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blessedly deceived. He has never once lied, and He cannot lie." (XX:1780.) *Haec dixit Dominus!*⁵

But, say some here, the Lord will tell Luther that he based his doctrine, not on Scripture, but on his interpretation of Scripture. Where does that leave Luther?⁶

Oak Park, Ill.

Light from the Papyri on St. Paul's Terminology

By ERIC C. MALTE

The problem of defining the type of Greek in the Pauline Epistles has, in the past, afforded ample room for much controversy. It remained for Adolf Deissmann to discover that while the language of the New Testament differs from classical Greek, it is neither "Special Greek," nor "Aramaic Greek," nor "Biblical Greek"; still less is it "tired Greek" or "bad Greek."¹ H. R. Minn says:

"For the lucid explanation and substantial proof of the real character of New Testament Greek we are indebted to the mental alertness of the German scholar Adolf Deissmann. The story is an interesting one, a good instance of the potency of small things. In 1895, Herr Deissmann, at the time not a university professor or even a clergyman, but a young can-

⁵ *The Lutheran*, February 3, 1927: "In those days men had convictions that were as dear to them as life, and when they could not agree, they agreed to work apart. Controversy in those days was not condemned as seems to be the case today, for the new name for convictions is 'prejudices.'" *Theological Monthly*, 1926, p. 326: "Oh, for that fire of deep, honest conviction which burned in the hearts of our fathers and made them love and cherish the doctrines of the Bible as an immovable and everlasting foundation! Their firm conviction amounted to a consuming passion for the sacred teachings which would not entertain the thought of compromise with the gainsayers. Where you have such staunch convictions, unionism does not find a fertile soil." Pieper's "*Vortraege*, etc.," p. 168: "Als man dem Kurfuersten von Sachsen auf dem Reichstage zu Augsburg andeutete, er koenne Land und Leute verlieren, wenn er bei der Augsburgischen Konfession bleibe, entgegnete er, er wolle lieber Land und Leute, als Gottes Wort verlassen. Wenn der Kurfuerst ein moderner Lutheraner gewesen waere, der erst feststellen wollte, was eigentlich goettliche Wahrheit sei, dann haette er gedacht: es ist doch besser, du behaltest dein Reich, als dass du an der Augsburgischen Konfession festhaeltst."

⁶ Part II, the answer to this question, will appear in an early issue.

¹ Deissmann, Adolf. *Light from the Ancient East*. London: Hodder and Stoughton (1911); *The New Testament in the Light of Modern Research*. London: Hodder and Stoughton (1929).

didate for the ministry, a *Privatdocent* at Marburg, happened one day to be turning over in the University Library at Heidelberg a new section of a volume containing transcripts from the Berlin collection of Greek papyri. As he read, he was suddenly arrested by the likeness of these papyri to the language of the New Testament, with which he was familiar. Further examination served to deepen the initial impression, and he realized that he held in his hand the true key to the old problem."²

Deissmann's general conclusion regarding the language of the New Testament, namely, that it is the same language as found in the papyri, found enthusiastic and ardent advocates in England in the persons of Dr. J. H. Moulton and Dr. George Milligan.

To illustrate this factor regarding the language of the Pauline Epistles, a number of words found in Paul's Letters will be examined by tracing their usage in the ordinary Greek of his day as revealed by the papyri.

1. 'Απέχω

Phil. 4:18 reads: "But I have all and abound." The Greek text is ἀπέχω δὲ πάντα καὶ περισσεύω. The word ἀπέχω was a technical expression regularly used in drawing up a receipt. In the passage quoted above, Paul expresses his gratitude to his friends in Philippi for their generous help and says: "I give you a receipt in full for all things."

Deissmann says: "I have long held that the word ἀπέχω is explainable by the papyri and ostraca."³ For the use of this word in the papyri we turn to a registration of a deed from the year 266 A. D.,⁴ where the phrase occurs ἄς αὐτόθι ἀπέσχον παρὰ σοῦ διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ πλήρους, "which I received from you forthwith from hand to hand in full." In the same volume of the Oxyrhynchus papyri the word occurs in a public acknowledgment of a contract of sale of arable land, with a share in appliances for irrigating.⁵ It is also found in a contract for the sale of a young female slave and her infant son at the price of 2,000 drachmae.⁶ The constant recurrence of this

² Minn, H. R. *Living Yesterdays*, Dunedin and Wellington, A. H. and A. W. Reed (1939), p. 11.

