Among the material which forms part of the Methodist Archives housed in the John Rylands University Library in Deansgate, Manchester, the Moulton Collection is of particular interest for several reasons. First, this family made an outstanding contribution in Methodist Church circles in the century and a quarter since 1860; and it is this fact that has made the deposition of the Collection within the Methodist Archives a natural one. Furthermore, four members of the family, covering three generations, are represented by some of the correspondence they received (unfortunately, only a minute number of their letters to others is preserved); and all four were biblical scholars and teachers. William Fiddian Moulton the Elder (1835–98) is chiefly remembered as one of those who worked on the Revised Version of the Bible, and as the first headmaster (1875–98) of the Leys School in Cambridge. His younger brothers all achieved highly in different spheres: James Egan (1841–1909) was for forty years headmaster of a Methodist College in Tonga, James Fletcher (1844–1921) became Lord Justice of Appeal, and

* It is to Dr phil. Gerhard Deissmann, youngest and sole surviving child of Adolf Deissmann, that I express appreciation above all, not only for his agreement that these letters be published but also for his hospitality at his home in Bremen, his readiness to discuss his father and his work, and his granting me access to what has survived within the family of his father’s books and papers. By a happy coincidence the 125th anniversary of his father’s birth occurred during my visit with Dr Deissmann. I am also very grateful to Mrs Helen Hope Hollings in Sydney, youngest and sole surviving child of James Hope Moulton, for her readiness over the last decade to help me with my interest in her father’s life and work. To these two descendants of two close friends this article is dedicated.

Other acknowledgments are due: to Mrs Rachel Monk in England, for access to and permission to cite from that portion of her grandfather’s ‘Letters Home’ which Mrs Hollings lacks in Sydney, to the staff of the John Rylands University Library (Deansgate) in Manchester, and especially to Miss Alison Peacock, then Methodist Archivist, for facilitating my visit there in 1990 to research these letters; to several of those attending a version of this article for their responses when it was delivered as a paper both at the International Conference on Religion held in Melbourne in July 1992, and subsequently in revised form at a seminar of the Department of Greek and Latin at the University of Manchester in September 1992; and to the Reader who assessed this paper on behalf of the Bulletin, for a number of useful suggestions to ensure greater clarity.
Richard Green (1849–1924) held the Chair of Literary Theory and Interpretation at the University of Chicago. Some books and pamphlets by the two last-named are included in the Collection. Letters and papers of William’s two sons, James Hope (11 October 1863–7 April 1917) and William Fiddian the Younger (1866–1929) form part of the holding, as do letters and documents belonging to James’s younger son, Harold Keeling (17 July 1903–7 June 1983). On the death of Harold his son-in-law and literary executor, Professor Peter Heyworth (Toronto), negotiated the passing over of the Collection to the Deansgate and its incorporation into the Methodist Archives in the mid-1980s.

Of the many hundreds of items which comprise the Moulton Collection – books and pamphlets, photographs and correspondence, other memorabilia – it is the letters to J.H. Moulton which dominate all else by their sheer numbers. Famous names are to be found in signature on many of the forty-nine letters to his father (MA MOU I.1–49); but no less is this true of the more than 600 surviving letters sent to James (MA MOU II.1–488; III.1–113). A very few letters from him to others are also held (MA MOU V.4A, 14A, 52–58A, 58B, 86A; in addition, the following items in the Methodist Archives but not part of the Moulton Collection: PLP 78.4.2–4, 6, and 8). Here, then, is a third reason to particularize this holding’s importance. While memoirs were written about him both after his death and to mark the centenary of his birth in 1863,¹ the very diversity of his

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correspondents and the richness of the contents indicate that J.H.
Moulton and his intellectual circle deserve a fuller study. As such, it
would have its own small contribution to make to our understanding
of Edwardian England through the contacts, both national and
international, of a linguistically highly-gifted academic and articulate
non-Conformist and pacifist whose concerns were by no means
confined to his study, greatly as he valued scholarly research.

Over half the letters to this member of the Moulton family
come from two men, his close friend and Quaker, James Rendel
Harris (1852-1941; MA MOU II.118-348), and Henry Scott (MA
MOU III.1-113, all of which concern Moulton's Grammar — for
which see below). But the specific focus of the present contribution
lies elsewhere, upon his contact with his German colleagues, and of
these with Gustav Adolf Deissmann (7 November 1866-5 April
1937) in particular. After completing his Habilitation in Marburg in
1892, Deissmann held the New Testament Chair at Heidelberg
from 1897 to 1908, when he moved to the Berlin Chair, holding the
latter until his retirement in 1934. In the year of Deissmann's
transfer to Berlin, Moulton was promoted from his Greenwood
Lectureship in Hellenistic Greek at Manchester (to which he had
been appointed in 1905) to be Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic
Greek and Indo-European Philology. Concurrently he retained his
post as Tutor at Didsbury, a Wesleyan Methodist College in the
same city, to which he had been appointed in 1902 as Tutor in
Classics and Mathematics, and from 1903 until the war-time
closure of the College in 1915 as Tutor in New Testament
Language, Literature and Classics. Both men conducted an active
correspondence with a wide circle of academic and other friends
and colleagues; but most of their letters to others have not survived.
A few of Deissmann's letters to German colleagues are incorporated
in the Nachlass of the recipients, held in various libraries in
Germany. Dr Gerhard Deissmann informs me (per litt., 26 May
1991) that his father 'deposited part of his library and perhaps also
a very small amount of his papers' with the Berliner
Staatsbibliothek, that is, the Library in what was formerly East
Berlin. None of this material has been traced so far since the
Reunification. Furthermore, after Deissmann's death but before the
War members of his family agreed to the transfer of his so-called
'Oecumenical Archives' to the University of Uppsala. If Deissmann
did deposit any of his scientific papers in the Library of the New
Testament Seminar at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität. Berlin

The material was purchased by the 'Ministry' (of Culture) and donated to Uppsala,
apparently by the mediation of H. Lietzmann. For the latter's correspondence with A.
Fridrichsen of Uppsala about this in May and August 1939, see K. Aland (ed.), Glanz und
Niederstand der deutschen Universität. 50 Jahre deutscher Wissenschaftsgeschichte in Briefen an und
von Hans Lietzmann (1892-1942) (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1979), nos. 1097, 1098, 1113.
(renamed Humboldt-Universität after 1945), these have been dispersed subsequently. After the Humboldt University dismantled its Theological Faculty, the Kirchliche Hochschule Berlin became responsible for the training of Protestant clergy. Professor Dr U. Wickert has kindly confirmed (per litt., 23 June 1991) that none of Deissmann's Nachlass is held there. So far as I have been able to determine, no letters from Moulton to Deissmann have survived.

Apart from Deissmann's two-score surviving letters (MA MOU II.36A–75), the most frequently represented correspondent from Germany in the Moulton Collection is Albert Thumb (1865–1915), who held a Chair of Indogermanic Philology at Marburg from 1895 until his move in 1909 to become Professor of Comparative Philology at the University of Strassburg (MA MOU II.440–478, covering the period 18 December 1904–17 April 1914). These are the only two individuals named in the Preface to fasc. 1 (1914) of Moulton and G. Milligan's dictionary (see below), and there is every likelihood that Deissmann and Thumb knew each other, given the Marburg link. The earliest letter from Deissmann to Moulton preserved in the Moulton Collection (MA MOU II.36A, dated 1 January 1904) does not certainly mark the beginning of their correspondence. It is quite formal in its style of address, but there is nonetheless a warmth in the feelings expressed. Its content takes up something from an article which Moulton wrote, but which he may have developed in a letter to Deissmann. The next letter chronologically is MA MOU II.37, dated 12 January 1907 – printed below as no. 1a. It replies to a letter (now lost) from Moulton dated 30 December 1906. If the two men were writing to each other at such frequency as these two last-mentioned letters imply, we should rightly posit that the three-year gap marks not a lack of correspondence, but the loss of it. The last letter in the group is dated 19 April 1914 (MA MOU II.75), but certainly does not mark the end of their communication. There are letters of later date quoted in the biography; and the very last letter, apparently, which Moulton received from Deissmann was written on 25 October 1916 and received a month later in Ceylon. This letter is quoted in full in English in 'Letters Home', 29 November 1916; see further, n.15 below.

