

THE OXYRHYNCHUS *LOGOI* OF JESUS AND THE COPTIC GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS

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IN 1897 Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt published a papyrus fragment, which had been found during the previous winter in an ancient dump of the hamlet of Behnesa on the edge of the Western Desert about 120 miles south of Cairo, where Oxyrhynchus, the capital of the Oxyrhynchite nome of ancient Egypt, stood in Roman times. This fragment, written on both sides in Greek uncials, contained a collection of eight "Sayings of Our Lord," some being only partially preserved.¹ It is the remains of a literary work, not just a few notes or jottings, as is shown by the use of "Jesus says" to introduce the sayings and the absence of any abbreviations except those normally found in biblical manuscripts. The verso of the fragment, written on the vertical fibers of the papyrus, appears to have preceded the recto, strangely enough; it bears the number 11 on its top margin, presumably a page number, which indicates that the fragment was part of a papyrus codex and not of a scroll.² Found together with other texts of the first three centuries A.D., the fragment was dated by the first editors *ca.* 150–300 A.D., "probably written not much later than the year 200."³ This fragment is known today as Oxy P (= Oxyrhynchus Papyrus) 1.⁴

In 1904 the same editors, Grenfell and Hunt, published two other Oxyrhynchus fragments, one containing "New Sayings of Jesus," the

¹ Δόγμια Ἰησοῦ, *Sayings of Our Lord from an Early Greek Papyrus* (New York, 1897). [Hereafter: GH, *Logia*]

² We may ask what the preceding ten pages in the codex contained. The Coptic version preserved in the *Gospel according to Thomas* shows that the first Greek saying is equal to the twenty-seventh Coptic saying. The length of the twenty-six preceding sayings is not such as would take up ten pages of the codex, since we can now judge the length of the page—each page must have had about 38 lines. In all probability some other treatise preceded this Greek one, just as a number of treatises are found in the same codex in the Coptic version. There is, of course, no guarantee that the *Apocryphon of John* (*kata Iōhannēn apokryphon*), which precedes the *Gospel according to Thomas* in the Coptic codex, also preceded it in the Greek.

³ GH, *Logia*, p. 6.

⁴ Numbered thus in Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Edited with Translations and Notes* (London, Part 1 [1891]) pp. 1–3.

other a "Fragment of a Lost Gospel." The fragment of the New Sayings "consists of forty-two incomplete lines on the back of a survey-list of various pieces of land," and has been dated "to the middle or end of the third century; a later date than A.D. 300 is most unlikely."⁵ It must have been the beginning of a collection of sayings, for it contains a prologue and five sayings of Jesus, some again being only partially preserved. It is known today as Oxy P 654.⁶

The "Fragment of a Lost Gospel" was made up actually of eight small scraps of a papyrus scroll, a well-written specimen dated not later than 250 A.D. In it we have four sayings of Jesus partially preserved. Though it was entitled by the first editors "Fragment of a Lost Gospel," because it contained a question asked by disciples and thus gave some context to the saying, a feature that is absent in the other two fragments, it has long been obvious that it belongs in general to the same genre as the other two fragments. It contains the introductory phrase, "Jesus says," and manifests the same sort of relation to the canonical Gospels that they do.⁷ It is generally referred to today as Oxy P 655.⁸

After their discovery and first publication these fragments—or more precisely, the first two of them, Oxy P 1 and 654—were the subject of much discussion. The question of their identity, of their authenticity, and of the restoration of their partially preserved texts were the causes of many articles and small books. Only recently we have seen the publication of a work by J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*,⁹ which treats these fragments in the larger context of the *Agrapha* (sayings attributed to Jesus, but not found in the canonical Gospels), no matter where preserved. Scholars like Batiffol, Deissmann, Harnack,

⁵ *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel* (London, 1904) p. 9. [Hereafter GH, *New Sayings*] Oxy P 657 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 4, pp. 36 ff.) offers another example of a sacred text written on the back of a used papyrus; it contains fragments of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which had been copied on the back of a text of an *Epitome* of Livy (= Oxy P 668).

⁶ Numbered thus in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 4 (1904) pp. 1–22.