³ Deissmann, Adolf, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁴ P. Oxy. IX. 1200.24.

⁵ P. Oxy. IX. 1208.16.

⁶ P. Oxy. IX. 1209.23.

word in the sense of "I have received in full" as a technical expression in drawing up a receipt shows that it was well known to every Greek-speaking person of Paul's day.

2. Ἀπόστολος

In answer to the attacks made upon him by the false teachers Paul states with much emphasis in the very first lines of his Letter to the Galatians: "Paul, an Apostle (not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead), and all the brethren which are with me, unto the churches of Galatia."⁷ To the Corinthians, among whom similar attempts had been made to undermine his influence and authority as an Apostle of Jesus Christ, he writes: "I am become a fool in glorying; ye have compelled me; for I ought to have been commended of you; for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest Apostles, though I be nothing. Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds."⁸

To trace the meaning of this word *apostle*, which occurs 79 times in the New Testament and 29 times in Paul's Letters, will prove of interest and profit to the student of the Pauline Epistles. Etymologically, it is derived from the Greek verb ἀποστέλλω, "I send forth." *Apostle* refers to one sent forth, one commissioned as a representative or ambassador.

The specific sense in which it is used in the New Testament, namely, to designate one sent forth by the Lord Jesus Christ as His ambassador or special messenger, or to designate anyone commissioned as a representative, is not the oldest usage of the word. Only very remotely does ἀπόστολος in classical Greek come near the special New Testament meaning it has today. In most cases the similarity does not extend beyond the mere outward form of the word.

Originally the word ἀπόστολος was used as an adjective and then gradually as a substantive. In the earliest references in classical Greek we find it used as one of the technical terms connected with the science of navigation, especially military navigation. It is the word used when the Greeks spoke of sending out a fleet or an army. Then, in the course of years, it came to mean the fleet itself. Later on, its mean-

⁷ Gal. 1:1-2.

⁸ 2 Cor. 12:11-12.

ing was extended to include any group of persons who had been sent out for any particular purpose. For instance, it was used to specify a group of colonists. The leader of an expedition, or the admiral, was called ὁ ἀπόστολος.

However, in all these usages of the word its passive nature was always stressed. The activity and initiative of the ἀπόστολος himself never comes to the front. To denote a messenger or one commissioned as a representative the Greeks used ἄγγελος, πρεσβευτής, κήρυξ. The Greek προφήται were the messengers of truth and served as the mouthpiece of the deity.

The use of the word ἀπόστολος by the Christians of the New Testament ushers in a totally new and different meaning of the word. In the New Testament it is used to designate the particular messenger of the Lord Jesus Christ, or anyone who had been commissioned as a representative. That the New Testament usage of the term represents a departure from its earlier meaning is also evident from the fact that the Latin Church did not translate this word into the Latin church language, but took it over as a foreign word, *apostolus*.

The papyri also reveal how foreign to the specific New Testament meaning the ordinary usage of this term was. In a papyrus of the second century A. D. it is used to designate a ship used in transporting grain from Egypt.⁹ In this document, which is an account of the expenses of a grain transport, it is of interest to note that each ἀπόστολος, or "ship," is known by the name of its owner.

In another papyrus, from the year 211 A. D., a different sense is required. Hunt renders this translation: "whenever the boats collected in accordance with the orders of lading arrive."¹⁰ Here it evidently means the "bills of lading" accompanying the shipment of grain.

In the New Testament it is used to designate those who had been especially commissioned by Jesus Christ to be His witnesses before the world. It is the distinctive name of the Twelve, or Eleven, with whom Paul himself was counted, as he says in 1 Corinthians 15:7-9. Paul justified his being counted as an Apostle by the fact that he had been called to the office by Christ Himself.

⁹ P. Oxy. III. 522.

¹⁰ P. Oxy. VII. 1103.

The term was also applied in a loose and more general sense to all who in any way bore witness of Christ. Luke uses the term when speaking of Barnabas in Acts 14:4, 14. The writer of the Letter to the Hebrews uses this term when referring to Christ as the One sent by the Father into the world and states that He was "faithful to Him that appointed Him."¹¹

Thus a loose and more general meaning of the word held its place side by side with its special and distinctive application to the Twelve. But never do we find this word used in the New Testament as it had been in earlier Greek. In Byzantine Greek the word is always a technical term referring to one of the Twelve or to Paul. Usually in second-century Greek among the Christians *ὁ ἀπόστολος* refers to Paul. To the Christians of that era Paul had become the Apostle par excellence.

