

them to God? The wronged must be his own Avenger, and it is always, 'Gainst thee, thee only have I sinned.' If God has suffered the wrong, none but God can obtain revenge for it. And it is so between man and man. In this also we are crucified with Christ. No one can pay the price that will reconcile to thee the man that has done thee wrong. Thou too must tread the wine-press alone. Thou must see of the travail of thy soul and be satisfied. So when thou bringest thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that *thou hast aught against thy brother*, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.

But we have not touched the heart of the matter yet. What is this loneliness? It is the loneliness of the soul that craves for sympathy. Did you think that the loneliness of the Conqueror consisted simply in His solitary grandeur? 'A striking majestic figure!' We know the commentators' commonplaces. What is a striking majestic solitary figure to us? It is a God who craves for human sympathy, for human love, we need.

What is the wrong that we had done Him? We had simply withheld our love from Him. We had done Him, we could do Him, no other wrong

than that. He came to get back our love. He came to Calvary for no other end than that. And of course He came alone. Until He suffers and in suffering has His revenge upon us; until by His solitary sacrifice He wins back our love, He cannot but be alone. But He is not proud of His loneliness. Ah, God forbid. When the commentators tell us that His cry, 'I have trodden the wine-press alone,' is a proud boast, how utterly are the commentators astray. Listen to Him at the Supper: 'I will not drink of the fruit of this vine until I drink it new with you in My Father's Kingdom,' and yet 'with desire have I desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer.' Watch Him in the garden. He is only a stone's-throw away from them, but He must be alone. He must be alone, and yet He returns to them, returns to them again and again, and gently chides them, 'What, could ye not watch with Me one hour?'

He craves for sympathy, for the love of men. There was nothing else that brought Him to the Cross. Yet He must be alone. Until He wins the love He must be alone. We have not yet sounded the depth of distress in the words of Edom's Conqueror, 'I have trodden the wine-press alone.' But the Christian heart has been right. There is no sorrow like unto this sorrow.

The New Oxyrhynchus Sayings.

A TENTATIVE INTERPRETATION.¹

BY THE REV. H. B. SWETE, D.D., LITT.D., REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

In July 1897 I had the pleasure of lecturing in this place upon a series of sayings of our Lord which had been discovered on the site of Oxyrhynchus by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt.² The indefatigable zeal of these two Oxford scholars has now brought to light a second fragment, belonging

¹ A lecture delivered at the Divinity School, Cambridge, on 7th July 1904.

² See THE EXPOSITORY TIMES, viii. pp. 544 ff., 568.

apparently to the same collection though not to the same papyrus, which adds five or six new sayings to the seven previously given to the world. Through the courtesy of the discoverers, a proof of the new sayings, with their comments upon them, has been in my possession since April, and some of my spare time has been agreeably spent in an endeavour to interpret the treasure. The result, such as it is, is printed overleaf.

Reconstruction in the present instance is not only hazardous, but for the most part impracticable. The earlier discovery lent itself with comparative

new fragment, on the other hand, has been torn or cracked down the middle, and the right-hand side has disappeared; of the forty-two lines which

^a Jo. iv. 37, Apoc. xix. 9, xxi. 5, xxii. 6.
^b Rom. xiv. 9, Apoc. i. 18, ii. 8; cf. Jo. xi. 16, xx. 24 ff.

^c Jo. xx. 2, 18, 20, xxi. 7, 12.

^d Jo. xii. 4, 7, xviii. 37, xix. 13.

^e Ps. lii (liii). 2.

^f Mc. i. 27, x. 24, 32

^g Clem. *strom.* ii. 9. 45, v. 14. 97.

^h Clem. *strom.* vii. 2. 9; so ἐλκύειν in Cant.

i. 4, Jer. xxxviii. (xxxix). 2, Jo. vi. 44, xii. 32.

ⁱ Absolutely, as in Mt. xii. 38, xxiv. 14, Acts xx. 25.

^j Lc. xvii. 21.

^k 2 Cor. vi. 18.

See Kattenbusch, *das apost. Symbol* ii. p. 520 ff.

^l Cf. Mt. v. 14, Heb. xii. 22.

^m Plat. *Phaed.* 84 c; ὀκνεῖν, Acts ix. 38.

ⁿ Acts i. 7.

^o Mc. x. 31.

^p Mt. vii. 14.