Moulton's two best-known scholarly works were left incomplete at his death. His Grammar of New Testament Greek (4 vols; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908–1976) was finished successively by W.F. Howard and N. Turner. The vocabulary of the Greek Testament,
illustrated from the papyri and other non-literary sources (8 fasc.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914–30; complete, one-vol. edition, 1930) – henceforth, MM – was published under the joint names of Moulton and George Milligan (1860–1934), although the former lived to see only the first two fascicules in print. This was not their only collaborative association: from 1907–10 Milligan, still in his manse at Caputh in Perthshire, served as an external examiner both for the B.D. and in Hellenistic Greek in the University of Manchester. It is therefore surprising that the Moulton Collection includes so little correspondence from Milligan. Only three letters are included from him (MA MOU III.117–19), all of which relate to Moulton’s Grammar. So far, I have not been able to trace the papers of Milligan, who held the Regius Chair of Biblical Criticism at Glasgow from 1910 until 1932. After his death in 1934 (in Cambridge), his widow gave about 500 volumes from his library to the University of Glasgow; but apparently there were no papers or private letters lodged, as Dr. J.M.G. Barclay has kindly ascertained for me (per litt., 27 March 1991). Moulton and Milligan must have had an ongoing correspondence over MM alone. What happened to Milligan’s letters to Moulton can only be surmized. I suspect that Moulton took these letters with him to India in 1915, and they were lost on his return journey across the Mediterranean on April 4, 1917 on board the ‘City of Paris’ when the ship was torpedoed as it made from Port Said to Marseilles.6 The ‘Letters Home’ refer very rarely to Milligan, from which it may be inferred that they did not communicate much while Moulton was in India.7

6 What I take to be Moulton’s last surviving letter is not actually preserved in his own hand. MA MOU V.4A – dated 30 March 1917 and written on board the ‘City of Paris’ at Port Said – is marked ‘Copy’ at the top, and was written out by the recipient of the original: Edith Osborn Barber, Moulton’s maternal aunt. She married Charles Barber, the younger brother of W.T.A. Barber, the second headmaster of the Leys School and thus successor in this to Moulton’s father. Charles Barber had worked with the Botanical Division of the Indian Civil Service, and was stationed at Coimbatore where he was involved with the tea plantations. Moulton was thus writing this letter back to India. Apart from the poignancy of its concluding sentences, this letter reveals that his brother William ‘has accepted for me (1) the Moss Side pastorate, Manchester, (2) the Schweich Lectures before the British Academy next December – a great but rather embarrassing honour!’ Moss Side was one of the poorer inner districts of Manchester. Moulton had never been attached to a circuit before (cf. ‘Moulton Biography’, 86), although at weekends he was regularly away from home (and often beyond Manchester) on preaching engagements. The Moss Side appointment is probably to be interpreted as a temporary one pending a return to peacetime conditions. As for the Schweich Lectures, C.K. Barrett informs me (per litt., 13 December 1990), it was not at all unusual in the earlier part of the century and even beyond these to be delivered by non-members of the British Academy. Some Schweich lecturers in the same situation (at least, at the time) included H.St.J. Thackeray (1920), E.L. Sukenik (1930), and R. de Vaux (1959). On 14 June 1916 the single comment is passed: ‘Milligan wrote me yesterday that he had some 400pp. ready for me already’. At this time Moulton was weighing up the pros and cons of staying on in India for another six months. ‘I shall put the question before Milligan, and if he thinks another six months won’t be very serious, . . .’ (17 May; cf. 24 May, ‘Milligan’s feelings [on this matter] are . . . most important’). By 6 June Moulton had settled to stay on. Didsbury was closed, so ‘. . . since I shall have no work till September [1917],
My research on this material has grown out of another project, and remains subordinate to it. In 1980 the proposal was mooted at Macquarie University in Sydney that MM merited revision. The decision to test out this possibility led to the establishment of a new series, my New documents illustrating early Christianity. The detailed testing encompassed in these volumes and in other publications and contexts made clear to our committee both that Moulton and Milligan’s frequently-reprinted work was in need of complete replacement, and that this was a task worth undertaking. The goal of the co-editors, J.A.L. Lee (University of Sydney) and myself, is to produce a new dictionary which illustrates the lexical uses of the words attested in the New Testament by examples drawn from non-literary papyri and inscriptions dated roughly from II B.C. to A.D. III.

The present contribution does not attempt to paint a broad canvas. Instead, it deals with one aspect of Moulton’s relationship with Deissmann, his closest friend in Germany. The letters selected for inclusion here reveal hitherto unsuspected information about the origin of MM and its scope, and help us account rather better for some of its anomalous features. Furthermore, they throw considerable light on the scarcely-known project by Deissmann to produce a New Testament lexicon, intended to be his major scientific contribution, but never completed or published. A number of other issues and people are referred to, and notes are appended on some of these. However, I have decided against a full commentary on all aspects of these letters. That should await the biography which Deissmann indubitably merits. The letters printed here are reproduced from Deissmann’s autographs in Manchester with the permission of Mr J.P. Tuck, Head of Administration at the John Rylands University Library. Abbreviations have usually been resolved, and occasional spelling lapses corrected. There is some inconsistency in the writing of -ss/-fi-, however, even in Deissmann’s signing of his own name. ‘Dass’ is nearly always written, not ‘daß’. Underlining reflects the autograph. Vertical bars mark the start of a new page in the letter. Superscript letters in the German text and the translation refer to points discussed in the commentary following each letter. For help with the sense of the German in some excepting my preaching engagements, I can concentrate on what Milligan will have done’. By 17 July Milligan must have replied opposing Moulton’s proposal to defer his return, for in that letter he confirms that there is no work for him at Manchester University. ‘Milligan’s strong objection I can sufficiently counter by showing him that I simply hadn’t a post in England to come back to, unless I was to go into a circuit, and get no time at all for the Vocabulary’. On 24 January 1917 there is a passing reference to receipt of a letter from Milligan.

places I am grateful to Dr Gerhard Deissmann in Bremen, and in Melbourne to both Mrs Beatrice Pedley and Dr Heidi Zogbaum. Dr Michael Lattke (University of Queensland) also provided valuable help on several points of detail. Others who have given advice on specific questions are acknowledged at the relevant place.

THE LETTERS AND COMMENTARY

1a. Deissmann to Moulton, 12 January 1907, from Heidelberg (MA MOU II.37)


Eine kurze Anzeige der zweiten Auflage Ihrer Grammatik kommt dennächst in der ThLZ.[i]

Mit der Bitte, meine Antwort freundschaftlichst zu verzeihen

Ihr
Adolf Deißmann
It is clear that this letter was of great importance to Moulton, for it is the only one to which he appended a rendering in his own hand. No attempt has been made to emend it.

1b. Moulton's own translation of the same.

My dear Moulton!

Many thanks for your very kind and intimate letter of December 30. I have thought over the whole matter carefully and come to the following results. Your proposal, that I should add to the papyrus-evidence of your contemplated book the corresponding material from the inscriptions, has great attractiveness for me. And it would also be to me a quite peculiar honour to undertake this important work together with you. But I am afraid it would keep me for years from securing the appearance of my Dictionary.\[a\] The more I think over my future engagements, the more eager I am to accomplish first the duty of completing this life work.\[b\] Every New Year is to me a dun and an accuser. I have not indeed grown lazy, and a large mass of material lies in my desk;\[c\] but lectures and public work in many fields have so seriously occupied my time, in addition to my university work, that the great enterprise of my life is sadly thrust into the background. In November I was 40. We have a saying that Swabians get sense at 40.\[d\] Though I am not a Swabian, I have seriously set before myself to put everything else aside as far as I can, to devote myself to the progress of the Dictionary. By Easter this year I hope by the completion of a little book\[c\] to be so far on my way that I shall be otherwise free.

Accordingly I must ask you, dear friend, to leave me my freedom!\[f\] Will you not restrict yourself to the papyri? Or use only the latest collections of inscriptions, so far as they have indices?\[g\] To work through the rest is a colossal undertaking. Meanwhile I work on with the Lexicon, and hope in a few years to get so far as to be able to give you the first proofs for the English edition.\[h\] Your papyrus studies will I hope ere that be of the greatest use to me.