3. Ἀρραβών

This word is found in three places in the Letters of Paul. We find it in 2 Corinthians 1:22: "Who hath also sealed us and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." Again, we read (2 Cor. 5:5): "Now He that hath wrought us for the selfsame thing is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit." The third place in which it is used is Ephesians 1:14: "Which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of His glory." In each of these references the Holy Spirit is designated as the *ἄρραβών* given to the believers in Christ.

Thayer¹² mentions that this word evidently passed from the Phoenicians to the Greeks and thence into Latin. He gives the following definition: "an earnest, i. e., money which in purchase is given as a pledge that the full amount will subsequently be paid."

The word occurs frequently in the papyri. It is used to specify caution money, deposited by the purchaser and forfeited by him if the purchase is not completed. Kittel points out that the word was a technical business term and adds that the term "refers to a transaction by which one individual

¹¹ Heb. 3:1-2.

¹² Thayer, Joseph Henry. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. New York: American Book Company (1899).

obligates himself to another person to fulfill certain stipulations." ¹³

The meaning of "down payment, earnest money," is well illustrated by a papyrus ¹⁴ mentioning a woman who was selling a cow and who received 1,000 drachmas as ἀρραβώνα. The meaning is evident, namely, that she received the 1,000 drachmas as the down payment on the cow.

Another papyrus, ¹⁵ dating from A. D. 237, tells us of one Aurelius Asclas Philadelphus, president of the council of the village of Bacchias, who enters into an agreement with Aurelius Theon for the services of two dancing girls, evidently for some approaching Egyptian festival. These dancing girls are to receive "by way of hire 36 drachmas daily and by way of payment for the whole period three artabas of wheat and fifteen couples of delicacies, and for their conveyance down and back again three asses." They are to receive so many drachmas ὑπὲρ ἀρραβώνος, "by way of earnest money," on their promised salary.

Similarly, in another papyrus, we read of Lampon, the mouse catcher, who was paid eight drachmas as ἀρραβώνα "in order that he may catch the mice while they are young." ¹⁶

The use of this word in many business transactions as shown by the papyri helps us to understand clearly Paul's use of it in two of his letters. The Holy Spirit, given to the believers in Christ here and now, is the down payment, as it were, the guarantee, that the full payment of their promised salvation will be made in due time by the Father in heaven.

4. ἄτακτος, ἀτάκτως, ἀτακτέω

In 1 Thessalonians 5:14 the Apostle Paul urges the believers in Thessalonica to "warn them that are unruly." The marginal note in the King James translation (Concordia Edition) suggests "disorderly" for the word "unruly." The Greek word meaning to be "unruly," or to conduct oneself in a disorderly manner, is ἀτάκτως. It comes from the verb τάσσω. This verb is a military term referring to the act of arranging soldiers in military order in their ranks. Thayer ¹⁷ refers to

¹³ Kittel, Gerhard. *Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament*. Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer (1933—1939).

¹⁴ P. Par. 58.

¹⁶ P. Lond. VI. 920.

¹⁵ P. Grenf. II. 67.

¹⁷ Op. cit.

Xenophon's use of the verb to denote placing in a certain order. The verb ἀτακτέω refers to soldiers marching out of order or quitting the ranks, thus being disorderly. The verb then came to mean "to be neglectful of duty, to be lawless." There are examples of this verb having originally the connotation of riot or rebellion.¹⁸

The word is found only in the two Letters to the Thessalonians. It occurs in the verb form in 2 Thessalonians 3:7. As an adjective it is used in 1 Thessalonians 5:14, and it appears as an adverb in 2 Thessalonians 3:6, 11. As Moulton and Milligan suggest,¹⁹ the words suggest certain remissness in daily work and conduct on the part of some Christians in the Thessalonian congregation.

There is ample evidence for this translation furnished by the papyri. The meaning suggested by Moulton and Milligan is supported by contemporary evidence from the papyri. In a papyrus dating from 66 A. D. we have a contract of apprenticeship.²⁰ The father enters into an undertaking that if there are any days when his son "plays truant," or "fails to attend," ἀτακτήσει, he is afterwards to make them good. It is interesting to note that all the conditions of the contract are meticulously laid down. The boy is to be supported and clothed during the whole period by his father on the condition that his master will give him five drachmas monthly on account of his keep and twelve drachmas on account of his clothing at the end of the entire period. The word here used to denote playing truant is the same word used by St. Paul in speaking of certain of the Thessalonians.