^q Mt. x. 26, Lc. viii. 17.

^r Mt. ii. 8, x. 11; constr., Jo. xxi. 12.

^s The order of Mt. vi. 1—18 reversed.

^t Gal. iv. 10.

^u Mt. v. 12 etc., x. 42; 2 Jo. 8; for the future after βαλ.

μή see Col. ii. 8, Heb. iii. 12.

^v Jo. i. 17, etc.

^w Jo. xii. 32, xvi. 23, xx. 23.

^x Mc. iv. 11, Col. i. 26.

Cf. Clem. *strom.* v.

10. 64 μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ

οὐκοῦ μόνου.

Οὗτοι οἱ! λόγοι οἱ [ἀληθινοὶ^a οὓς ἐλά]||λησεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ ἀποθανῶν^b Ἰουδᾶ τῷ] | καὶ Θωμᾷ. καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος^c "Οστις] | ἂν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων ἀκούσῃ^d, θανάτου] | οὐ μὴ γεύσεται.
[Λέγει Ἰησοῦς] | Μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζη[τῶν τὸν πατέρα^e ἕως ἂν] | εὔρῃ, καὶ ὅταν εὔρῃ [θαμβείσθω^f. καὶ θαμ]||βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει^g, κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα]||ήσεται^h.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς Τίνες εἰσιν] | οἱ ἔλκοντες^h ὑμᾶς³ [πρὸς τὴν βασι-
λείανⁱ;] | ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρα[νῷ· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ] | τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ
οὐρ[ανοῦ καὶ πᾶν κτίσμα ὅ]||τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ὶν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ
καὶ] | οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης, οὗτοί οἱ ἔλκον]τες ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἡ
βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν] | ἐντὸς^j ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι^kν, καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν] |
γινῶ ταύτην εὐρή[σει. ἐὰν γὰρ ἀληθῶς] | ἑαυτοὺς γινώσκεισθε^l, [υἱοὶ
καὶ θυγατέρες] | ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς⁵ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ π[αντοκράτορος^k, καὶ] |.
γινώσκεσθε⁶ ἑαυτοὺς ἐν[τὸς τῆς πόλεως ὄντας⁷] | καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ἡ
πτ[όλις]^l.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς | Οὐκ ἀποκνήσει^m ἄνθ[ρωπος περὶ τῶν καὶ]||ρῶνⁿ
ἐπερωτήσαι⁷ πα[ρρησιαζόμενος, λη]ρῶν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[ς δόξης.
ὑμεῖς δὲ σιωπή]||σετε· ὅτι⁸ πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ] | οἱ
ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι⁹, καὶ [ὀλίγοι εὐρήσου]||σιν^p.

Λέγει Ἰησοῦς [Πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσ]||θεν τῆς ὀψεὸς σου καὶ [τὸ
κεκρυμμένον] | ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφθήσεται⁹. οὐ γὰρ ἐσ]||τιν κρυπτόν
ὃ ο[ὐ φανερόν γενήσεται,^q] | καὶ τεθαμμένον¹⁰ ὃ ο[ὐκ ἐγερθήσεται]||.

[Ἐξ]ετάζουσιν^r αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ | λέ[γουσιν Πῶς
νηστεύ]σωμεν; καὶ πῶς προσ[ευξώ]μεθα; καὶ πῶς [ἐλεημοσύνην
ποιή]σωμεν^s; κ[αὶ τί παρατηρησώ]μεθα^t τῶν τοιούτων; λέγει Ἰη-
σοῦς [Βλέπετε μὴ τὸν μισ[θὸν ἀπολ]εῖτε^u. μὴ ποιεῖτ[ε μηδὲν εἰ
μὴ | τὰ τ]ῆς ἀληθείας^x· ἂν^v [γὰρ ποιήτε ταῦτα, γινώ]σκεσθε μυστήριον^w
ἀποκεκρ[υμμένον^z. λέ]γω ὑμῖν Μα[κάρι]ός⁷ ἐστ[ιν]¹² ὃς ἂν...