⁷ The relation of Oxy P 655 to the other two fragments has often been denied; see, e.g., the discussion in H. G. E. White, *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus, Edited with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Commentary* (Cambridge, 1920) pp. xlix–lii. [Hereafter: White]

⁸ Numbered thus in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 4 (1904) pp. 22–28.

⁹ Translated by R. H. Fuller (New York, 1957). [Hereafter: *Unknown Sayings*]

Klostermann, Lagrange, Preuschen, Reitzenstein, Sanday, C. Taylor, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and Zahn have worked over these texts and have tried to restore and interpret them. It seemed, indeed, that all that could be said about them had been said.¹⁰

But the whole subject has been reopened by the discovery in 1945 or 1946 of Coptic codices of ancient Chenoboskion near the modern village of Nag'-Ḥammâdi, some sixty miles north of Luxor in Upper Egypt. Chenoboskion (literally, "a place for raising geese") is said to have been the place where Pachomius, the father of Christian Egyptian cenobitism, after release from involuntary service in the Roman army, was converted and baptized *ca.* 320 A.D. and became the disciple of the hermit Palaemon, before founding his cenobitic monastery at Tabennisi on the right bank of the Nile. From a big jar found in the cemetery near Chenoboskion came thirteen codices, containing forty-four Coptic treatises, almost all of them Gnostic writings.¹¹

One of these forty-four treatises is the *Gospel according to Thomas*, *peuaggelion pkata Thōmas*. It was published in 1956 as part of the first volume in the series, *Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo*.¹² It was written on ten leaves or twenty pages of a papyrus codex in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, mixed with some Akhmimic or Sub-Akhmimic forms. Save for a few lacunae which are easily filled out the

¹⁰ The bibliography of the Oxyrhynchus Sayings of Jesus is quite vast. While much of it is old and no longer pertinent, it contains at times observations which are still valuable in the light of the new Coptic material. We have decided, therefore, to offer as complete a listing of it as possible. It will be found at the end of the article. Unfortunately, it is not exhaustive, because we came across a number of titles with incomplete references and were not in a position to check them, as they were unavailable in the libraries to which we have access.

¹¹ See J. Doresse, *Les livres secrets des Gnostiques d'Égypte 1: Introduction aux écrits gnostiques coptes découverts à Khenoboskion* (Paris, 1958) pp. 133-280. A convenient summary of the discovery, contents of the codices, and importance of the find can be found in E. Meyerovitch, "The Gnostic Manuscripts of Upper Egypt," *Diogenes* [Engl. ed.] §25 (1959) 84-117. Pp. 115-17 contain a good bibliography of articles relating to the Coptic material.

¹² Published by Pahor Labib (Cairo, 1956). The *Gospel according to Thomas* is found on plates 80-99 with the title given at the end of the work as a sort of *explicit*. This edition contains only photographs of the papyrus pages; there is neither a modern Coptic transcription, a translation, nor a commentary. In addition to the *Gospel according to Thomas*, the volume contains part of the *Gospel of Truth* (pl. 1-46), the *Apocryphon of John* (pl. 47-80), the *Gospel according to Philip* (pl. 99-134), the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (pl. 134-45) and a Sethian Apocalypse (pl. 145-58).

entire text is well preserved. Paleographically, the document has been variously dated by Coptic specialists: H.-Ch. Puech thinks that it comes "du milieu ou de la première moitié du III^e siècle";¹³ G. Garitte says that it "peut dater du III^e ou du IV^e siècle";¹⁴ but J. Leipoldt dates it "um 500,"¹⁵ while J. Doresse gives "du milieu du IV^e siècle."¹⁶ A date *ca.* 400 is probably the safest for the copying of this text;¹⁷ the date of composition is, of course, undoubtedly much earlier.