In one of the Oxyrhynchus papyri a weaver's apprentice enters into a contract to appear for an equivalent number of days if from idleness or ill health or other reasons he exceeds the twenty days' holiday he is allowed in the year of his apprenticeship.²¹

This, then, was the fault of the Thessalonians. They were idling, playing truant. The coming of the Lord Jesus seemed to them to be so near at hand that it was no longer necessary for them to work. No doubt some of them thought: "Why

¹⁸ Kittel, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Moulton, James Hope; and Milligan, George. *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*. London: Hodder and Stoughton (1914—1929).

²⁰ *P. Oxy.* II, 275.

²¹ *P. Oxy.* IV, 725.

should I go to work in the morning when before night Christ might come?" Paul urges them not to play truant and suggests that the best way to prepare for the coming of the Lord Jesus was to show themselves active and diligent in the discharge of their work and duty.

5. Βασκαίνω

Paul asks (Gal. 3:1): "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified among you?" The word which he used for "bewitch," βασκαίνω, was taken from the popular belief in the power of the evil eye.

Baikie devotes an entire chapter in his book to the use of magic formulae and enchantments as found in the papyri.²² In one of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, dating from the year 25 A. D., a certain Theon recommends his brother Heraclides to the notice of Tyrannus.²³ Because of its brevity we give it in full:

"Theon to his most esteemed Tyrannus, heartiest greetings. Heraclides, the bearer of this letter to you, is my brother. Therefore, I beg you with all my power to hold him as one recommended to you. I have also asked Hermias, my brother, in writing to communicate with you regarding this. You will do me the greatest favor if he gains your notice. But above all I pray that you may be in health unharmed by the evil eye and faring prosperously. Goodbye."

Paul's metaphor in Galatians was derived from this current superstition of the evil eye of his day. The word designated either the fascination of an evil eye or some malignant influence arising from it. The turning of the Galatian Christians to false teachers, and their being infatuated by false doctrine, Paul attributes to the baneful effect of some mysterious power of evil.

6. Δουλος, ἐλεύθερος

Living in a society in which it is estimated that more than half of the population belonged to the slave class,²⁴ it is little wonder that Paul should often use the terms δουλος,

²² Baikie, James. *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus Hunting*. London: The Religious Tract Society (1925).

²³ P. Oxy. II, 292.

²⁴ Goodspeed, Edgar J. *Problems of New Testament Translation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1940), p. 139.

"slave," and ἐλεύθερος, "free man." The second word in his Letter to the Romans is δοῦλος: "Paul, slave of Jesus Christ." He uses the word more than twenty times in his Letters. He says (Phil. 2:7) that Christ took upon Himself the nature of a slave. In Christ slaves have all the rights of free men.²⁵ He speaks of himself and his fellow Christians as the slaves of Christ.²⁶ In Colossians 3:22-24 he gives special instructions to slaves and in Colossians 4:1 to their masters.

That Paul was fully aware of the meaning of the words he was using, and that his readers would at once get the full implication of his statements, is clear from such phrases as those found in Romans 6:17 and Titus 3:3, where he insists that all men by nature are the slaves of sin. Christians become free by the fact that Christ has bought them with a price. He uses the very formula for setting a slave free.²⁷ In Galatians 5:1 he urges Christians to "stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free." In the thirteenth verse of the same chapter he states: "For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty." In this verse he uses the phrase which was the formula commonly used at Delphi, Naupactus, and Tithora for the freeing of slaves.²⁸

Christians, he says, cannot be slaves of men, because they have now become the slaves of Christ.²⁹ The slave of Christ is, at the same time, free; he is the Lord's freedman, even when he is outwardly the slave of a human master.³⁰

The papyri help us to understand what has been called "the most important social problem of New Testament times," the institution of slavery. The duties and rights of slaves and free men, the price paid for slaves in the market, the manner in which slaves might be freed, the price paid for the freeing of slaves — these and many other questions connected with the slavery problem are understood clearly in the light furnished by the papyri in countless instances.

From the many documents that might be cited from the papyri as throwing light on the institution of slavery we have selected a contract for the sale of a young female slave and her infant son at the price of 2,000 drachmas.³¹

²⁵ Gal. 3:28; Col. 3:11; 1 Cor. 12:13.