A short review of the second edition of your Grammar comes soon in ThLZ.\[l\]

Asking you to give my reply your friendliest excuses, I remain

Ever yours most sincerely

Adolf Deissmann

\[a\] Aber ich fürchte, . . . abhalten: This way of talking about his dictionary implies that Moulton must have already been aware of Deissmann's project. Yet I have been able to discover no mention of it by Deissmann anywhere in print. It is clear from other comments later in this paragraph that the project was already underway. This goal of Deissmann, to produce a lexicon, was not very widely known, although it was certainly not kept secret, for at least one close associate and colleague of Moulton at Manchester alluded to it. In his entry on Moulton for the (British) Dictionary of National Biography, 1912–1921 (Oxford: Oxford University
LETTERS OF DEISSMANN TO MOULTON

Press, 1927; repr. 1976), A.S. Peake (1865–1929; from 1904 the first Rylands Professor of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis at Manchester) refers to Moulton’s hope ‘to prepare for English readers an edition of Deissmann’s projected lexicon’ (392). Moreover, A.T. Robertson refers to Deissmann’s intention in his contribution to the Festschrift for the latter: ‘New Testament Grammar after thirty years’, in K.L. Schmidt (ed.), Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann zum 60. Geburtsstag 7. November 1926 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1927), 82–92. Concerning the papyri, says Robertson, ‘the immediate interest that Deissmann had was in the lexical field. It started him upon the idea of a new lexicon of the Greek New Testament in accord with the new data afforded by the papyri and inscriptions. The Great War interrupted the prosecution of this great undertaking. It is to be hoped that Dr. Deissmann may yet be able to push on this important task to fruition’ (84–5). See further the next paragraph of this letter, as well as no. 4 below and the last main paragraph of no. 5.

[b] *opus vitae*: Deissmann had used this phrase of Moulton only the previous year in a running survey of new books and articles relating to the Greek of the Bible, including some of Moulton’s recent articles and his *Grammar*, I: ‘Die Sprache der griechischen Bibel’, Theologische Rundschau, 9 (1906), 210–29, at 220. There he seems to imply that the *opus vitae* will be the *Grammar*. Cf. New Docs, 5.87. See further below.

[c] *in meinen Kasten*: Dr Gerhard Deissmann can still recall a set of black boxes belonging to his father which were kept at ‘Haus Anatolia’ in Wünsdorf (c. 40 km. south of Berlin) after his retirement in 1934. He believes that in these Deissmann may have kept the slips (Zettel) for the lexicon. Moulton’s rendering of ‘Kasten’ as ‘desk’ in letter no. Ib may give the wrong impression, then: ‘filing boxes’ would be better. After Deissmann’s death in 1937, this material is most likely to have been left there in the house. In Spring 1945 Russian troops arrived in Wünsdorf, and the Deissmann family house was ransacked, most of Deissmann’s books and papers being thrown out into the garden. Only a few of these books were retrieved by his oldest son Ernst (1899–1974), but no papers were saved. There was no reason to move family effects away between 1937 and 1945 because Frau Henriette Deissmann (1873–1955), Deissmann’s widow, resided still in Wünsdorf. In 1945 Zossen became the centre for the Russian Occupational Command in the years after the War, making family visits to Wünsdorf impossible. So it appears that the data which Deissmann had collected over many years for his ‘opus vitae’ were dispersed to the winds after his death by soldiers who could not be blamed for knowing nothing of their academic interest. There were additional reasons why the dictionary plan came to nothing: see below.

[d] *dass die Schwaben dann verständig werden*: Das Schwabenalter erreichen = 40 werden.

[e] *einer kleinen Arbeit*: It is unclear whether this alludes to *New light on the New Testament from records of the Graeco-Roman period* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907; dedicated to Moulton), or to *The philology of the Greek Bible: its present and future* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908). Both were translated by L.R.M. Strachan; neither was published in German, apparently. However, since the former book was first published in serial form in *Expository Times*, 18 (1906–07), it is perhaps more likely that the 1908 book is being alluded to here, even though the former did not appear
until after this letter had been written (the preface of *New light* is dated 6 May 1907).

[f] lassen Sie mir Freiheit!: An allusion to the famous statement in Schiller's *Don Carlos* (Act III), 'Geben Sie / Gedankenfreiheit.' Moulton's rendering suggests he missed the allusion. I am grateful to Dr. M. Lattke for drawing this point to my attention.

[g] Wollen Sie sich nicht auf die Papyri beschränken? . . .: The wording here might give the impression that Deissmann is proposing that each should deal in a separate work with the evidence from different material: Moulton would confine himself to the papyri, and by implication the inscriptions would be left to Deissmann. The exception was that Moulton might use also the indexes of some recent epigraphical volumes. This qualification reflects fairly closely the content and emphasis of MM. Despite the list of more than thirty works in their epigraphical list (introduction, xxix–xxx) – some of which, such as the ostraka volumes, would normally be listed with the papyrus corpora – less than ten volumes are drawn upon with any frequency. These volumes were quarried fairly thoroughly for MM; indeed, Deissmann speaks of MM's 'comprehensive use of the inscriptions' (*Light from the ancient East* [Tübingen: Mohr, 1923; ET: London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927], 21). Yet the following statement from the preface in fasc. 1 of MM (not included in the one-vol. edition) should be noted:

Students will see at once that we have dealt very differently with the various sources of vernacular Common Greek. The record of New Testament words in the non-literary papyri is intended to be given with fullness, though in the case of very common words we have not sought to be exhaustive where practical purposes are not served. The inscriptions are quite another matter. To deal with their material on anything like an adequate scale appeared to us hopeless. But we have used some easily accessible collections as carefully as possible; and we have cast our net fairly wide for illustration. Specialists in later Greek epigraphy will certainly be able to supplement our articles with riches we have been unable to quarry. And if our book prompts work of the same kind in this still wider field, no one will rejoice more than we.

Although what Deissmann says here in this letter fits the programme of MM quite closely, I think that it would be wrong to draw the inference that Deissmann's lexicon was to be an epigraphical one to parallel theirs. Letter no. 4 below shows that he had in train a general lexicon to the New Testament, but one which would draw upon epigraphical material in a distinctive fashion. And, as the conclusion of the present letter indicates, he planned to make use of Moulton's work on the papyri to this end as well.

[h] die ersten Druckbogen zur englischen Bearbeitung: See [a] above.


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2. Deissmann to Moulton, 9 March 1907, from Heidelberg (MA MOU II.38)

Mein lieber Moulton! Es hat mich sehr gefreut, dass Sie Herrn Milligan als Mitarbeiter gewonnen haben; ich habe ihn in Aberdeen kennen gelernt und er war sehr gütig. [I] Ich will gern Ihre Druckbogen seiner Zeit durchfliegen; [k] lassen Sie mir bitte immer zwei Proofs senden.

Ich habe für die 'Neuen Jahrbücher für das class. Altertum' einen größeren Überblick über die neuere englische LXX-Arbeit zu machen. [I] Glauben Sie, dass die Clarendon Press in Oxford mir ein Exemplar der LXX-Konkordanz dafür zur Verfügung stellt?

Mit herzl. Grüßen, Ihr
A.D.

Translation

My dear Moulton!

I am delighted that you have gained Mr Milligan as your collaborator; I made his acquaintance in Aberdeen, and he was very kind. [I] I will gladly skim over your galleys at some later time; [k] please be sure always to send me two sets of proofs.

I have to compose for the Neue Jahrbücher für das classische Altertum a longish survey on the more recent English LXX work. [I] Do you think that the Clarendon Press in Oxford would make available to me a copy of the LXX Concordance for that purpose?

With warm greetings, Yours
A.D.

[i] Milligan als Mitarbeiter . . .: The date of this letter, a fortnight after no. 1, shows that Moulton had acted swiftly after receipt of Deissmann's refusal letter. He had invited George Milligan to collaborate, the latter must have accepted promptly, and Moulton wrote back to Deissmann with the news. At this time Milligan was still the Presbyterian minister of Caputh in Perthshire, and had not yet been appointed to the Regius Chair at Glasgow. The letter allows us to see that Deissmann could maintain warm support for Moulton's work now that he was no longer under pressure to join him. It also indicates that Deissmann first met Milligan only the previous year, when he visited Aberdeen in September 1906 for the award of his honorary doctorate (Amtskalender, 20–26 Sept. 1906; see further [ee] below). Some twenty years previously (c.1880–83), Milligan had gone to Germany to study at Göttingen and Bonn (H. Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticaneae, VII [new edn; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1928] 405; in this he followed his father's example, who had spent the year 1845 at Halle: ibid., 376), but this letter shows that they did not meet then. Deissmann began his university studies at Tübingen in 1885 (Selbstdarstellung, 5).