The *Gospel according to Thomas* is not a gospel in the sense of the canonical Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John, which contain a record of the words and deeds of Jesus, nor even in the sense of some of the apocryphal Gospels, which relate fantastic stories about the Holy Family in imitation of the canonical Gospels. The *Gospel according to Thomas* relates no episodes of the life of Christ and lacks all narrative and personal information about Him. Even the instances in which the disciples or some others question Jesus cannot rightly be described as narrative, as they normally do no more than pose the question. After a prologue of four and a half lines, which itself contains a saying, this Gospel has preserved for us 114 sayings of Jesus, most of them simply introduced by the formula, "Jesus said," *pege Iêsous*. The prologue, indeed, indicates the nature of the work as a collection of sayings. These sayings sometimes resemble maxims or proverbs, sometimes parables, but sometimes answer a question put by a disciple and thus form part of a conversation. They are strung together without any apparent logical order; once in a while catchword bonds (*Stichwortverbindungen*) can be the reason for joining two sayings. The collection of sayings is actually an artificial grouping of *dicta Iesu*, cast in a homogeneous format, which are most likely derived from various sources. Prof. Oscar Cullmann, in various lectures on the *Gospel according to*

¹³ "Un logion de Jésus sur bandelette funéraire," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 147 (1955) 127.

¹⁴ "Le premier volume de l'édition photographique des manuscrits gnostiques coptes et l'Évangile de Thomas," *Muséon* 70 (1957) 61.

¹⁵ "Ein neues Evangelium? Das koptische Thomasevangelium übersetzt und besprochen," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 83 (1958) 481.

¹⁶ *Les livres secrets des Gnostiques d'Égypte 2: L'Évangile selon Thomas ou les paroles secrètes de Jésus* (Paris, 1959) p. 23. [Hereafter: Doresse, *Thomas*]

¹⁷ So W. C. Till, "New Sayings of Jesus in the Recently Discovered Coptic 'Gospel of Thomas,'" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 41 (1958-59) 451.

Thomas last spring, divided the sayings into four groups: (1) those which are word-for-word identical with certain sayings in the canonical Gospels; (2) those which are paraphrases or independent variants of canonical sayings; (3) those which reproduce sayings of Jesus which are not found in the *NT*, but are extant in patristic writings; (4) those which were previously unknown—a good half of the Gospel—and bear a very definite syncretistic, Gnostic stamp. As it stands, there is no doubt that the *Gospel according to Thomas* is an apocryphal work. We shall have more to say about this Gospel and the ancient witnesses to it toward the end of the article.

But now a word about the possible authenticity of these sayings, as this question will come up in the treatment of the individual texts. When one asks how authentic these Coptic sayings are, it should be clear that the answer will not be simple, given the complex nature of the sayings. As for the first group, they should be accorded the same authenticity as those of the *NT*. It is obviously quite possible that they have been merely lifted from the canonical Gospels; but we cannot exclude the possibility that the *Gospel according to Thomas* is tributary to an independent tradition, derived from one of the various oral or written forms that led to the formation of our canonical Gospels. In the case of the second and third groups we have to reckon seriously with the possibility of a different collection of sayings, i.e., different from those known to us in *Mt*, *Mk*, *Lk*, *Jn*, but that may have coexisted with them. The variants in the sayings that are found in the Synoptics themselves show us how the same saying has at times undergone modification in the refractory process of oral transmission or of editorial redaction. The same process might well account for the variants that are found in the Coptic sayings, which we have called "paraphrases." Hence these paraphrases may be just as authentic as the canonical words. Moreover, just as there are sayings of Jesus recorded in the *NT* outside of the Gospels (e.g., 1 Th 4:15 ff.; Acts 20:35; 1 Cor 11:24; Ap 16:15), so those in the patristic writers cannot be rejected as unauthentic simply on the grounds that they do not occur in the Gospels. The fourth group of Coptic sayings, however, is so obviously Gnostic in character that we should be inclined to regard them rather as the product of the same type of imagination that produced many of the

apocryphal Gospels. In fact, G. Quispel believes that they are derived from the apocryphal *Gospel of the Egyptians*.¹⁸ Scholars will probably be divided as to the category in which some of the sayings are best classified; however, the classification used above is fairly objective, since in the first three groups the criterion is an outside control. In the second group one might dispute whether a given saying is a paraphrase or an entirely different saying. But in every case it will be necessary to judge each saying individually, a task of evaluation that will take a long time.