²⁶ 1 Cor. 7:22; Phil. 1:1; Col. 1:7; 4:7, 12.

²⁷ Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

²⁹ Rom. 6:22; 6:18.

³⁰ 1 Cor. 7:22.

³¹ P. Oxy. IX. 1209.

"The year . . . of the Emperors and Caesars Gaius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus and Gaius Vibius Aphinius Gallus Veldumianus Volusianus Pii Felices Augusti, Daisius . . . Pharamouthi . . . at the city of Oxyrhynchus, before Aurelius Antipater also called Dionysius, farmer of the tax payable to the agoranomi. Aurelius Asclepiades also called Saras, son of Sarapon and Lucilla also called Demetria, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, aged about 32, with no distinguishing mark, has purchased from Aurelius Serenus also called Sarapion, son of Agathinus and Taposiris, of the said city, aged about 34, with no distinguishing mark, in the street, the female slave belonging to him named Tereus, aged about 21, fair, with a scar on her . . . , together with her male nursling child named . . . who was purchased by him in accordance with a deed made through the said office of the agoranomi in the 4th year of the Philippi in the month Phamenoth from the mother of the present purchaser, Aurelia Lucilla also called Demetria, daughter of Euporus, son of Diogenes, her mother being Tauris also called Philumene, of the said city, and was born in her house, which slave together with the nursling the purchaser has forthwith received from the vendor just as they are and unrenounceable, free from epilepsy and external claims, Tereus having been examined as set forth in the former deed; and the price mutually agreed upon for the said slave and the nursling 2,000 drachmae of silver of the Imperial coinage, has been received by the vendor Aurelius Serapion also called Serenus from the purchaser Aurelius Asclepiades also called Saras from hand to hand. The vendor sells and guarantees the said slave with the nursling, his name, as aforesaid, in the same street, and to the purchaser's question whether this has been rightly and fairly done the vendor has given his assent. Signatures: . . ."

7. ἔλλογᾶω

The word ἔλλογᾶω appears in the shortest letter Paul wrote, namely, in his Letter to Philemon (v. 18). It was a technical term used in business and bookkeeping circles. It meant to "set down to one's account." In a Rylands papyrus,³² dating from the second century A. D., two women write to their steward and ask him to "put down to our account everything you expend on the cultivation of the holding." The word used is ἔλλογᾶω.

In a contract from the year 237 A. D. two dancing girls are hired for an approaching festival.³³ Their wages are clearly stipulated. In lines 18 and 19 of the contract we find

³² P. RyI. II. 243.11.

³³ P. Grenf. II. 67.

the expression: "by way of down payment to be put down by you in the price." The word used is the one we find in Paul's Letter to Philemon.

The usage of the word by Paul in Romans 5:13 can be paralleled from a document by the Emperor Hadrian³⁴ in which he authorizes the announcement of certain privileges to his soldiers οὐχ ἐνέκα τοῦ μὲ δοκεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐνλογεῖν, "not however that I may appear to be making a reckoning against them." Deissmann suggests in a footnote on this document that the Emperor wished to avoid the appearance of imposing an obligation, or debiting the soldiers with the privilege granted them.³⁵

8. Ἐξαλείφω

Paul declares that Christ has blotted out "the handwriting of ordinances that was against us" (Col. 2:14). The term used by him for "blotting out" is the same word used to designate the process of "washing out" or "erasing" a papyrus.³⁶

A similar use of the term is found in Revelation 3:5, which reads: "I will not blot out his name out of the book of life." In Acts 3:19 Peter urges his audience: "Repent ye, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out." In both cases the Greek word ἔξαλείφω is used.

In his description of the ink used in papyrus writing, Milligan says:³⁷

"The ink in ordinary use for papyrus was made of soot, mixed with gum, and diluted with water. A color which had a wonderful lasting power was thus produced, as may be seen from any of the recently discovered texts. At the same time, the ink, though not sinking into the fibres of the papyrus, was easily washed out, when still fresh, a point which lends emphasis to the language of Colossians 2:14."

For the meaning "wash out," "erase," we cite a papyrus.³⁸ We read: "The letter which you sent I was not able to read because it had been washed out."

The practice of "washing out" the writing on papyrus so

³⁴ P. BGU. I. 140.32.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

³⁶ Moulton and Milligan, *op. cit.*

³⁷ Milligan, George. *The New Testament Documents*. London: Macmillan and Co. (1913), p. 32.

