

the synagogue that they learnt that Apollos had been seen in company with Priscilla and Aquila, and proceeding to their house they found, not Apollos, but Paul. The opening words of xix 1 are surely meant to connect the preceding narrative with what follows, and to suggest some such explanation of Paul's encounter with the twelve.

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### THE SECOND OXYRHYNCHUS SAYING.

λέγει Ἰ[ούδας· τίνες ἄρα  
 10 οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς [καὶ πότε ἐλεύσεται]  
 ἡ βασιλεία (ἡ) ἐν οὐρα[νοῖς; λέγει αὐτῷ Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·]  
 τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅ]  
 τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ι ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ]  
 οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης, οὗτοι οἱ ἔλκον-]  
 15 τες ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν]  
 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι· [καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν]  
 γνῶ ταύτην εὐρή[σκει· καὶ εὐρόντες αὐτήν]  
 ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε [ὅτι υἱοὶ καὶ κληρονόμοι]  
 ἐστέ ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ [παντοκράτορος, καὶ]  
 20 γνώσε(ε)θε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν [θ(ε)ῷ ὄντας καὶ θ(ε)ὸν ἐν ὑμῖν]  
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ἠπτο[. . . .

Judas saith : Who, then, are they who draw us, and when shall come the Kingdom which is in Heaven? Jesus saith to him : The birds of the air and of the beasts whatsoever is under the earth or upon the earth and the fishes of the sea, these are they who draw you ; and the Kingdom of Heaven is within you ; and whosoever shall know himself shall find it ; and when ye have found it, ye shall know that ye are sons and heirs of the almighty Father, and ye shall know that ye are in God and God in you ; and ye are . . .

Critics have differed widely as to the meaning to be attached to ἔλκοντες (l. 10), and this disagreement together with the mutilation of the Saying and the absence of any close parallel has given opportunity for a wide range of reconstructions. The renderings of ἔλκοντες may be roughly grouped as follows : (1) G H<sup>1</sup> and Swete<sup>2</sup> understand

<sup>1</sup> *Ox. Pap.* iv p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Expos. Times* xv 491.

'attract' or 'influence'; (2) Taylor<sup>1</sup> apparently takes the word in a literal sense, 'pull up' or 'draw'; (3) Bartlet<sup>2</sup> would interpret it 'persecute'; (4) Deissmann renders 'drag' (sc. before judgement-seats).

These views need only a summary consideration. Taylor's rendering assumes an extraordinary *naïveté* on the part of the author of this Saying: that the birds of the air might be said to draw us up to Heaven is perhaps admissible; but to claim that the beasts on the earth and under the earth also do this, is to go very far, while the admission of the fishes of the sea to this privilege is surely intolerable. Bartlet's reconstruction fails on the grounds given by G H, that authority over brute creation hardly justifies the command 'fear not them who persecute you'. And it should be noted that the parallel advanced by Dr Bartlet from *Barn.* vi 12 and 18 only attributes this authority (following *Genesis*) to mankind in general. Deissmann's restoration<sup>3</sup> yields to none in ingenuity. But is it likely that unbelievers would be represented as making such a taunt? Surely the whole course of early Christian history shews that those who 'dragged Christians before judgement-seats' failed to understand this very point that 'the Kingdom was in Heaven'. The reconstruction of ll. 11-14, also, has a strange sound and is an ineffective reply to a supposed taunt of the persecutors.

Bruston<sup>4</sup> fails to see any connexion between birds, beasts, and fishes and the Kingdom, but finds a double opposition (1) between birds and fishes, (2) between the Kingdom and those who draw us to the earth. But (a) Matthew (as we shall see) gives a key to the connexion between the birds and the Kingdom; (b) *Psalms* viii, with many other passages,<sup>5</sup> shews that birds, beasts, and fishes are conventionally representative of the whole lower animate creation. The sense in which G H and Swete understand ἔλκοντες is surely the right one: the latter puts forward a peculiarly satisfying parallel from Clement (*Strom.* vii 2 § 9) who speaks of men as τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι ἐλκόμενοι.