It was, of course, a pleasant surprise to find that the Oxyrhynchus *logoi* of Jesus have turned up in the collection of the Coptic sayings as part of the *Gospel according to Thomas*. When Oxy P 654 was first published, containing the name of Thomas, the editors discussed the possibility of a connection between the fragment and the *Gospel according to Thomas*, only to reject it.¹⁹ In 1952 H.-Ch. Puech discovered the relation between the Oxyrhynchus papyri and the Coptic *Gospel according to Thomas*.²⁰ Thanks to the recovery of this Gospel, it is now certain that the three Oxyrhynchus fragments (1, 654, 655) are all parts of the same work;²¹ they represent three different copies of the Greek text made at different times and give evidence of a fairly frequent copying of it in the third century A.D. On the basis of the Coptic version we can now reconstruct many of the fragmentary lines of the Greek fragments with certainty—unfortunately, however, not all of them, for there are slight variants in the two recensions that still cause problems of interpretation. Oxy P 654 = the prologue and the first five sayings of the Coptic Gospel; Oxy P 1 = Coptic sayings 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 with the end of 77, 32, 33, 34; Oxy P 655 = Coptic sayings 37, 38, 39, 40.

The first full translation of the *Gospel according to Thomas* to appear was that by J. Leipoldt in German.²² The sayings in which we are interested in this paper were also translated into Latin by G. Garitte.²³

¹⁸ "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *Vigiliae christianae* 11 (1957) 189.

¹⁹ GH, *New Sayings*, pp. 30-32.

²⁰ "Un logion de Jésus sur bandelette funéraire," *Bulletin de la société Ernest Renan*, n.s. 3 (1954) 126-29; see supra n. 13. Cf. Doresse, *Thomas*, pp. 16, 21.

²¹ Previously held by V. Bartlet, but generally rejected (see White, p. xlix).

²² See supra n. 15. ²³ See supra n. 14.

The translations of the Coptic sayings that we are using in this paper were worked out independently of these two translations and subsequently compared with them.²⁴ A deluxe edition of the Gospel with better photographs of the papyrus pages, a Coptic transcription, a translation into French, English, and German, and commentary is being prepared by H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, Yassa 'Abd al-Masih, and A. Guillaumont.²⁵

It is our purpose in this article to restudy the Greek fragments of Oxyrhynchus in the light of the Coptic translation. We have mentioned above the vast literature that was produced on the subject of these fragments. Many of the attempts to interpret and restore the fragments are now seen to have been in vain. However, many comments of former scholars are still valid and it is our aim to sift the existing publications for those which are still pertinent in the light of the new reconstruction that we propose for these texts. If our attempt to restore the Greek text seems bold or rash to anyone, let him recall the galaxy of names that attempted to do the same without any extrinsic guide or control. Our restored text will be translated and commented upon, and finally we shall conclude with some general remarks on the relation of the Greek fragments to the Coptic text.

Oxy P 654

We begin our discussion of the Greek texts with Oxy P 654, for it contains the prologue which corresponds to that of the Coptic text. It is a long, narrow fragment ($9\frac{5}{8}$ " x $3\frac{1}{16}$ "), containing 42 lines of which only the beginnings are preserved. In cases where the reconstruction of the line is certain due to the Coptic version, we are able to ascertain the normal number of letters on a line. For instance, line 4 contained 30 letters (16 restored); line 20 contained 28 (13 restored); line 25 contained 33 letters (15 restored); line 30 contained 29 letters (12 restored); line 25 contained 33 letters (15 restored); line 30 contained

²⁴ We have also been able to check our translation against that of Doresse (*Thomas*, pp. 89-110), which we obtained only after most of this article had already been written, thanks to the courtesy of R. E. Brown, S.S.

²⁵ See Quispel, *art. cit.*, p. 207. After this article was already in galley proof, we received a copy of A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, and Yassah 'Abd al Masih, *The Gospel according to Thomas: Coptic Text Established and Translated* (New York, 1959). This is only an extract of the larger, full publication of the Gospel by the same scholars.

29 letters (12 restored). This gives us a fairly certain norm to guide us in restoring other lines. We shall present first the unreconstructed text of Grenfell and Hunt,²⁶ then an English translation of the corresponding Coptic saying, the full Greek text of the Oxyrhynchus saying (restored), a translation of the Greek, and finally comments on each saying.