· · · · ·
· · · · ·
¹ ΟΙΤΟΙΟΙΟΙ ² ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥCH ³ ΗΜΑΣ ⁴ ΓΝΩΣΕCΘΑΙ ⁵ ΥΜΕΙC *surpraser.*
⁶ ΓΝΩCΘΕ ⁷ ΕΠΕΡΩΤΗCΕ ⁸ ΟΤΙ *surpraser.* ⁹ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΦΗCΕΤ..
¹⁰ ΘΕΘΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ ¹¹ ... ΕΙΤΑΙ ¹² Line 41 shews ω εCΤ under οC εCΤ,
and line 42 IN under εCΤ

ease to conjectural restoration; two only of the seven sayings were seriously damaged, and with very few exceptions both the beginnings and the endings of the lines had been preserved. The

it contained, every one has lost its ending, while the last eleven are defective also at the beginning. Thus even the average length of the lines can only be conjectured; but, judging from the four or

five which can be restored with some degree of confidence, the average number of letters may well have been twenty-nine or thirty, and the normal length twelve syllables or that of an iambic trimeter, one of the measures, as Dr. Rendel Harris¹ has shown, which professional scribes followed in dividing their matter into *stichi*. This probability must be borne in mind by the interpreter; no filling up of the lacunæ is admissible which makes any line considerably exceed twelve syllables or thirty letters. But the guidance thus afforded does not, of course, guarantee any security that the lacunæ have been rightly filled. I offer my attempt not as even a provisional restoration, but merely as an interpretation suggested by the letters which survive. Let me add that I have freely used the helps afforded by the editors and the German and English scholars whom they have consulted. It will be unnecessary to acknowledge these debts in detail, because I may assume that the fourth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, or at least the pamphlet which contains the new sayings,² is in the hands of everyone who is here to-day.

The first four lines and a half of the new papyrus are introductory. The fragment of 1897 began in the middle of a saying; the fragment of 1904 begins with the opening words of the collection, or of one of its books or sections. We now know that in the third century there existed a collection of Λόγοι Ἰησοῦ which was in circulation at Oxyrhynchus and probably elsewhere in the valley of the Nile. The sayings were not simply jotted down in the note-book of a private collector, but were prepared for publication. Perhaps this might have been inferred from the book-form and the uncial script of the earlier fragment, but the formal introduction which has now been found places the fact beyond reasonable doubt.

'These (the compiler begins) are the true sayings which Jesus who liveth and was dead spake to Judas Thomas.'

Even the first sentence presents difficulties. Οἱ τοῖτοι οἱ λόγοι is intolerable, and the editors propose to delete the first article; I cannot but think that οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι, which they mention but dismiss, is a more probable correction. After λόγοι οἱ it is natural to supply ἀληθινούς, and after ὁ ζῶν the words καὶ ἀποθανών are suggested by more than

one passage in the New Testament, while ὁ ζῶν κύριος is an unusual if not unprecedented combination. But the chief problem of the sentence lies in the lacuna which precedes Θωμᾶ. Here I gladly accept Professor Lake's brilliant conjecture, Ἰουδᾶ τῷ καὶ Θωμᾶ. 'Judas Thomas,' it will be remembered, is read by the Curetonian Syriac in Jn 14²², and the form Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς occurs in the *Acts of Thomas* (§ 11), for which Mr. Burkitt has claimed a Syriac original,³ and in the Syriac document quoted in a Greek translation by Eusebius, *H.E.* i. 13. I will leave it to others to consider whether this conjecture is consistent with the Egyptian origin or circulation of the sayings.

The prologue proceeds: 'And the Lord said to him, Whosoever shall hearken to these sayings, he shall in nowise taste of death.'

This is not one of the λόγοι, but a preliminary saying, perhaps adapted from Jn 8⁵¹, Ἐάν τις τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον τηρήσῃ θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ (or, as the words are recast in the next verse, οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται θανάτου) εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ἀκούειν λόγου is but another expression for τηρεῖν λόγον, just as γεῖσθαι θανάτου is another expression for θάνατον θεωρεῖν. I see no improbability in the supposition that the second century compiler has modified the words of a canonical Gospel to suit his purpose, and represented them as addressed in this form to St. Thomas. That he has gone to the Fourth Gospel for his text is a suggestive circumstance, and accords with other indications which the fragment shows of acquaintance with the Johannine books.

The brief prologue is followed by the first saying: 'Jesus saith, Let not him who seeks the Father cease until he find Him; and having found Him, let him be amazed; and being amazed he shall reign, and reigning shall rest.'