The discoverers<sup>6</sup> base their restoration 'on the close parallelism which we have supposed to exist between l. 15 -τες ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν and, on the other hand, l. 10 οἱ ἐλκοντες ἡμᾶς followed in l. 11 by ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρανῷ'. Such a view, implying as it does that the Saying was in the form of question and answer, seems eminently reasonable; and the parallelism is so close that it is unnatural to restore the end of l. 14 in any way which does not complete the parallelism with [ἐλκον]τες. It is only in minor points that Grenfell

<sup>1</sup> *Oxyrh. Sayings* pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ox. Pap.* l. c.

<sup>3</sup> *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* S. 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Fragm. d'un anc. recueil des Paroles de Jésus* p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Hesiod *W. and D.*, Job xii 7, 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 6.

and Hunt's restoration seems open to criticism. (1) In l. 10 the papyrus has ἡμᾶς and in l. 15 ὑμᾶς. The change may of course be due simply to the confusion of the two pronouns which is so familiar in papyri. Nevertheless, a restoration which can retain the MS reading has at least a slight advantage.

(2) In l. 15 [οἱ ἔλκον]τες ὑμᾶς is separated from ἡ βασιλεία by καί. Does not this imply that in the parallel l. 10 οἱ ἐ. ἡμᾶς also was followed by καί, or, in other words, must not the question have been a double one?

These two points seem to require for ll. 9-11 some such restoration as that printed in the text, and this restoration must now be considered. If the reading ἡμᾶς . . . ὑμᾶς of the papyrus is right, the question must have been put to Jesus by some person: it cannot be a rhetorical or repeated question<sup>1</sup> as GH regard it. I have therefore taken λέγει Ἰ[. . . of l. 9, which at first sight (but not necessarily) suggests the familiar λέγει Ἰησοῦς, as introducing the *question*, and have filled the otherwise difficult lacuna in l. 11 with the formula λέγει αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς which introduces the *answer*. Why Judas has been selected as the interrogator will become clear as the restoration advances. Since the answer is in two parts connected by καί, it is highly probable that the question also was similarly divided. Leaving on one side, then, the first part of the question 'Who are they who draw us?' with its answer 'These are they who draw you', we must ask what was the second question which is answered by 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you'. This answer is familiar enough. Luke xvii 21 has: ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως . . . ἰδοὺ γὰρ, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν. Since Luke, then, gives the reply contained in our Saying as the answer to a definite question, and since we have good reason for believing that our Saying contained a *double* question, is it not almost certain that the second part of the question, which we are seeking to ascertain, was also similar to the question answered in Luke by this remarkable logion? I have therefore restored 'And when shall come (or cometh) the Kingdom which is in Heaven?' I have supposed that Judas ('not Iscariot') is the interrogator. Luke, indeed, makes the Saying 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you' part of the reply to the Pharisees. This is not likely to be historically exact, inasmuch as the Pharisees were the last people of whom it could be said that the Kingdom was within them. It is possible, then, that Luke had before him a notice of the Pharisees asking 'When is this Kingdom to appear?' and also the detached

<sup>1</sup> In any case it is most unlikely that Jesus would have included Himself with those who are to be 'drawn' by the birds, beasts, and fishes.

Saying ἡ β. ἐντὸς ἡμῶν, and that he somewhat uncritically associated the two. Judas, however, appears in John xiv 22 with a somewhat similar question: λέγει<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ Ἰούδας . . . κύριε, τί γέγονεν ὅτι ἡμῖν μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτὸν καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κόσμῳ; Here is latent the same contrast between a material and a spiritual view of the Kingdom, which we have in the Oxyrhynchus Saying. So too Hippolytus<sup>2</sup> has preserved a notice of a question asked by Judas concerning the Kingdom, τοῦ οὖν κυρίου διηγουμένου περὶ τῆς μελλούσης τῶν ἀγίων βασιλείας, . . . καταπλαγείς ὁ Ἰούδας . . . ἔφη· καὶ τίς ἄρα ὄψεται ταῦτα;

If the grounds I have given for my restoration are right, we must regard the Saying as an extract from a larger context. The question 'Who are they who draw us?' must have been suggested by some preceding Saying of Jesus which needed explanation: this, indeed, is true of all the restorations I have seen.