PROLOGUE

ΟΙ ΤΟΙΟΙ ΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΟΙ [
 ΔΗΣΕΝ ΙΗΣ Ο ΖΩΝ Κ[
 ΚΑΙ ΘΩΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΠΕΝ [
 ΑΝ ΤΩΝ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΤ[
 5 ΟΤ ΜΗ ΓΕΤΣΗΤΑΙ [

The prologue of the Coptic Gospel reads as follows: "These are the hidden words which the living Jesus spoke, and Didymus Judas Thomas wrote them down. And he said, 'He who discovers the interpretation (*hermēneia*)²⁷ of these words shall not taste death!'" (Plate 80, lines 10–14).²⁸ On the basis of this Coptic version we may now restore the Greek text as follows:²⁹

²⁶ We give the text as it appeared in the preliminary editions (GH, *New Sayings*, pp. 11 and 40; GH, *Logia*, p. 8) rather than that of the *editio princeps* (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 1, p. 3; Part 4, pp. 3 and 23) because the preliminary editions present more objective readings of the fragments, not encumbered with the hypotheses that developed out of the preliminary publications. Any changes that the first editors subsequently made in the *editio princeps* will be noted.

²⁷ The form of the Greek word found in parentheses in the English translation of the Coptic version is an exact transliteration of the form used by the Coptic. We add this form to our translation, for it will often shed light on the Greek text—as in this very case.

²⁸ References to plates and lines are made according to the edition of P. Labib (see supra n. 12). We add these references, because they are the only sure way that now exists of referring to the Coptic Gospel. The various scholars who have so far discussed or translated the Gospel have divided the text up according to the sayings it contains. Some number 113, some 114, some 118; we have yet to find two of them that agree. The numbering of the Coptic sayings used in this article follows that of Leipoldt, the first full translation to appear. Just to complicate matters more, J. Doresse's translation (*Thomas*, pp. 89–110) supplies references to the pages of a Codex X, which do not agree with the plate numbers of Labib's edition, in which the codex containing the *Gospel according to Thomas* is numbered II. So the reader is hereby warned to make sure of the system of reference that is being used.

²⁹ We are following the system of the Greek papyrologists in the use of square brackets

Οὗτοι οἱ {οι} λόγοι οἱ [ἀπόκρυφοι οὗς ἐλά]
 λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ ἔγραψεν Ἰούδας ὁ]
 καὶ Θωμᾶ(ς) καὶ εἶπεν [ὅστις ἀν τὴν ἐρμηνεῖ]
 ἀν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων ἐύρισκῃ, θανάτου]

5 οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται.

“These are the [hidden] words [which] the living Jesus [sp]oke, an[d Judas who] (is) also (called) Thomas [wrote (them) down]. And he said, [‘Everyone who finds the interpre]tation of th[ese] words, shall not taste [death!’]”

COMMENTS

1. It is generally admitted that the first line contains “obviously an uncorrected mistake” (White, p. xxiii). The *editio princeps* reads {οι} τοῖοι οἱ λόγοι; the editors insist that the second letter can only be an iota and try to explain τοῖος as the equivalent of τοῖοσδε (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 4, p. 4). However, many subsequent commentators such as Swete, Heinrici, Taylor, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and White were not convinced by this questionable Greek construction and read the first line as we have given it, deleting the dittographical article before the noun. Cf. Bar 1:1, οὗτοι οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου οὗς ἔγραψεν Βαρούχ; Lk 24:44.