The substance of this saying has long been familiar to us through its use by Clement of Alexandria, who (*Strom.* v. 4, § 97) quotes it in the form Οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν ἕως ἂν εὕρῃ, εὕρων δὲ θαμβηθήσεται, θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαύσεται. In an earlier book of the *Stromateis* (ii. 9, § 45) he attributes what is apparently part of the same saying to the Gospel according to the Hebrews: κὰν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίων εἰαγγελίῳ, 'Ὁ θυμᾶσας βασιλεύσει,' γέγραπται, 'καὶ ὁ

¹ *Stichometry*, p. 15 ff.

² *New Sayings of Jesus*, etc. London: Froude. Price 1s.

³ *Journal of Theological Studies*, p. 280 ff.

βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται.' The newly discovered form agrees in the main with Clement's longer quotation, but is slightly fuller; after ζητῶν there is a gap of thirteen or fourteen letters, of which eight or nine were probably occupied by the object of search. As the editors observe, τὴν βασιλείαν is too long; they suggest τὴν ζήην, but perhaps τὸν θεόν is to be preferred, or, better still, τὸν πατέρα, for which there is just room. In the next line the exigencies of the space seem to require θαμβεῖσθω rather than θαμβηθήσεται, and the imperative perhaps agrees better with the foregoing πανσόδθω. Clement, who begins with παύσεται, has kept to the future throughout.

What is the θάμβος which is enjoined on those who seek and find God? If we may judge from the New Testament use of θάμβος, θαμβεῖσθαι, ἐκθαμβεῖσθαι, ἐκθαμβος, this group of words indicates the sudden sensation akin on the one hand to fear (Μκ 10²⁴ 14³³), and on the other to ecstasy (Ac 3¹⁰) which attends the unexpected, especially when it belongs to the region of the supernatural or the Divine. Thus in the present saying θαμβεῖσθω indicates with precision the rush of mingled fear and joy which ought to follow the great εὕρηκα of life, the discovery of God.

The second saying is new, and of the deepest interest, but so badly mutilated that more than one line of interpretation is possible. I offer that which on the whole I prefer.

'Jesus saith, Who are they that draw you (MS., us) to the kingdom? The kingdom is in heaven; but they that are on earth and the birds of the heaven and every creature that is under the earth and in Hades and the fishes of the sea, these are they that draw you to it. And the kingdom of heaven is within you, and whosoever shall know himself shall find it; for if ye shall truly know yourselves, ye are the sons and daughters of the Father Almighty, and ye shall know yourselves to be in the city of God, and ye are the city.'

The key to the general meaning lies in οἱ ἔλκοντες. Ἐλκεῖν occurs but twice in the New Testament (Ac 21⁸⁰, Ja 2⁶), and both times in the sense of dragging a resisting body. But it is patient of another use; it may equally well describe the attractive or magnetic power which draws the soul towards a person or a goal. In this sense, it is true, ἐλκύειν seems to be more usual, cf. e.g. Jn 6⁴⁴ ἐν μὴ ὁ πατήρ . . . ἐλκύσῃ αὐτόν,

ib. 12³² πάντας ἐλκύσω πρὸς ἐμαυτόν. But ἔλκειν, 'to draw,' is well attested; thus in 4 Mac 14¹³ a mother's στοργή is represented as ἔλκουσα πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν σπλάγχων συνπάθειαν, and Clement (Strom. vii. 2, § 9) speaks of men as τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἐλκόμενοι. But if οἱ ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς in our saying are 'they who attract you,' how shall we fill up the lacuna that follows? Does the Speaker refer to the forces which attract men to the world, or to those which attract them to God? Shall we proceed πρὸς τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (or τὰ ἐπίγεια), or πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν? At first sight the broken lights of the next few lines seem to direct us to the former, in which case the sense would be: 'the kingdom is in heaven, but you are drawn to the present world by the visible creation about you'—a commonplace with every preacher. But when the words are studied more closely, a subtler and more suggestive thought emerges: 'the kingdom is in heaven, it is spiritual and invisible and belongs to another order; yet the visible creation, the common objects of outward life, rightly used and understood, have the power of directing you to God and things above; or, as St. Paul (Ro 1²⁰) expresses the same truth: τὰ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἣ τε αἰδὸς αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεότης. The physical creation ought to be an ally and not an adversary to the soul that strives to attain the kingdom of God—a doctrine never more needful than in our own age.

