examples of Collections of Sayings, though they regard the possibility of a connection between either of these and the document found by them as entirely remote. What, then, was the nature of the two works referred to, and were they in their general structure and scope similar to the Oxyrhynchus Collection? In this connection Dr Lock¹ has remarked that in the first and second centuries the term *λόγια* or *τὰ λόγια* with *Θεοῦ*, or *τοῦ Κυρίου*, or *Κυριακά* added, generally seems to mean either the Old Testament or the whole Gospel message, while the combination *λόγια Ἰησοῦ* is never found: accordingly he suggested (in 1897) that the true title of the Oxyrhynchus Collection was *λόγια Ἰησοῦ*²—a brilliant conjecture which was confirmed by the discovery of 654. But Papias³ in his notice of Mark's Gospel and Matthew's *Logia* seems to equate *λόγοι* and *λόγια*, though the latter term, no doubt, has the fuller meaning “*inspired Sayings*.” I therefore take *λόγια* and *λόγοι* alike to mean “*Sayings*.” The passage is very important for an investigation of the nature of the *Logia* of Matthew and the *Logia Kyriaka*: it may here be quoted in full. *καὶ τοῦθ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἔλεγεν· Μάρκος μὲν ἑρμηνευτῆς Πέτρου γενόμενος ὅσα ἐμνημόνευσεν ἀκριβῶς ἔγραψεν, οὐ μόντοι τάξει τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα· οὔτε γὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ Κυρίου, οὔτε παρηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ, ὕστερον δέ, ὡς ἔφην, Πέτρῳ· ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς περ σύνταξιν τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων. ὥστε οὐδὲν ἤμαρτεν Μάρκος, οὕτως ἔνια γράφας ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευσεν. ἐνὸς γὰρ ἐποιή-*

¹ *Two Lectures*, p. 16.

² For *λόγος* = ‘Saying’ (in our sense) cp. *Matth.* xv 12.

³ *ap.* Eusebius *H. E.* III, 39, 15, 16.

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σατο πρόνοιαν, τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἤκουσεν παραλιπεῖν ἢ ψεύσασθαι τι ἐν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἰστορήται τῷ Παπῖα περὶ τοῦ Μάρκου. περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ματθαίου ταῦτ' εἴρηται· Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο, ἡρμήνευσεν δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἡδύνατο ἕκαστος.

I am reminded that the view that Papias' work dealt not with Sayings of our Lord, but with Messianic prophecies—which, of course, occupy a larger place in *Matthew* than in any other Gospel—is now gaining considerable ground. It is impossible to enter here upon a discussion of the nature of Papias' work; nor am I qualified to do so. But surely the evidence before us goes to show that unrecorded Sayings, parables and acts of our Lord were the materials Papias collected and dealt with. Cp. the words of Eusebius where after recording the miraculous deliverance of Justus Barsabas he adds: (§ 11) καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκοντα παρατίθεται, ξένας τέ τινες παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτήρος καὶ διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τινα ἄλλα μυθικώτερα. It is difficult to see how such material and traditions, such as the death of St John the Divine, the incident of the woman “accused of many sins before the Lord” would be fitted into a disquisition on Messianic prophecies. Again, Papias as reported by Eusebius (III, 39. 4) tells us that: τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους, τί Ἀνδρέας ἢ τί Πέτρος εἶπεν ἢ τί Φίλιππος ἢ τί Θωμᾶς ἢ Ἰάκωβος ἢ τί Ἰωάννης ἢ Ματθαῖος ἢ τις ἕτερος τῶν τοῦ κυρίου μαθητῶν. It is doubtful if he would in this way obtain much to enrich a work on Messianic prophecies; but he would be likely to hear of many unrecorded Sayings, Discourses and the like. On the one hand Papias seems to disparage a side of Mark's work: it was composed for special needs, and the Sayings or discourses of the Lord were somewhat loosely and disjointedly set down (οὐχ ὡσπερ σύνταξι τῶν κυριακῶν ποιούμενος λόγων); on the other, he appears to find Matthew's work superior in this respect, though some difficulty in the rendering or interpretation of

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it arose from the use of the “Hebrew dialect” (*Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνετάξατο* [v.l. *συνεγράψατο*], *ἡρμήνευσεν δ’ αὐτὰ ὡς ἡδύνατο ἕκαστος*). When we recall that Papias is commenting on *Sayings* of the Lord we can hardly doubt the reason for this comparison between the two works as *συντάξεις λόγων*: he is choosing the *Logia* of Matthew as the subject of his Commentary¹ and explaining why he preferred this work to Mark’s Gospel. The remark *ἡρμήνευσεν δ’ αὐτὰ ὡς ἡδύνατο ἕκαστος* is accounted for by the fact that Papias proposes to give *ἐρμηνείαι* of his own: he implies, of course, that this interpretation had hitherto been ill done and that his own would be authoritative. The *Logia* of Matthew and the *λόγια Κυριακά* on which Papias commented are therefore, on this view, one and the same.

This identification is also made by Kirsopp Lake on different grounds². It is known that the Commentary of Papias was in five books, and Sir John Hawkins has pointed out³ that the First Gospel shows signs of an underlying document divided into five “perexs” or chapters, the ends of which appear in *Matth.* vii 28, xi 1, xiii 53, xix 1, xxvi 1—roughly in the form *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους*.... Presumably the underlying document is the *Logia* of Matthew, a fact which would account for the otherwise difficult ascription of the First Gospel to Matthew.

The *Logia* of Matthew and the *Logia Kyriaka* resolve themselves on this argument into Q, the non-Markan source of the First and Third Gospels. Now though there may be some disagreement as to the exact shape and

¹ Papias clearly worked on the basis of an accepted document and grouped his real material round those passages which it seemed to supplement and explain. Compare Papias’ own words *συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ἐρμηνείαις*, and the account of Eusebius (*H. E.* III, 39. 11) *καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡσὰν ἐκ παραδόσεως ἀγράφου...παρατέθειται, ξέναις τὲ τινας παραβολὰς τοῦ σωτήρος κ.τ.λ.*

² *Hibbert Journal*, III, pp. 337–8.

³ *Horae Synopticae*, 131–5.