λόγοι: The use of this word to designate the “sayings” of Jesus in these fragments should be noted. Nowhere do we find λόγια used of these sayings; Grenfell and Hunt were, therefore, not accurate in entitling the preliminary publication of Oxy P 1 Λόγια Ἰησοῦ—which did not, of course, become apparent until the discovery of Oxy P 654. From the time of Herodotus on λόγιον meant “oracle,” “a saying derived from a deity.” In the LXX it denotes the “word of God,” having lost the Greek nuance of “oracle” and acquired that of OT revelation. In this sense we find it in Acts 7:38; Rom 3:2; 1 Pt 4:11; Heb 5:12 (see G. Kittel, *TWNT* 4.140–45). In A. Resch’s collection of *Agapha* (*Texte und Untersuchungen* 30 [1906]) we find the word used only twice, and in each case it refers to the OT. See further J. Donovan, *The Logia in Ancient and Recent Literature* (Cambridge, 1927). The use of λόγοι here for the sayings of Jesus can be compared to Mt 15:12 and especially to Acts 20:35, *μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν*. See also Clement of Rome, *Ad Cor.* 13, 1; 46, 7 (ed. K. Bihlmeyer, pp. 42, 60) for the use of this word to designate the sayings of Jesus. Now

[] to denote the restoration of lacunae, parentheses or round brackets () to denote the resolution of abbreviations, angular brackets < > to denote our editorial additions, and braces { } to denote our editorial deletions.

that we know that the Greek fragments belong to a text of the *Gospel according to Thomas*, there is no longer room for the speculation that possibly they contain part of the *Logia* on which Papias wrote his commentary or of the *Logia* that Matthew collected. Consequently, it is better not to refer to the sayings either in the Oxyrhynchus fragments or in the Coptic *Gospel According to Thomas* (where the word used is *šaḡe*, "word, saying") as *logia*.

ἀπόκρυφοι: Of all the adjectives previously suggested by the critics to modify "sayings" only that of T. Zahn (*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 16 [1905] 178) has proved to be correct, as the Coptic *enšaḡe ethēp* shows, although it was not, ironically enough, acceptable to most scholars. The exact expression is to be found, moreover, in Hippolytus' *Elenchus* 7, 20 (GCS 26, 195): βασιλείδης τοίνυν καὶ Ἰσιδώρος, . . . φησὶν εἰρηκέναι Μαθθίαν αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀποκρύφους, οὓς ἤκουσε παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος κατ' ἴδιαν διδασχθεῖς. Moreover, we find the same adjective used of both *λόγος* and *λόγια* in a text that is possibly related to this Gospel, viz., *Acta Thomae* 39 (ed. M. Bonnet, p. 156): ὁ δίδυμος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ ἀπόστολος τοῦ ὑψίστου καὶ συμμύστης τοῦ λόγου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποκρύφου, ὁ δεχόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀπόκρυφα λόγια. The same expression, *enšaḡe ethēp*, is found at the beginning of another Chenoboskion treatise ascribed to Thomas, the *Book of Thomas*. According to H.-Ch. Puech ("Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Egypte: premier inventaire et essai d'identification," *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* [= Second Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute; Boston, 1950] p. 105), this book begins, "Paroles secrètes dites par le Sauveur à Jude et Thomas (*sic*) et consignées par Matthias." Elsewhere Puech reveals the full title, *Book of Thomas the Athlete Written for the Perfect* (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1957, p. 149). We may ask in what sense the sayings of Jesus in this collection are to be regarded as "hidden" (for it is obvious that *ἀπόκρυφος* does not have the later pejorative meaning of "apocryphal" here), when many of the sayings contain words which Jesus pronounced openly and publicly. The "hidden" character is rather to be found in the manner of interpretation which is found in this collection. The quotation from Hippolytus above tells us of "hidden words" that Matthias had learned from the Saviour in private. This reveals a tradition which undoubtedly is to be traced to Mt 13:10-11, where Christ Himself distinguished between the comprehension of the disciples and that of the crowd. The thirteenth Coptic saying illustrates this idea, moreover, when Jesus takes Thomas aside to tell him three words which he is not allowed to repeat to the other disciples. In this very saying we learn that eternal life is promised to him who succeeds in discovering the real meaning of the sayings in the collection. This probably refers to the different application or interpretation

which is given to even the canonical sayings that are set in a different context. Such shifts in meaning were undoubtedly part of the esoteric interpretation which is intended by "hidden."

2. ὁ ζῶν: Former commentators often asked whether this adjective was to be referred to Christ's preresurrectional or postresurrectional existence. Leipoldt (col. 481) points out that the Coptic *etonh* scarcely means, "while He was living," and should probably be referred to the Risen Christ. But we need not deduce from this that the words recorded in this collection are postresurrectional sayings. There is nothing in the Coptic or Greek versions that supports this; on the contrary, a number of the sayings imply the pre-resurrectional phase.