Furthermore, the Speaker continues, the kingdom of God is not only in heaven. It is within men, and all that tends to self-knowledge attracts them to it. 'Know yourselves aright, and you are the children of God; you belong to the City of God, nay, you yourselves constitute that City.'

The study of Nature, the study of Man, are forces which in loyal disciples make for righteousness, drawing them to the highest and best things, and not, as in others, distracting attention from them.

But if this view of the second saying is accepted, opinions will differ as to the details. The two most doubtful points seem to me to be the insertion of τοῦ παντοκράτορος after τοῦ πατρός and the use of πόλις in the last two lines. Ὁ πατήρ ὁ παντοκράτωρ is a title of God which, though common in Christian writings from the second century onwards, has no parallel in the New Testament, where παντοκράτωρ is used, as in the LXX, only in connexion with Κύριος or ὁ Θεός.

Yet the phrase *υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ παντοκράτορος* finds some justification in St. Paul's version of more than one Old Testament promise (2 Co 6¹⁸ *ἔσομαι ἑμῖν εἰς πατέρα καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας, λέγει Κύριος παντοκράτωρ*). If it is to be accepted in our saying, I fear it must be regarded as an echo of St. Paul's words which has found its way into the saying in the course of transmission—a not very satisfactory admission, but one which I am in fairness bound to make. *Ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ἡ πόλις*, which is due to Professor Blass, presents a thought which is not unknown to the Gospels or to the first series of Oxyrhynchus sayings. It is latent in St. Matthew's *πόλις ἐπάνω ὁρους κειμένη*, and in the *πόλις οἰκοδομημένη ἐπ' ἄκρου ὁρους ὑψηλοῦ* of the sixth so-called 'logion.' Even the form is after the manner of our Lord's teaching; as He said to His disciples, *Ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς* and *Ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου*, so conceivably He might have said, *Ὑμεῖς ἐστὲ ἡ πόλις τοῦ Θεοῦ*. Yet, as the words stand in the saying before us, they are abrupt and strange, and the archaic spelling of *πόλις* increases our doubt.

The third saying is not less difficult to reconstruct.

'Jesus saith, A man will not hesitate to inquire boldly about the seasons, prating of the place of glory. But ye shall hold your peace; for many that are first shall be last, and the last first, and few shall find it.'

So on the whole I venture to interpret. The general sense is fixed by the last two lines, which may be almost certainly restored, *ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται πρῶτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι*—the exact words, as the editors remark, of Mk 10³¹ according to the reading of the best MSS. That the saying ends thus shows that the Speaker is discouraging undue confidence in reference to the final award; and in view of this I propose to adopt some such ending as *καὶ ὀλίγοι ἐνρήσουσιν*, rather than the editors' *καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔξουσιν*, which does not seem to be quite relevant to the purpose of the preceding words. But it is the first half of the sentence which gives the interpreter serious trouble. All would be straightforward if we could ignore the lacunæ and read simply *Οὐκ ἀποκινήσει ἄνθρωπος ἐπερωτῆσαι περὶ τοῦ τόπου*. But on either side of the infinitive there is a gap of half a line which must be filled, and to add to our difficulty, each gap is followed by the letters *ρων* while the second

begins with the letters *πα*. Under these conditions our choice of words is very limited. *Περὶ τῶν καιρῶν* is suggested by such passages as Mk 13³³ *οὐκ οἴδατε πότε ὁ καιρὸς ἐστίν*, and Ac 1⁷ *οὐχ ὑμῶν γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς*. If *ληρεῖν* is not a New Testament word, yet *λήρος* occurs in Lk 24¹¹. But I set no store by either of these conjectures, and use them merely as stopgaps, which may be displaced as soon as something better has been found. For *ὁ τόπος τῆς δόξης* I can quote no authority,¹ but *ὁ τόπος* is illustrated by Jn 14² *πορεύομαι εἰτοιμάσαι τόπον ὑμῖν*, and Ac 1²⁵ *πορεύθηναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον*; and *τῆς δόξης* by Jn 17²² *τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς*.

The fourth saying has been restored by Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt with complete success.