The most significant point, not known heretofore, to emerge from this letter is that Milligan was a second choice for the prospective dictionary which Moulton was planning.

[k] . . . Ihre Druckbogen . . .: This is a response to what we may infer was Moulton's request that Deissmann, if he could not collaborate fully in the
intended dictionary, would at least look over the proofs. Deissmann’s work in this regard is acknowledged in the Preface to the first fascicule of MM.

The article dealt primarily with H.B. Swete’s Cambridge text of the LXX (1895–992); with Hatch and Redpath’s Concordance (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897–1906), to which Deissmann alludes in the next sentence of the present letter; and with the LXX edition of Brooke and Maclean, the first part of which (Genesis) had appeared in 1906. In addition, there was F.W. Mozley, The Psalter of the Church. The Septuagint Psalms compared with the Hebrew, with various notes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905); and R.R. Ottley, The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus) (2 vols; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904–06). The other especially important contribution by British scholars to LXX work in this period, Thackeray’s Grammar, appeared in the same year as Deissmann’s survey article.

3. Deissmann to Moulton, 19 February 1908, from Heidelberg (MA MOU II.42)


Herzlichst Ihr
Adolf Deissmann
Translation

My dear Moulton!

I thank you warmly for your Tertius-Tertia-Mutter letter, and hope only that you can soon again swing the sword of the biblical philologist. At present I can only write postcards as the move to Berlin is casting its shadow. My Chair is that of the 81 year old Bernhard Weiss, who is no longer giving many lectures, and whose presumptive heir I was made by the unanimous vote of the Berlin Faculty. Address from Easter: Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Prinzregentenstr. 7. - A propos of the nomination, I have been mightily attacked by the conservative press as, on the whole, I were not a theologian and have made no contribution to the understanding of the New Testament, but rather to the misunderstanding of the New Testament, and have dared to attack the two greatest linguists, Cremer and Blass. But mainly I've been attacked for political reasons, since I have stood here on the side of the workers. These rather nonsensical attacks have achieved nothing really, for the Kaiser has already endorsed my appointment at the end of January; but they have been painful. However, I thought often of England and Scotland, where even in Conservative circles there is more appreciation for my work than among our Party fanatics. At the beginning of March my wife and I are going to recuperate in Lugano; at the beginning of April, the move to the big city. Hopefully, we will see you and yours there quite soon.

Forgive me for not expatiating on the language problem: I do not have the text of Peters here, and lack the time to compare them. It is probable that Jesus understood Greek. Please send me the 'Lexical Notes' not in proofs, but in the Expositor, it is better for citation.

Most sincerely,

Yours,

Adolf Deissmann

[m] . . . Ihren Tertiust-Tertia-Mutter-Brief: The allusion is obscure to me: a reference of some kind to Romans 16.22?

[n] Bernhard Weiß: Although Deissmann spent six student semesters at Tübingen (1885–87), in 1888 he went to Berlin for one semester where Bernhard Weiß (1827–1918) was one of his teachers (Selbstdarstellung, 47–9). Weiß’s interests as a Systematic Theologian were vastly different from Deissmann’s, but apparently he lent his weight behind the nomination of Deissmann as his successor. That is the implication of this letter, at least, especially when it is coupled with Deissmann’s own recounting of their connection in Selbstdarstellung, 68.

[o] Cremer und Blass: The ninth edition of H. Cremer (1834–1903), Bibl.-theol. Wörterbuch der neustamentlichen Gräzität had appeared in 1902, to which Deissmann had responded negatively in Theologische Rundschau, 9 (1906), 216–17. He had also reviewed in similar manner F. Blass (1843–1907), Grammatik des neustamentlichen Griechisch (Göttingen:

[p] . . . ich hier auf Seiten der Arbeiter gestanden habe: The comment here shows that the references below to ‘Conservative circles’ and ‘our party fanatics’ are political allusions, rather than comments about those of a different theological disposition. The Conservative Party in Britain is one focus, while the ‘fanatics in our party’ alludes to members of the Nationalsozialer Verein in Germany. The National Social League (not to be confused with the later National Socialist Party) was a Protestant Christian party founded in 1896 by Pfarrer Friedrich Naumann (1860–1919) and committed to social engagement. The NSV later split into two wings, the Deutsche Volkspartei and the Deutsche Demokratischepartei; of the latter, Naumann was the first president, and M. Dibelius (a student of Deissmann) was a member for a time. Deissmann knew Naumann personally; there are occasional references to visits by the latter to ‘Haus Anatolia’ recorded in the *Amtskalender*. He spoke at the obsequies of Naumann in 1919. See further *Selbstdarstellung*, 63–4. This information serving as background to his comments in this letter provides a context which allows us to see much better than previously what shaped Deissmann’s views on the social level of the early Christians, exemplified throughout his classic work *Licht vom Osten*, the first book he published after the move to Berlin in 1908. Deissmann’s views on this question were long influential, but have been largely discarded now. See A.J. Malherbe, *Social aspects of early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 31–59; W. Meeks, *The first urban Christians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 51–53; cf. *New Docs*, 5.111. On Naumann see, e.g., T. Heuss, *Friedrich Naumann: der Mann, das Werk, die Zeit* (Munich: Siebenstern Taschenbuch, 1968). Some comments on Deissmann are made in a recent article on German Protestantism and politics early this century: J.A. Moses, ‘State, war, revolution and the German Evangelical Church, 1914–18’, *Journal of Religious History*, 17.1 (1992), 47–59.


[r] ‘Lexical Notes’: This refers to the long series of articles by Moulton and Milligan, ‘Lexical notes from the papyri, IV–XXV’, beginning in *The Expositor*, ser. vii, vol. 5 (January 1908), 51–60 and running through to ser. viii, vol. 4 (1912), 561–8. The series numeration picked up from three articles by Moulton alone, ‘Notes from the papyri,’ which appeared in the same journal between 1901 and 1903. For further details see *New Docs*, 5.86–7. The change of title is indicative that the plan to produce a lexicon had firmly crystallized; and it is at this fourth article that a systematic alphabetical listing of data begins. Thus, within less than a year since letter no. 2 Moulton’s partnership with Milligan was proving tangibly productive.

It is very likely that Albert Thumb received offprints of the *Expositor* articles, too. Not long after this letter from Deissmann, Thumb wrote to
Moulton and commented that 'das geplante Lexikon' would be sure to be valuable to theologians and philologists (MA MOU II.443, dated 2 March 1908).

4. Deissmann to Moulton, 27 December 1909, from Berlin (MA MOU II.46)

Mein lieber Moulton!


Sodann über Ihre Fragen.


3. Wegen der Zusätze in [...] lasse ich Ihnen ganz freie Hand, besonders auch, wenn Sie etwa gegen eine Aufstellung von mir polemisieren wollen; das ist Ihr gutes Recht. Sie müssen auch selbst am besten wissen, was sich speziell für englische Theologen eignet, besonders im Hinblick auf die Beachtung der engl. Bibelübersetzungen und der engl. Fachliteratur, die ich bloss zum kleinen Teile kenne.


Freund, an Offerten fehlt es nicht; zu Hodder & Stoughton hätte ich jetzt das beste Zutrauen.

Überlegen Sie bitte vor allem, ob Cambridge Univ. Press in Betracht kommt. Mir ist der Gedanke gekommen, dass ein Privatverleger in vielen Fällen bequemer ist (für den Autor), als eine offizielle Druckerei, die immer an die Entscheidungen der Syndics gebunden ist und mit welcher z. B. die Korrespondenz immer etwas länger dauert. Dem einen Privatverleger gegenüber gilt Gal. 3.20: ὁ δὲ μεσοίτης ἔνος οὐκ ἔστιν.


Ihr

treu ergebener

Adolf Deißmann


Translation

My dear Moulton,

I am pleased to answer your letter and card immediately, and hope that my letter reaches you while Mr Kellett[3] is still with you.