³⁸ P. Oxy. III. 524.

that the sheet might be used again for other purposes is discussed in detail by Erman.³⁹

By His atoning work Christ not merely "blotted out," but "washed out," and that completely, the handwriting that was against us. The use of the technical term ἐξαλείφω helps us to understand the meaning of Paul's words in Colossians 2:14.

9. Εὐαγγέλιον

Paul states (Rom. 1:16): "For I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." He declares (2 Cor. 2:12): "Furthermore, when I came to Troas to preach Christ's Gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord. . . ." He speaks of "the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ" (2 Cor. 4:4). He was very jealous of this Gospel, which had been entrusted to him as the ambassador for Christ, for he says (Gal. 1:8): "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." The Gospel of Christ was his pride, and its preaching was for him his highest and greatest joy.

What was the meaning of this word εὐαγγέλιον in the classical Greek? Kittel⁴⁰ shows that this was used in classical Greek as a technical term for a message of victory by the Greeks over their enemies.

Of special interest to us is the use of the term εὐαγγέλιον in the cult of Caesar. The emperor united all things in his person. He was acclaimed as one who had come to earth from God. His power extended to all people, cattle, earth, and sea.⁴¹ He claimed to be "the savior of the world." He was the protecting god of the state. Unusual signs attended his life and activities. These signs announced the birth of a world ruler. A comet appeared at the beginning of his reign, which was regarded as a special sign of divine favor and recognition. After his death his reception by the gods as one of themselves was attended by further signs. Because the emperor was more than a mere ordinary person, his decrees

³⁹ Melanges Nicole. Recueil de memoires offerts a J. Nicole, Geneva (1905).

⁴⁰ Op. cit.

⁴¹ Taylor, Lily Ross. *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor*. Middletown: American Philological Association (1931), pp. 90—92, 112, 114, 150.

were messages of joy, and his edicts were called sacred writings by his people.⁴²

Deissmann⁴³ furnishes a picture of a calendar inscription from about 9 B. C., which has this remarkable sentence referring to the birthday of Augustus: "But the birthday of the god was for the world the beginning of tidings of joy on his account."

We are indebted to the same author for the restoration of a papyrus letter,⁴⁴ preserved at Berlin, in which an Egyptian official writes:

"Forasmuch as I have become aware of the tidings of joy concerning the proclaiming as emperor of Gaius Julius Verus Maximus Augustus, the son of our lord, most dear to the gods, the Emperor Caesar Gaius Julius Verus Maximus, pious, happy and Augustus, it is necessary, O most honorable, that the goddesses be celebrated in festal procession."

Paul's εὐαγγέλιον was the one first proclaimed by the messenger from heaven at the time of the birth of Christ. The angel's message we find in Luke 2:10-11: "Fear not; for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, which is Christ, the Lord." To preach and proclaim this Gospel, which was indeed the good tidings of great joy, was Paul's constant delight and joy.

10. Θεός

Concerning the use of θεός as applied to emperors and rulers Deissmann says:⁴⁵

"The words compounded with or derived from 'God' in the imperial cult were the most likely to arouse the sensation of contrast; they were known to every plain Christian man by reason of their frequent occurrence, and their lack of ambiguity brought even the very simplest souls, in fact the very simplest souls rather than others, into the most painful conscientious difficulties. . . . Under the successors of Alexander, who handed on to the empire ready-made all the essential forms used in the adoration of the sovereign, exactly the same problem confronted the pious Jew into whose hand fell, let us say, the coins of the Seleucidae with the legend 'God' upon them applied to the kings. The imperial age strengthened the feeling of contrast, since all the titles for-

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 158, 178.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 371—372.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 371.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 347—348.

merly bestowed on the various smaller rulers were now concentrated on the one great ruler."

In an official inscription⁴⁶ the town council of Ephesus, in conjunction with other Greek cities of Asia, spoke of Julius Caesar as the "god made manifest, offspring of Ares and Aphrodite, and common savior of human life." Augustus is called "god of gods" in an inscription⁴⁷ from Socnopaei Nesus in the Fayum, dated March 17, 24 B. C. Deissmann furnishes a picture of a block of white marble from a pillar of the north hall of the market at Priene, with a calendar inscription in which the birthday of Augustus is termed the birthday of "the god."⁴⁸ Even Nero, cruel and inhuman as he was, was called "the good god."⁴⁹

Moulton and Milligan⁵⁰ cite numerous examples from the Hibeh Papyri and other collections for the use of θεός as applied to rulers and emperors. Lily Ross Taylor lists the inscriptions that indicate that divine honors were bestowed in their lifetime on Caesar, Antony, and Augustus and his house.⁵¹ Her book is a study of the Roman imperial cult as it began under Caesar and as it gradually took shape during the long reign of Augustus. Her chief emphasis is placed upon the establishment of the worship in the formal cult of the state.