'Jesus saith, Everything that is not before thy face and that which is hidden from thee shall be revealed; for there is nothing hidden which shall not be made manifest, or buried which shall not be raised.'

Like more than one of the former group of Oxyrhynchus sayings, this saying is closely akin to one in the canonical Gospels. It reminds us at once of Mt 10²⁶ *οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστιν κεκαλυμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, καὶ κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται*, and Lk 8¹⁷ *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κρυπτόν ὃ οὐ φανερόν γενήσεται οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον ὃ οὐ μὴ γνωσθῇ καὶ εἰς φανερόν ἔλθῃ*. Our saying blends elements which are to be found in each of these. But it has also features of its own. *Πᾶν τὸ μὴ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ὀψεως σου* is interesting for its use of the Johannine word *ὄψις*; and the ending *οὐ γάρ ἐστιν . . . τεθαμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἐγερθήσεται* presents a striking metaphor to which the Gospels offer no parallel. Does it refer to the doctrine of the Resurrection? is the thought that of Jn 5²⁸ *πάντες οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις . . . ἐκπορεύονται*? The Resurrection may be in the background of the words, but if they were spoken during the Ministry, I incline to the belief that they refer, as the Synoptic sayings usually do, to one of the incidents of Galilean life. It was no uncommon thing for treasure to be buried in the ground for the sake of security; we recall Mt 13⁴⁴ *ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν θησαυρῷ κεκρυμμένῳ ἐν τῷ ἀργῷ*. From time to time in northern Palestine the spade of the labourer turns up such a hoard, and I have in my possession a tetradrachm which

¹ A colleague reminds me that I have overlooked Clement of Rome's *τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης*.

was found buried somewhere in the Lebanon some five and thirty years ago. 'Nothing is buried which shall not be raised,' acquires a new meaning in this light; buried silver or gold may escape discovery to the end of time, but character, life, truth, however long concealed, must in the end come to the surface and fulfil their destiny.

We have now reached the last of these sayings. It has suffered more severely than the rest, but enough remains to excite the greatest interest.

'His disciples enquire of Him and say, How are we to fast? and how are we to pray? and how are we to give alms? and of such duties what are we to observe? Jesus saith, See that ye lose not your reward. Do nothing save the things that belong to the truth, for if ye do these, ye shall know a hidden mystery. I say unto you, Blessed is the man who . . .'

This saying takes rank with the second in point of originality and importance. It is an answer to a question which happily has been fairly well preserved. The question seems to have arisen out of some instruction upon almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, similar to that which we find in the Sermon on the Mount, if not identical with it. We can imagine the circumstances. After the crowd had dispersed and our Lord was again alone with the Twelve, one or more of His disciples—Thomas, as the prologue suggests, or more probably Peter, perhaps in company with Andrew and the two sons of Zebedee (Mk 13¹⁴)—appealed to Him for more definite teaching on the three great acts of righteousness to which He had referred. The Pharisaic scribes had laid down definite rules for the discharge of these duties, and they looked to their Master for similar guidance. The strong word *ἐξεράζειν*, used in this sense only in Jn 20¹², indicates a desire to press their suit unduly, to examine, cross-question, and almost to catechise the Master on these matters, and force Him to prescribe a system of nicely-balanced regulations. How, *i.e.* after what manner, were His disciples to fulfil their obligations? The motive which prompted their demand is shown by the use of *παρατηρεῖσθαι*; the Twelve were still under the influence of the Pharisaism which had been the religious teacher of their youth, and they not un-naturally sought to foist the spirit of legalism into the new teaching. We are reminded of St. Paul's words to the Galatians, 4¹⁰ *ἡμέρας παρατηρεῖσθε*

καὶ μῆνας καὶ καιροὺς καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς φοβοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, μὴ πως εἰκῇ κεκοπίκα εἰς ὑμᾶς.