First, a short report on the plan of the Lexicon. I want to compose a students’ book that simultaneously places academic lexicography of the New Testament on new foundations.[l] The book ought to be much smaller than Thayer’s.[n] I think that an extravagant accumulation of biblical passages is not advisable and that Preuschen’s[v] intention to, as far as possible, ‘replace’ a concordance is quite silly. I give the readers credit for judgement and a little knowledge of Greek that if, for instance, polis means ‘city’ and basileus ‘king,’ polis basileos means ‘city of a king.’ Preuschen has filled his book with a thousand such trivialities and has neglected what is worth knowing.

But about your questions:

1. I am in complete agreement with Mr Kellett.
2. I will send Mr Kellett and you the galley proofs. Of course, these are[w] not yet completely correct and will undergo further alterations, mostly by you. In particular, I will gratefully make use of your corrections, objective additions, etc.
3. In the matter of additions in square brackets, I give you a completely free hand. If you wish to argue against me, a statement or premise of mine, that is your right. You yourself must be also the best judge of what is particularly suited for English theologians, especially in regard to the English Bible translations and English subject literature of which I know little.

4. The question of the publishers is very important and must be considered thoroughly. To be frank, I have no particular liking for T. & T. Clark, since I have not had good experiences with Bible Studies.

In summer 1907 Dr Giles asked me if I wanted to give the lexicon to C.U.P. At the time I told him that the idea would not be uncongenial to me. I don’t know what you really think of that; possibly it also has much against it. Earlier again, Dr Nicoll had asked me to give the work to Hodder & Stoughton; I have not refused, but also I am not bound to do so. As you see, dear friend, offers are not lacking. At the moment I have most confidence in H. & S. Please think over if C.U.P. should be considered; the thought has come to me that in many instances a private publisher is (for an author) more comfortable, as an official printer is always bound to the decisions of the Syndics and with whom, for example, correspondence always lasts a little longer. For one private publisher Gal. 3.20 is valid: ‘But there is not a mediator between one person.’

With heartfelt greetings and all good wishes for 1910.

Yours truly,
Adolf Deissmann

P.S. The election speeches of the socialist in the service of the Tories have not been taken seriously here. Should I become aware of German press opinions which need a rebuttal, I will write to you for some clarifying words. In England you can always allude to the fact that a people bound to general military duty as the Germans are must be peace-loving. The war is for us even more frightful than for England, for here almost every family produces soldiers. Four years ago, in my own family three members would have become soldiers in case of war (today these are, to some extent, no longer liable for military service).

[s] Mr Kellett: E.E. Kellett taught at the Leys School in Cambridge from 1889-1924. Moulton had been a master there from 1886-1902, so their friendship had been well cemented by the time the latter moved to Manchester. For Kellett see D. Baker, Partnership in Excellence. A late-Victorian educational venture: The Leys School, Cambridge, 1875-1975 (Cambridge: the Governors of the Leys School, 1975) 157, 271 (and pl. 42a).

[t] Ich will ein Studenten-Buch machen, . . . : This sentence is revealing of the beginnings of a shift in Deissmann’s plan for his lexicon. He is still anticipating it will be up to date academically, but now it will be a book
intended for students, not just specialists. The comment about the envisaged length is a further pointer to this. But the most important point to note is that he compares his planned work with Thayer and Preuschen’s lexica, i.e., with general New Testament dictionaries. This goal was not altogether clear from letter no. 1, but it makes far more comprehensible the idea of an English edition.


[v] *Preuschen:* The Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur of E. Preuschen (1867–1920) was published by Töpelmann at Gießen in 1910. Its appearance in seven fascicules over the preceding two years had already drawn antipathetic reviews from Deissmann: *Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* (1908), cols. 1878–81; (1909), cols. 476–78; (1910), cols. 1181–83; *Theologische Rundschau,* 15 (1912), 356–7. The much-improved quality of the second edition (Gießen, 1928), revised by W. Bauer (1877–1960), was the last knell for Deissmann’s goal to produce his own lexicon, if in fact he still harboured this ambition by then. In *The New Testament in the light of modern research* (The Haskell Lectures 1929; New York: Doubleday, 1929), Deissmann emphasizes (83) the importance of MM as a factor contributing to the quality of Bauer’s second edition. It is not inconsistent with this that he never lost his interest in lexicography: possibly the last academic contribution he wrote was a review of Bauer’s *Wörterbuch* (Berlin: Töpelmann, 1936) in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung,* (1937), cols. 520–21. As far as I have been able to ascertain – no complete bibliography of Deissmann’s publications has been assembled, though cf. *Zum Gedenken,* 18–20 – he never reviewed MM, either its individual fascicules or the complete one-volume work.

[w] *Natürlich sind . . .:* The entire letter concerns Deissmann’s plans for his lexicon; and the four questions to which he is responding at this point deal with the intended English edition. The present tense here must be interpreted as merely a vivid, prophetic use, for there is no evidence that he actually had any material ready.

[x] *Dr Giles:* Deissmann appears to have first met Peter Giles (University Reader in Comparative Philology and Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; from 1911 that College’s Master, and from 1919–21 the University’s Vice-Chancellor) at a dinner with J.G. Frazer (1854–1941) in Cambridge on 7 August 1907 (*Amtskalender, ad loc.*) during a visit to England which lasted from 26 July to 18 August 1907. The *Amtskalender* for that year includes on pp.173–95, 209–23 details in summary form of his meetings with people in Cambridge, London, and elsewhere.

[y] *Dr Nicoll:* William Robertson Nicoll (1851–1923) of Hodder & Stoughton figures on p.186 of the *Amtskalender* for 1907 simply as one who ‘told many funny stories’. It is unclear whether they had met previously, but the reference to him by surname alone in the *Amtskalender* implies it. Note further *Amtskalender* (1912), 162. Among other responsibilities, Nicoll was editor of *The Expositor* from 1885 until his death.

[z] *Die Wahlreden des im Dienste der Tories stehenden Sozialisten:* This comment may well refer to David Lloyd George (1863–1945), Chancellor
of the Exchequer since April 1908 in the Asquith Liberal government. He had opposed the Boer War, and was identified by both friends and enemies as a champion of Socialism. 1909 was a particularly critical year for British politics. On 29 April Lloyd George had introduced his ‘People’s Budget’ to the Commons, but it was damned as a socialist Budget by the Lords who rejected it on 30 November. Lloyd George had already held centre stage over Asquith since May, and the failure of the Budget propelled Britain into a general election in January 1910. Lloyd George had been a keen promoter of Anglo-German rapprochement, and was regarded as an ally of appeasement, at least, if not of pacifism. But the Asquith Government made secret agreements with France and Russia of which Lloyd George claimed to be unaware at the time; and public comments he made from late 1909 (and particularly a speech of 4 July 1910, six months after Deissmann’s letter) incensed German nationalists and alarmed those in both countries who were trying to defuse the trend towards open hostility. If Lloyd George is being alluded to here the point of Deissmann’s reference is that here is someone in the Liberal government who had taken a very different stand in the past but was now doing the Tories’ work for them. Dr P. Bull of La Trobe University kindly spent time discussing this point with me. Moulton far preferred Asquith to Lloyd George: see ‘Letters Home’, e.g., 9 January, 6 and 16 February, 24 May 1916; cf. C.E. Bailey, ‘The British protestant theologians in the first world war: Germanophobia unleashed’, \textit{Harvard Theological Review}, 77 (1984), 195–221, at 215–16. On Lloyd George in this period see in general P. Rowland, \textit{Lloyd George} (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), 183–224; J. Grigg, \textit{Lloyd George: the people’s champion, 1902–1911} (London: Eyre Methuen, 1978), especially 159–312.