With the information furnished by the inscriptions and many papyri on the use of θεός as applied to emperors and rulers during the time of Paul, we can better understand his reference (1 Cor. 8:5) to "the gods many" and his insistence that for the Christian there can be but one God, "the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him." With the memory of some of the claims made by the followers of Hitler in Germany and the Emperor of Japan still fresh in his mind, the modern reader is not surprised to find Nero

⁴⁶ Dittenberger, W. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig (1888), 347.

⁴⁷ Dittenberger, W. *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (1903 to 1905), 655.

⁴⁸ Deissmann, Adolf, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

⁴⁹ Minn, H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*

⁵¹ Cf. Appendix III in Taylor, Lily Ross, *op. cit.*

described as "the good genius of the world and the source of all good things."⁵² To the totalitarian claims of Caesar, Paul placed in opposition the totalitarian claims of Jesus Christ as the only true God and Lord.

11. Κύριος

Paul says (1 Cor. 8:5-6): "For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be gods many, and lords many), but to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in Him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by Him." Again, he states (Phil. 2:11): "And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." In opposition to the claims made for the rulers and emperors of his day, Paul stated that Jesus Christ alone was worthy to be honored and adored as Lord.

Κύριος is first of all used in the sense of "possessor," "owner," as in Mark 13:35, where it refers to the owner of the house. It was also used as a title of honor addressed by subordinates to their superiors, or as a term of courtesy in ordinary conversation. The woman of Samaria, whose interesting interview with the Lord Jesus is recorded in John 4, addressed Jesus by the courteous term κύριε. Here it evidently means "sir."

There are two usages of κύριος which are not found in the Letters of Paul, but which are so common in the papyri that they may be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. The guardian of a woman or a child is called κύριος. The word was also used as an adjective meaning "valid."

However, we are particularly concerned with the religious use of this term. Countless papyri help us to see the sharp conflict between Christianity and the cult of Caesar in the application of this word. The conception of "lordship" was characteristic of all Oriental religions, as Lily Ross Taylor points out.⁵³ The kings of the East have been from time immemorial "lords" and their subjects little better than slaves.

The term κύριος was in common use in connection with the cult of the Egyptian god Serapis. We quote from a letter⁵⁴

⁵² Minn, H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 1-35.

⁵⁴ P. Oxy. III. 523.

which begins with a formula that can be found in many papyri: "Before all else I pray for your health, and I supplicate the lord Serapis on your behalf."

In one of the Oxyrhynchus papyri,⁵⁵ dating from the second century A. D., is an invitation from one Antonius to an unnamed friend to dinner in the house of Claudius Serapion. It reminds us of the stern warning of Paul (1 Cor. 10:21): "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils." The invitation is as follows: "Antonius, son of Ptolemaeus, invites you to dine with him at the table of the lord Serapis in the house of Claudius Serapion on the 16th at nine o'clock."

Deissmann⁵⁶ cites as one of the official titles of King Ptolemy IV, Philopator, the term "lord of the diadems." He refers to an inscription in which a high Egyptian official calls Ptolemy XII "the lord king god," and Deissmann shows from another inscription, found in Alexandria, of the year 52 B. C., that Ptolemy XIV and Cleopatra were called "the lords, the most great gods." That the title *κύριος* was attached to the Caesars by Egyptians and Syrians is illustrated by the same author from numerous Greek inscriptions, papyri, and ostraca of the earliest imperial period.

During the reign of Nero, when Paul was active as missionary and Apostle, the use of this term became very general. An Oxyrhynchus papyrus⁵⁷ lists the registration of cattle in 66 A. D. The registration is certified as having taken place "in the year 12 of Nero, the lord."

In the light of the use of this term as applied to rulers we need not wonder that the Apostle Paul emphatically insisted "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord."⁵⁸ Paul well knew that there were "gods many and lords many," worshiped and honored by men of his day in direct violation of the First Commandment, "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me."