We are now in a position to consider the remarkable introduction of the birds of the air, the fishes, and the beasts. These, as we have seen, are typical of the lower animate creation; but what is meant by saying that these 'draw' or 'influence' us? The answer surely is to be found in Matt. vi 26-30, where the fowls of the air—and even the lilies of the field—may be said to 'draw' us because they teach faith in providence: if men are not like the birds in this respect, they lack faith. Dr Taylor has aptly quoted Job xii 7-8 also, a passage which both establishes our present point, the power of lower creation to teach man, and also may well be responsible for the language of the first half of the Saying.

The second part of the Saying is less direct and restoration is consequently more hazardous: no detailed criticism, therefore, of the published suggestions is likely to serve any good purpose, and it will be sufficient to remark on the readings given in the text as they occur. The restoration of G H in l. 16 is obviously right, and that of Heinrici in l. 17 most probably so. In l. 18 I have substituted κληρονόμοι (cf. Luke x 25, Rom. viii 16-17) for θυγατέρες (Swete, Taylor) which has—I believe—no Synoptic parallel. In l. 19 the discoverers' παντοκράτορος may well be right, though the epithet is a matter of minor importance. Lines 20-21 are difficult: in the former only the suggestion of Heinrici ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν seems plausible. Following his suggestion, I had once thought of ἐν ἐμοὶ ὄντας καμὲ ἐν ὑμῖν (cf. John xiv 20); but this is a little too long: I therefore read ἐν θ(ε)ῷ ὄντας καὶ θ(ε)ὸν ἐν ὑμῖν (cf. 1 John iv 12 ff). The second part of the Saying is highly artificial—it may well be a later addition to the first part—and a direct loan

<sup>1</sup> This furnishes a parallel to the assumed use of λέγει in the Saying to introduce a question.

<sup>2</sup> *Comm. on Daniel* iv 60.

from St John seems by no means unlikely. In l. 20 Blass's conjecture ἡ π{τ}όλις seems the best that can be made of the surviving letters; but, as Dr Swete remarks, 'the words are abrupt and strange, and the archaic spelling of πόλις increases our doubt'.

The thought of the second half of the Saying as restored in the text seems fairly coherent. It may be paraphrased as follows: 'the Kingdom is within you, therefore self-knowledge will lead you to find it. Finding is followed by consciousness of sonship and heirship and of communion with God.'

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### ZECH. i 8, 10 s.; vi 1 ss. AND THE *DUL-AZAG* OF THE BABYLONIANS.

IN his vision of the couriers returning from their inspection of the earth, Zechariah i 8 describes the angel of Jahve, to whom report is made, as 'a man riding upon a red horse and standing *among the myrtle trees that were in the bottom*'; the 'myrtle trees' appear again in *vv.* 10-11. Thus, according to the Masoretic Text. The 'myrtle trees' and 'the bottom' have always given much trouble to commentators. In the *Hebrew and English Lexicon* of Brown-Driver-Briggs, מַצְלָה, which is translated as (*the*) *bottom* in the English version, is mentioned as a derivate of צוֹל, and explained as 'dub. word . . ., appar. some locality about Jerus., called *the basin, hollow* . . .'

In my commentary on the *Douze Petits Prophètes* I have stated at length (p. 591) why I cannot believe that the original text ever spoke of 'myrtle trees'. Instead of הַהָרִים the author most probably wrote הַהַרִים, as the Septuagint version suggests: . . . ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὄρεων τῶν κατασκίων. The analogy with the parallel vision of the chariots coming out from between *the two mountains*, which were *mountains of brass* (Zech. vi 1), supports the proposed correction. It may be that הַהַרִים was purposely changed into הַהָרִים, on account of the מַצְלָה, wrongly supposed to be connected with צוֹל or צֹלֶל, *be or grow dark*: 'mountains' standing in 'the hollow', or in 'the shadow' are indeed most subject to suspicion. In fact מַצְלָה belongs to צֹלֶל, Assy. *ṣalalu*, Syr. ܥܠܠ, *to decline*, especially as used of the day; so that מַצְלָה = *the region of sunset, the West*. That the two mountains of brass, Zech. vi 1, are the mountains