\[\text{[aa]}\text{ mit allgemeiner Wehrpflicht: On this phrase see A.J. Hoover,} \textit{God, Germany and Britain in the Great War. A study in clerical nationalism} (New York: Praeger, 1989) 77.\]

\[\text{[bb]}\text{ der Krieg ist für uns viel furchtbarer, . . .: The comment shows Deissmann’s awareness that Moulton was a pacifist. For some time, in fact, he was vice-president of the London Peace Society. Several allusions to his pacifist views occur in letters from Rendel Harris (MA MOU II.264, 288, 305, 309, etc.). Whether Moulton actually abandoned his stance during the War is unclear. There is visible in the ‘Letters Home’ a hardening attitude to German actions (e.g., 3 and 6 January 1916), yet there is no anti-German comment in the two detailed letters (17 and 23 August 1916) giving his reaction to the news of the death of his older son, Ralph. On the other hand, he continued to oppose conscription (20 June 1916; cf. the pamphlet to which he and C. Kernahan contributed, \textit{The black hour; a remarkable discussion} [London: C.H. Kelly, 1914]). The clearest statement which suggests his changing position occurs in ‘Letters Home’ 9 January 1916: ‘I can see no half-way house between accepting the War with all its loathsome consequences, and the rigid Quaker position with its logical sequel of service in the Quaker Ambulance in Flanders. And sorrowfully enough I must choose the first . . .’ See further Bailey, 200, 211; cf. 218. Somewhat reluctantly, it appears, Moulton wrote a pamphlet, \textit{British and German scholarship} (\textit{Papers for war time, 31}; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1915), composed before the use of poison gas and the sinking of the ‘Lusitania’: these two matters are mentioned in a postscript at the end (and
cf. his preface to From Egyptian rubbish heaps [London: Charles Kelly, 1916]). The pamphlet is laudatory of the work of Deissmann and of Harnack (pp. 13–14; the latter’s son-in-law was killed early in the War, p. 10). In contrast, Deissmann did not hold to such a view. It is intriguing that both in this letter and in the second paragraph of no. 5 the two men were able to talk openly about the war which they already saw as inevitable, although in this they were not the only ones with prescience. When the war actually broke out, Deissmann adopted a nationalistic stand until December 1914, when he embarked on the EvW, a regular newsletter to promote international good relations between Christians. One consequence was that he was attacked in Germany for not being sufficiently patriotic: see W. Pressel, Die Kriegspredigt 1914–1918 in der evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands (Arbeiten zur Pastoraltheologie 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1967) 139.

5. Deissmann to Moulton, 27 December 1911, from Berlin (MA MOU II.57)


In St Andrews freute ich mich des Wiedersehens mit Milligan; er half mir bei einer engl. Rede, die ich halten musste. With hearty greetings and best wishes for the coming year. Yours ever.

Adolf Deissmann

I hope you will come next year to the eastern parts of the world incl[uding] Berlin.

Translation

My dear Moulton,

I have received your Jamaica letter, and have sent on the enclosure immediately to Harnack after his return. And now I have to thank you for a second valued letter which has given me as much pleasure as the first. Meanwhile, I have had direct news from Toronto of your appearance there[c] from another member of the audience. I have not received your Early poetry of Persia[dd] which you kindly mention.

Naturally, in the unrest of political life of the last months I have often thought of you and the other true English friends. At St Andrews in the Bay and near North Queensferry in the Firth of Forth I saw[ee] the mobile naval cruiser squadrons which are ready for an attack on our coasts. Fortunately, we were able to celebrate the long Scottish Alma Mater banquet undisturbed. What has pained me deeply is the fact that under Liberal rule it was possible for statesmen to express such hostile sentiments.[ff] We now have 65
million people, and every year sees an increase of about 900,000. It is unlikely that all of these can compose music or write lexicons. They are dependant on world trade and industry. Therefore we have to cross the seas; and I think British interests are not injured by the fact that we, learning from England and her outstanding colonial policy, also acquire colonies. The more both countries recognize their mutual rights in open and loyal competition, the better political relations can be among blood-related peoples.

Thank you for your friendly words about my Paul. The book is written in my singular style, and therefore it is not easy for a non-German to read. Your objections to my assessment of Paul's theology are very helpful. I don't deny that Paul had a theological vein; I disavow only that it was the historically active point of his complete personality. Is it historically characteristic for John Wesley that he was a fellow of Lincoln College? Certainly, I believe that for Wesley the theological impetus was stronger than it was for Paul. Moreover, in Germany the book was received strangely. Some expressed scorn, while others were in enthusiastic agreement. Sic et non! In Spring I hope to publish a pamphlet in which I discuss this problem further.

You are an empathetic friend! My Lexicon is a ‘painful subject’ for me. Berlin is a vampire. The University work, with its two large and one small lectures, and two seminars, absorbs most of my strength; added to that there are a large number of public lectures and an almost overpowering amount of correspondence. Even now I am considering if I should let be printed the new edition of the German Bibelstudien which is about 2/3 finished. What do you think? I would gain time for the Lexicon if I do not publish a new edition of the BSt. It is my intention that Strachan would send you the sheets; but please make your decisions on your literary concerns without regard to the Lexicon. I cannot see a definite time in which the printing could begin.

In St Andrews I was pleased to renew acquaintance with Milligan. He helped me with an English address which I had to give.

With hearty greetings and best wishes for the coming year.

Yours ever,
Adolf Deissmann

I hope you will come next year to the eastern parts of the world including Berlin.

[cc] Von Ihrem Auftreten in Toronto: Moulton was in Jamaica in August 1911, according to an inscribed photograph taken at Demerara which is in Mrs Hollings’ possession. His visit to the West Indies was made under the auspices of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. After this, he travelled in N. America from 9 September to 25 October. This included attendance at the Toronto Ecumenical Methodist Conference, to which Deissmann here alludes.
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[dd] 'Early Religious Poetry of Persia': Moulton published four books on Zoroastrianism and Parsism: *Early religious poetry of Persia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), *Early Zoroastrianism* (The Hibbert Lectures; London: Williams & Norgate, 1913), *The teaching of Zarathushtra* (Bombay: P.A. Wadia, 1917), and the posthumous *The treasure of the Magi* (London: Oxford University Press, 1917). In a personal addendum to the printed note of thanks to sympathizers for the death of his wife, Moulton tells his second cousin Frank Green, . . . 'While my loss was not a week old, there came a call to go to Bombay for the YMCA to found a mission to the Parsees – I have studied them for thirty years, and from my writings already have an open door' (MA MOU V.58A, June 1915; Moulton’s wife, Eliza Keeling Osborn (b. 1867) died on 7 June). The ‘call to India’ came in the form of an invitation by letter from J.N. Farquhar, the Literature Secretary of the Y.M.C.A. in India who was later to hold the Chair of Comparative Religion at The University of Manchester (1923–29). Cf. E.J. Sharpe, ‘Comparative religion at The University of Manchester, 1904–1979’, *Bulletin of The John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 62 (1980), 144–70 at 152, 156 (with n. 2). Moulton left for India in October 1915, in company with T.R. Glover (Cambridge) and G.H. Leonard (Bristol).

[ee] in St Andrews sah ich . . .: In September 1911 Deissmann travelled to Scotland. Sunday 10th was spent in Edinburgh with Dr Samuel Angus. The next day he proceeded to St Andrews, and on Thursday 14 September his honorary doctorate was conferred at a ceremony during which Nathan Söderblom was honoured similarly.10 By Sunday 14th he was back in Wünsdorf (*Amtskalender*, ad locc.). This was not his first Scottish doctorate: in mid-September 1906 he had travelled to England, and reached Aberdeen on the 20th in order to receive an honorary degree there on Wednesday 26th (*Amtskalender*, ad locc.). England followed in Scotland’s wake: Manchester conferred an honorary degree on Deissmann on Saturday 29 June 1912, and Oxford in 1929.

[ff] Was mich tief geschmerzt hat, . . .: To Dr J. Moses (University of Queensland), I owe the observation (*per litt.*, 15 August 1992) that when Deissmann saw the British naval build-up in the North Sea as a sign of aggressive intent ‘he would not grasp that the British were panicked by the Turpitz plan which threatened to outbuild them in battleships (Dreadnoughts) and were reacting purely defensively.’ Cf. P.M. Kennedy, *The rise and fall of British naval mastery* (London: A. Lane, 1976) 205–39.