If the question has been rightly interpreted, the general sense of the answer may be conjectured. In such a demand the Master would discover a temper the very opposite of that which He laboured to produce. Those who could make it had failed to grasp the first lessons of the kingdom of God. To use St. Paul's later phraseology, they looked to be justified by works of law, and not by a righteousness based upon the principle of faith. Against such a perversion of His teaching the Lord would assuredly have made a stand. But in what words? Along what line of thought would He have carried His questioners to a better understanding of His position? The keynote of His answer is struck by *τῆς ἀληθείας*, which survives to show that though the question may have arisen out of the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's reply was in the terms of the Johannine teaching. To the bare performance of certain prescribed acts He opposed the doing of the Truth, which both the Fourth Gospel (3²¹) and the First Epistle of St. John (1⁶) represent as the first condition of life in Christ. No mere acts of fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, no formal observance of external duties, could secure the Divine reward, which depends on the assimilation and fulfilment of the Truth itself. The next line seems to describe the results of a life regulated by this principle, but we catch no more than a broken echo in which the word 'hidden' has a place. Professor Lake suggests, 'and ye shall eat the hidden manna,' and there is much to be said for this; like the reference to 'the Truth,' it is Johannine, coming directly from the Apocalypse, a book which, as we know from the Letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, was highly prized by some Christian communities in the second century. But there is no obvious connexion between 'doing the truth' and 'eating the manna'; in the message to the Church at Pergamum the promise of the manna is apposite; it is a solatium for the loss of the *εἰδωλόθυστα*, a heavenly banquet reserved for those who refused the dainties and the social enjoyments of the pagan guild-feasts. No such sequence of thought is possible here. I prefer therefore to read *γνώσεσθε μυστήριον ἀποκεκρυμμένον*. For *μυστήριον* there is Synoptic authority (Mk 4¹¹ = Mt 13⁴ = Lk 8¹⁰), while the exact phrase *μυστ ἀποκεκρυμμένον* occurs twice in the Pauline Epistles (Eph 3⁹, Col 1²⁶). It is true that in these passages

the article is used, but in a saying which, if genuine, presumably belongs to an early stage of the Galilean ministry, the anarthrous *μυστήριον ἀποκεκρυμμένον* is quite appropriate. The connexion between the Truth and a yet hidden mystery is not hard to trace. To do the Truth, to grasp and live the great principles of the gospel, is to win an entrance into that which is yet secret but will presently be revealed, the higher life behind the veil of sense.

In these remarks I have not concealed my impression that the new sayings are substantially genuine. That they have assumed their present form under the influence of the canonical Gospels, possibly also of the Apocalypse and certain of the Pauline Epistles, is not altogether incredible, even if we assent to the judgment of the editors that the compilation is not later than the middle of the second century. But, admitting the presence of canonical elements, there remains a large residuum which is at once new and after the manner of our Lord's earlier teaching. This is especially apparent in the second and fifth sayings, which it is difficult to regard as the creation of subapostolic times. 'The kingdom of God is in heaven, but it is also within you; all nature, your own nature, rightly interpreted, are magnets which attract you to God.' 'Principles of action are to be considered rather than formal acts; the Truth itself is the sufficient guide of life, and to follow it here is the one condition of being admitted to the fuller knowledge of the vision of God.' Are these thoughts such as could have had their origin in Christian circles, Catholic or heretical, within the sixty years which followed the death of St. John?

But if we allow the claim of the compiler that these sayings are in their substance *λόγοι Ἰησοῦ*, from what source or sources shall we suppose him to have derived his treasure? The editors have discussed this point at length, and I will not repeat what they have written except so far as it is necessary to do so for the purpose of making my meaning clear.

We have seen that a part of the first saying is quoted by Clement of Alexandria in a somewhat different form as from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt anticipate the inference that the other sayings are from the same Gospel, and, as it appears to me, they successfully dispose of it. It is not even certain that the first

saying was taken as it stands from that Gospel; it agrees more nearly with Clement's second quotation, which is anonymous; indeed, the agreement is so close that Clement may have taken his quotation from this very collection of which fragments have been found at Oxyrhynchus. More importance may be attached to the introductory question which precedes the fifth of the present sayings. It has the appearance of being taken from some narrative of the Ministry, where the Lord's answer would naturally be prefaced by a reference to the occasion which called it forth. It may be argued that the compiler has simply transcribed the passage, changing the *ὁ δὲ ἔφη* or *ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν* of the narrator into his usual formula, *Ἰησοῦς λέγει*. There is a similar instance of an answer preceded by a question in the homily known as the Second Epistle of Clement of Rome (2 Co 12 *ἐπερωτηθεὶς γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ὑπὸ τίνος πότε ἤξει αὐτοῦ ἡ βασιλεία, εἶπεν κ.τ.λ.*), which Lightfoot believed to have been taken from the Gospel according to the Egyptians. On the other hand, it is conceivable that an *agraphon* might have carried with it the question which it answered when (as in the present case) the answer would not have been intelligible apart from the question.