⁵⁵ *P. Oxy.* I. 110.

⁵⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 358-359

⁵⁷ *P. Oxy.* II. 246.

⁵⁸ *Phil.* 2:10-11.

12. Σωτήρ

Throughout his Letters, Paul sets forth the claim that there is but one Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ. He declares (1 Tim. 4:10) that Jesus Christ is the "Savior of all men." He says (Titus 2:13) of the followers of Christ that they are "looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Savior Jesus Christ." The Ptolemies and the Roman emperors claimed to be the saviors of the world in the sense of its preservers, and Paul claims this office for God, who revealed Himself in Jesus Christ.

In a papyrus⁵⁹ dating from about 250 B. C. the reign of Euergetes I is referred to in these words: "in the reign of Ptolemy, the son of Ptolemy, the savior." In another papyrus,⁶⁰ of 246 B. C., he is referred to as πάντων σωτήρα, "the savior of all."

Deissmann⁶¹ declares that this title πάντων σωτήρ was bestowed in different variations in the Greek expression on Julius Caesar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, and other emperors in several inscriptions of the Hellenistic East.

While Egyptian and Roman rulers were hailed and acclaimed as saviors of their people, in the Christian community this title became the unique title of Jesus Christ. The papyri help us to see the bitter and inevitable conflict that arose when Paul set forth his claim that Jesus Christ alone is the true "Savior of the world."

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This brief study indicates clearly that the papyri have had, and no doubt will continue to have, great influence on all efforts to translate the Letters of St. Paul into the present-day language of the people. Since, as we have seen, Paul put his words in the simplest and most direct terms of his time, so that he spoke directly to the people in a language they well knew, translators are seeking to give a translation that in ease, boldness, and vigor of expression recaptures some of the freshness of the original Greek. Translators, such as Goodspeed, Moffatt, and the scholars who prepared the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament, realize, as

⁵⁹ P. Petr. II. 8.

⁶⁰ P. Petr. III. 20.

⁶¹ Op. cit., p. 369.

Goodspeed says in the preface to his translation of the New Testament,⁶² that the "most appropriate English form for the New Testament is the simple, straightforward English of everyday expression."

Today, because of the papyri, we know far more about the character of the Greek in Paul's Letters than the scholars of King James' day knew. The American Standard Bible Committee, appointed in 1929 by the International Council of Religious Education on behalf of the forty Protestant denominations associated in that body, was instructed to "prepare a revision of the American Standard Version in the light of the results of modern scholarship . . . in the direction of the simple, classic English style of the King James Version."⁶³ How well the committee succeeded can be seen in the Revised Standard Version of the New Testament, which has been extensively reviewed in both the religious and secular press and which has been hailed as "the most important publication of 1946." In an explanatory pamphlet issued in conjunction with the publication of this new translation, the translators rightly state: "The Word of God must speak to our time plainly and directly."

And if, as Dr. Paul M. Bretscher says,⁶⁴ "the translator's task is to try to extract from the foreign idiom as many elements as possible, to clothe these in his native idiom, and studiously avoid introducing into his translation elements foreign to the original," then the papyri will continue to be of inestimable help to all translators and students of the Pauline Epistles.

LIST OF PAPYROLOGICAL PUBLICATIONS

(To facilitate locating references mentioned in footnotes, the abbreviations commonly used in papyrological works are listed first and then followed by the full title of the publications)

Archiv: *Archiv fuer Papyrusforschung*, ed. Ulrich Wilcken, Berlin (1901 to 1935).

BGU: *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden*. Vols. I—VI. Teubner, Leipzig (1900).

OGIS: *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, W. Dittenberger, Leipzig (1903—1905).

⁶² Goodspeed, Edgar J. *The New Testament, an American Translation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press (1923), p. V of the preface.

⁶³ Bretscher, Paul M. "The Most Important Publication of 1946." *The Cresset*, April, 1946, pp. 22—23.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

- P. Corn: *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University*, ed. William Linn Westermann and Casper J. Kraemer, Jr. New York: Columbia University Press (1926).
- P. Fay: *Fayum Towns and Their Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, D. G. Hogarth, London (1900).
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- P. Grenf. I: *An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and Other Greek and Latin Papyri*, Oxford (1896).
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- P. Teb: *The Tebtunis Papyri*, B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly, E. J. Goodspeed, Vols. I and II, London (1902—1907).
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