[gg] ’Paulus’: *Paulus. Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtliche Skizze* (Tübingen, 1911). The first edition was dedicated to Harnack, whose 60th birthday occurred on Sunday 7 May that year. Upon his return from St Andrews, he met with L.R.M. Strachan and H.St J. Thackery at Wünsdorf on Sunday 17 September to settle details of the English translation. The *Amtskalender* for that date also notes that Rouffiac would prepare a French version. J. Rouffiac was a French Protestant pastor who had completed his doctorate with Deissmann. It was published as *Recherches sur les caractères du grec dans le Nouveau Testament d’après les inscriptions de Priène* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911). The French translation

of Paulus never appeared, for Rouffiac was killed in action in 1915. Strachan produced the English translation, published in London in 1911. Before either of these editions had appeared there was published a Swedish version (Stockholm: Olaus Petri Foundation, 1910; 1918\textsuperscript{2}), reflecting the origin of the book as a set of eight lectures given in Uppsala in March 1910. It was here in Uppsala that he met Professor Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931), later Archbishop of Uppsala, with whom he was to work very closely after the War in the establishment of the World Council of Churches. The second edition of Paulus was far more than a mere reprint (Tübingen: Mohr, 1925). Much was added to the contents; and there was a new dedication to those of his students from the Berlin years 1908–1918 who had fallen in the War, describing them as heroes. Of these, the only non-German mentioned is Rouffiac. The second edition (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1927) was translated by W.E. Wilson: Strachan had not died, but was unable to attend to the translation (p. xii).

Deissmann had a good relationship with Harnack. The Amtskalender have numerous references to meetings with him, and not only after the move to the Berlin Chair. Deissmann traces the genesis of Harnack's influence upon him back to 1888, although it was conveyed indirectly at that time (Selbstdarstellung, 49).

[B] Berlin ist ein Vampyr. Deissmann mentions here another factor which is preventing him completing his 'opus vitae'. It goes too far to infer from this paragraph that he had by now abandoned his lexicon plan; but we may perceive another 'nail in the coffin'. Apart from the workload he mentions, Deissmann as a provincial was never fully at home in Berlin, it seems. The decision to purchase a house at Wünsdorf (Kreis Teltow) in 1912, and the frequency with which he travelled there for weekends, reflects this; cf. Selbstdarstellung, 68–69.

[ii] Bibelstudien: Deissmann is probably referring here to Neue Bibelstudien (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1897) as well as Bibelstudien (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1895). His own copy of the former, which was saved when the family home was ransacked in 1945 and is now in his son's possession, contains many marginal annotations in Deissmann's own hand. It could well be that these were preparatory to a new edition. In the event, nothing came of it.

[jj] Strachan: Lionel R.M. Strachan was one to whom Deissmann had frequent but not sole recourse as translator of his material into English. He lived in Heidelberg, where he was a lecturer in English at the university until the War broke out, when he was interned (see the Translator's Preface to Light from the ancient East\textsuperscript{4}). The Amtskalender have frequent references to meetings between him and Deissmann, which continued on after Deissmann moved to Berlin. In Adolf Deissmann zum 7. November 1936, a unique, bound book of handwritten letters of congratulation from friends, colleagues, and former students to Deissmann on his 70th birthday, there is one letter from R.H. Strachan, written at Westminster College, Cambridge. I presume this must have been a son of the translator.

[kk] . . . in dem der Druck beginnen kann: It appears from the comment here that Strachan was to translate Deissmann's projected lexicon, which Moulton would then look over; but, says Deissmann, Moulton should not trouble himself with them, since he has his own commitments. With no date for the publication yet able to be envisaged, we may have another hint
that the prospect of achieving the task was starting to slip from his grasp. Although it might be possible to read these sentences as alluding to a new edition of Bible Studies, the fact that Grieve and not Strachan had translated that work suggests otherwise.

6. Deissmann to William Fiddian Moulton,[ll] 26 April 1917, from Berlin (MA MOU V.7A)

My dear Mr Moulton,

Through my friend, Dr Nuelsen[mm] in Zürich, Bishop of the Methodist Church, I received the sad news of the sudden tragic death of your brother, my most intimate friend in England and my deserving colleague, D. theol. h. c. of our Berlin University. In true fellowship of suffering, the painful lot of him who now has gone to his reward touched me as though it had been my own; and the numerous letters from him during these last troublesome years I will ever regard as a precious bequest.[nn]

His last communication deeply gripped my heart; it was written in the beginning of February 1917. In it he foresaw his death and even the deplorable circumstances accompanying it.[lo] As soon as I see fit, I intend to give a more detailed account of this and also to say something about his death. For the present, however, all other questions recede behind the deep and honest feeling of pain and grief with regard to the bereaved daughter[pp] and your own family, to say nothing of the great loss to Biblical research. Have, pia anima!

Wednesday, May 9, I expect to address my students in the N.T. Seminar at the University in honor of the deceased and of Professor Dr Caspar René Gregory,[qq] the son-in-law of Dr Joseph Henry Thayer, who fell in France as a German officer.

In heartfelt sympathy
Yours
Adolf Deissmann

P.S. Please give me some details concerning the death of your brother.

[ll] W.T. Moulton: Younger brother (1866–1929) of J.H. Moulton. When the latter went to India in October 1915, he left his two younger children, Harold and Helen, in the care of William and his wife Jessica at Derby.

[mm] Dr Nuelsen: One of two people who mediated correspondence between Moulton and Deissmann during the War. The other was J. de Zwaan (1883–1957), professor of New Testament at Groningen (cf. ‘Moulton Biography’, 124, 125, though neither is named there). Although Moulton had never met the latter, he asked him to convey to Deissmann the news of Ralph’s death, since he could not bring himself to write to Deissmann by his own hand (‘Letters Home’. 23 September 1916).

[nn] the numerous letters from him . . .: For a further sign of Deissmann’s regard for Moulton see Selbstdarstellung, 54–55. None of the letters from Moulton to Deissmann have been located, if in fact they survived 1945.
The very full reporting by Moulton in 'Letters Home' of his activities and correspondence with non-family members suggests few letters passed between them during the India period. Moulton's first reference to a letter from Deissmann comes at 8 February 1916; but it took him some time to reply (2 June, this letter being alluded to in one from Deissmann dated 25 October which Moulton cites in full in 'Letters Home', 29 November; another letter from Moulton mentioned in ibid., 14 August). During those six months he mentions on several occasions his difficulty in replying because of 'German outrages'.

[oo] His last communication . . .: Written from India before Moulton left to return to England. In MA MOU V.57 (Moulton to anon. [Mr Platt?], from Bangalore, 11 February 1917) he indicates that the ‘City of Paris’ would be leaving Bombay on 5 March. Cf. PLP 78.4.4, letter of Moulton to Mr Sharpe, from Bangalore, 2 February 1917: ‘So I hope to be home before Easter’. See further note 6, above.

[pp] the bereaved daughter: Deissmann mentions Helen, but not Harold. The omission becomes explicable when the EvW is examined. In EvW, 103 (8 November 1916; also in Protestant Weekly Letter), 3-4, Deissmann wrote an obituary of Moulton’s older son, Ralph (23 February 1892–5 August 1916), killed on the Somme. However, he mistakenly called this son Harold; so also in EvW, N.F. 15 (14 May 1917), 5. In each place the correction was made by hand in Deissmann’s own set of the journal which is now in the possession of his son; presumably Deissmann noted the error subsequently himself.


INTERPRETATION OF THE LETTERS

Letter 1 is a diplomatic reply to a friend about a proposal which had disconcerted him. Deissmann had already conceived the idea of a lexicon some years before; it arose naturally out of Bibelstudien and Neue Bibelstudien even if the project had not become crystallized then. This lexicon was to be his own ‘opus vitae’. Deissmann had trained in both theology and philology, and would have focused on the latter alone had it not been for the influence of his father and the long family tradition of protestant pastors.11 That he was really a ‘philologist manqué’ is evident from his publications, especially those prior to the War: he was not at all a typical professor of New Testament concerned primarily with theology. Yet this only goes some way to explain the hostility in the Press to his appointment to

11 Cf. Selbstdarstellung, 43, 47, 49.
the Berlin Chair (letter no. 3). He was opposed as well because he was an outsider to the Prussian-dominated intellectual life of Berlin, and out of sympathy with the Prussian aristocracy politically.