Thus, while it is possible that certain of the sayings were excerpted from non-canonical Gospels, there is no convincing evidence that this was so; it is open to us to believe that the compiler was indebted wholly or chiefly to the floating traditions of the second century—traditions based on the recollections of those who had heard the Lord, or who, like Papias, had made it their business to inquire from survivors of the first generation what the apostles and other disciples had said about Him.

There remains the question how we are to understand the compiler's claim that the sayings were addressed to St. Thomas. Dr. Grenfell and Dr. Hunt regard the short preface with which the new fragment begins as introductory to the whole collection. I venture to suggest that it opens a fresh book or section, which, for whatever reason, the compiler has seen fit to connect with the Apostle Thomas. Possibly the whole collection was entitled *Λόγοι Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τοὺς δώδεκα*, and the name of one of the Twelve was associated with each section. Such an arrangement would be a comparatively innocent example of the tendency which led a second-century writer

to entitle his Church Order *Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, or which has given us Gospels of Thomas, Peter, James, and the like. If it be asked why these particular sayings were allocated to Thomas, the true answer will probably be that the distribution of the sayings among the several apostles was largely a matter of the compiler's convenience. In some cases, of course, he may have been guided by tradition, and in others by the characters of the sayings. It is not difficult to imagine the first and perhaps the second of these sayings as actually addressed to the Thomas of the Fourth Gospel. But no special

aptitude to St. Thomas can be discovered in the third and fourth, while the fifth, by the very terms in which it is introduced, belongs to the disciples as a body. Thus the arrangement which has assigned these sayings to St. Thomas must be regarded as chiefly arbitrary; it illustrates a fashion of the age, but has little further significance. The sayings must be judged severally, each on its own merits, without regard to the order in which they stand or their supposed connexion with a particular apostle. So judged, they will be found, I venture to think, not wholly unworthy of the Supreme Teacher of mankind.

Love's Offering.

Before Communion.

BY THE REV. W. M. RANKIN, B.D., GLASGOW.

'So they made him a supper there.'—John xii. 2.

THERE are three incidents in this chapter that show the interest roused by the personality of Jesus, and that allow us to gauge the depth and extent of the impression produced by Him. The anointing by Mary (the incident we go on to consider) is a proof of the love felt by His intimate friends for the Master. The triumphal entry into the city shows the enthusiasm that stirred the popular mind. And the influence on the outside world is expressed in the desire of the Greeks to see Jesus.

1. What was the occasion of this Supper?

It was a tribute to Christ by His friends, a mark of the affection and esteem with which He was regarded by them. The Evangelist John points out the growing hatred that fell on Christ, but the devotion He inspired in His followers is recorded with equal care. Christ does not leave men neutral and colourless. We come to be *for* Him or *against* Him.

The feast took place at Bethany—'so they made him a supper there.' Mark (chap. 14) tells us it took place in the house of Simon the leper. Perhaps he had been healed by Christ, and was taking occasion to express his gratitude to his Healer. Or, possibly, this was a feast in which some of the village folk wished to signalize their appreciation of Christ, and, in particular, their

wondering regard and gratitude for the reappearance among them of their friend Lazarus, whom Jesus had just before raised from the dead. In that case, never were the freedom of a city and the banquet that accompanies the honour bestowed more worthily. When the Saviour has done some signal act of goodness and restoration, don't fail to show your gratitude. All worship should be eucharistic or laden with thanksgiving. Jesus on an occasion like this cannot be too highly honoured by us. 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power and riches and wisdom and honour and glory and blessing!' (Rev 5¹²).

2. What elements formed the company that was gathered at this feast? They were varied. The sweet and the bitter were mingled. Lazarus was there and Judas! One house may hold very different people. The same Communion Table may draw together characters not only dissimilar but opposed. Lazarus was an object of curiosity and wonder to many (v.⁹). Christ's eye would rest on him with fresh delight.

It is noteworthy that every character in John's Gospel is in place and drawn in consistency with itself. You can recall no word spoken by Lazarus: he is everywhere silent, surrounded by an atmosphere of wonder and reserve. A man, I should say, not wanting in loveableness but in force; a