Yet Deissmann had already declared in 1906 that Moulton was ready to produce his own ‘opus vitæ’; and in the context of the work he was reviewing, I think we may infer that Deissmann expected this to be the completion of the *Grammar*. It is true that Moulton had written a series of three articles on lexical material in the papyri of interest for New Testament research; but those forays were some years previous, and seemed mere marginalia compared to the *Grammar*. There is nothing in these articles to suggest that he had conceived any plan for a dictionary at that stage. I believe that Deissmann’s encouragement to Moulton to produce a life’s work had the unexpected result (for Deissmann) that Moulton hit on the idea of a lexicon on which they might collaborate. Since the date of letter no. 1 is January 1907, Moulton must have conceived the project and proposed it to Deissmann in late 1906. Deissmann was taken aback by the scheme because of his own plans, but for friendship’s sake couched his refusal as a compromise: each should have a separate *provincia*, one the papyri, the other the inscriptional data which he would catch up in his New Testament lexicon. The end of letter no. 1 implies that Deissmann will keep away from the papyrus material himself, but look forward to drawing on Moulton’s research in that area. The careful way he handles the invitation suggests Deissmann’s difficulty in writing this letter.

From the later letters we may infer that Moulton quite accepted the response, and moved into collaboration with Milligan (cf. letter no. 2) in the long series of studies which prepared the ground for *MM*. Those articles show that they kept overwhelmingly away from the inscriptions, expecting that Deissmann would produce his lexicon which would complement theirs by covering the inscriptions; yet all the while he, now in Berlin, was finding it increasingly difficult to get to it. The last main paragraph of letter no. 5 is especially telling, but there are hints even before this that he was starting to lower his sights: letter no. 4 is relevant here, with the description of the lexicon now as a student book. Letter no. 5 does not actually declare that the goal has been abandoned, but the signs were there. Whether it was at this point that the two Britons decided to cull some more epigraphic corpora and anthologies, as Deissmann had proposed in letter no. 1, cannot be determined. What these letters do provide, however, is an explanation for the marked imbalance between the papyrus and inscriptional evidence adduced in *MM*.

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What was the fate of Deissmann's lexicon? By December 1914 he had begun the *Evangelischer Wochenbrief*, and this consumed his energies for the duration of the War and beyond. It led naturally in the post-War era to his becoming one of the leading figures in the incipient ecumenical movement and in the foundation of the World Council of Churches, together with Professor (later Archbishop) Nathan Söderblom of Uppsala whom he had already known since the 'Paulus' lectures in 1910. It was on the basis of this work in particular that he was acknowledged after his death as the internationally best-known representative of German Theology. Even though his ancient world interests became increasingly sidelined compared to his international reconciliatory work with the Christian churches, Deissmann did not abandon the former researches altogether. They were largely redirected, however, into archaeology. The seeds of this were sown in the two journeys he had made earlier in the century. In 1906 he travelled for two months (late March–late May), visiting numerous ancient sites on the west coast of Turkey, in Greece, and in Italy. In 1909 (late February–early May) he travelled much more widely in Turkey, as well as in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Egypt. The *Amtskalender* for those years allow us to trace the itinerary in considerable detail. The impact of these travels upon Deissmann bore fruit in the vividness of the writing in *Licht vom Osten*; but after a longer gestation they also drew him into excavation work at Ephesos. In mid-April 1906 the young Josef Keil (1878–1963) had shown him over Ephesos (*Amtskalender*, 15 April 1906); two decades later he participated for five successive seasons (1925–29) in excavations at the site under the control of the Austrian Archaeological Institute. He had continuing good contact with F. Miltner, and with Keil. This explains how Deissmann was in a position to offer Keil an opinion

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14 H. Lietzmann, 'Adolf Deissmann zum Gedächtnis', *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 35 (1936 [1937]), 299–306, especially 306 (repr. in *Kleine Schriften*, III [TU 74; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962], 316–24). There was little correspondence between Deissmann and Lietzmann: most of the references given in Aland, *Glanz und Niedergang . . .*, index, p.1231, prove to be allusions to the former in Lietzmann's exchanges with others.

15 On Deissmann as a moderate in this context see K.C. Barnes, *Naziism, Liberalism, and Christianity. Protestant social thought in Germany and Great Britain 1925–1937* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991), 63, 68. The final letter Moulton may have received from Deissmann (25 October 1916, received in Ceylon and quoted in full in 'Letters Home' 29 November 1916) concludes: 'Let us, my dear friend, when the time of cooperation comes, unite our Christian efforts on the work of reconciliation and reconstruction. I remain in the spirit of an unchanged brotherly love, Faithfully yours, Adolf.' To my knowledge, this is the only letter to Moulton which Deissmann concluded by signing with his first name alone.

16 Keil was one of the contributors of an 'epistula gratularia' included in the unique volume, *Adolf Deissmann zum 7. November 1936*, produced to mark Deissmann's 70th birthday. For the 1929 season at Ephesos the eighteen year-old Gerhard accompanied his father.
about the onomastic interest for New Testament research of a just-discovered inscription of Neronian date concerning the city's fishing association.17 To my knowledge, Deissmann published several survey articles on the current excavations at the city and only one other article on Ephesos, that being prior to his excavation work there.18 Indeed, although he lived into the second half of the next decade, these were among his last contributions to ancient world research.19

For me, the most telling barometer of this shift of priorities is a fragment of a papyrus codex of LXX Exodus ch. 4 which belonged to Deissmann and which his son has generously entrusted to me to publish.20 In 1905 Deissmann had published a volume of LXX and other papyri from the Heidelberg collection.21 He had also owned ostraca, though they had been published by another;22 and in 1912 he may have been offered papyri and related material which he redirected to the collection of the John Rylands Library.23 The Exodus papyrus appears to have come into his hands only late in his career, possibly after his retirement in 1934. But the fact that he did not publish it is indicative that he had moved on to other interests.

17 Jahreshefte des Österreichisches archäologisches Institutes in Wien. 26 (1930), Beiblatt cols. 48-57 (fig. 24), especially col. 56; text now repr. with the addition of side B in H. Wankel, Die Inschriften von Ephesos, Ia (IK 11; Bonn: Habelt, 1979), no. 20 (pl. 20). On the analogical importance of this text for New Testament social history see New Docs, 5.95–114, especially 108.


19 Others include the fourth edition of Licht vom Osten (1923); the 1929 Haskell Lectures: The New Testament in the light of modern research (New York: Doubleday, 1929; not translated into German); and the review of the third edition of Bauer's Wörterbuch in Deutsche Literaturzeitung, (1937), cols. 520–21.


21 Die Septuaginta-Papyri und andere altchristliche Texte (Veröffentlichungen aus der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung, I; Heidelberg: Winter. 1905).

22 P.M. Meyer, Griechische Texte aus Agypten, II. Ostraka der Sammlung Deissmann (Berlin: Weidmann, 1916). Most of this collection is now held by the Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney. Their acquisition in 1935 was negotiated through Dr S. Angus, who had known Deissmann, after his move to the principalship of St Andrew's College in that University in the earlier 1930s. Prior to this Deissmann had presented two of his ostraca to the University of St. Andrews: S. Angus, Alms for oblivion: chapters from a heretic's life (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1943), 158.

23 Deissmann refers to a lot of approximately thirty papyri of Ptolemaic-Byzantine date (including five Decian libelli), ten ostraca, and a wooden mummy-label for $1000 (Amtsblatt, 23 June 1912). It is unclear whether he was considering purchasing or selling them. However, in a letter of 3 July 1912 he offers these items to the John Rylands Library through Moulton (MA MOU 11.68). In a subsequent letter (MA MOU II.69, dated 26 August 1912) he says that he does not have the time to publish these pieces, but would secure the services of P.M. Meyer to edit them for the Library if this were wanted. These texts were eventually edited by J. de M. Johnson, V. Martin and A.S. Hunt in Catalogue of the Greek papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. II. Documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1915): no. 112 for the libelli, at least (see introduction to that item).
Adolf Deissmann’s death in April 1937, twenty years almost to the
day after that of his closest English friend, ensured that nothing
would be done with the material he had collected for his lexicon.
Since among his New Testament students there were none who
were primarily philologists who might succeed to the task, and since
he had not sought a collaborator, his planned ‘opus vitæ’ remained
unrealized. Moulton’s dictionary, in contrast, did not die with him;
for having recognized the need for a collaborator from the start for
an undertaking of this size, his involvement of Milligan almost from
its inception ensured that their ‘opus vitæ’ would indeed be
completed. Yet this dictionary could not even have been conceived
without both Deissmann’s pioneering research and his friendly
encouragement to Moulton in his own work, even though he could
not involve himself to the degree that Moulton had hoped. Moulton
and Milligan’s names rightly stand on the title page of their
dictionary; but behind them another name should not be forgotten,
and all the more so since his own work did not see the light of
publication.