[Ἰούδας ὁ] καὶ Θωμᾶ(ς): The form ΘΩΜΑ creates a problem. Most former commentators interpreted it as a dative in an expression like καὶ ὄφθεις τοῖς δέκα καὶ Θωμᾶ (so, e.g., White, p. 1). However, it is now clear from the Coptic that Thomas is the alleged compiler of the sayings and the subject of the sentence. At the end of line 2 we must certainly supply κ[αὶ] ἔγραψεν This is confirmed by the title of the Gospel that is found at the end (Pl. 99): *peuaggelion phkata Thomas*. What, then, is the form of Thomas' name? In Jn 11:16; 20:24 we find Thomas referred to as ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος, as generally in the Western tradition. Such a form of the name is impossible here. In Jn 14:22 we read of a certain "Judas, not the Iscariot," which the Curetonian Syriac version gives as "Judas Thomas," a form which occurs elsewhere in Syriac writings. K. Lake (*Hibbert Journal* 3 [1904-5] 339) suggested that this name be read here (in the dative). In fact, in the *Acta Thomae* we frequently find him referred to as Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς (§ 11 [ed. M. Bonnet in R. A. Lipsius, *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*; Leipzig, 1903, p. 116]; also § 20 [p. 130], § 21 [p. 133] *et passim*). For the form of the name, cf. Acts 13:9, Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, and Blass-Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (9th ed.; Göttingen, 1954) § 268, 1. The real name of the Apostle was "Judas the Twin." Δίδυμος is the Greek translation of the Hebrew *T'ōtm* or the Aramaic *T'ōtmā*. In Syriac "twin" is *tā'mā*, which shows that the Aramaic form of the proper name is actually influenced by the Hebrew in preserving the *ō*. The Greek form Θωμᾶς is actually a genuine Greek name which has been substituted for a similarly sounding Semitic name, like Σίμων for *šim'ōn*; cf. Blass-Debrunner § 53, 2d. The author of *Acta Thomae* regards Thomas as the twin of our Lord and in the course of the writing they are mistaken for each other. In line 3 we must accordingly read Θωμᾶ(ς), since the nominative case is required.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ We cannot agree with the translation of the Oxyrhynchus prologue as it is given by J. Dorese, *Thomas*, p. 89, which reads thus: "Voici les paroles [cachées que] Jésus le

3. ἐρμηνείαν: The Coptic has preserved the Greek word for us, which makes our restoration certain.

4. θανάτου: The restoration of former commentators, suggested by Jn 8:52, is now certain. The compiler has modified the Johannine statement slightly in order to suit his prologue. The *NT* expression always lacks the article, whether used for physical or spiritual death; see Mt 16:28; Mk 9:1; Lk 9:27; Heb 2:9. Here, as in John, the idea of spiritual death is almost certainly intended. There is no apparent reason why this saying could not be authentic, if "he said" refers to Jesus. E. Jacquier (*Revue biblique* 15 [1918] 114) regarded it as authentic. The only hesitation comes from the fact that the apodosis of our saying reflects the Jewish rephrasing of Jesus' statement, rather than the actual words themselves, as they are recorded by John.

FIRST SAYING

ΜΗ ΠΑΤΣΑΣΘΩ Ο ΖΗ[
ΕΤΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΡΗ [
ΒΗΘΕΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΗ ΚΑ[
9 ΗΣΕΤΑΙ

The first Coptic saying: "Jesus said, 'Let him who seeks not give up while he is seeking until he finds, and when (*hotan*) he finds, he will be bewildered; and if he is bewildered, he will marvel and he will become king over all'" (80.14–19).

In this case the Coptic version only helps in part, for it does not completely correspond to the Greek. The latter is shorter than the Coptic and contains a different ending. Since the saying is preserved in Clement of Alexandria, former editors succeeded in restoring it quite well. We add nothing new to the restoration of this saying. The following form is derived from White (p. 5):

5 [λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς:]
μη παυσασθω ο ζη[των του ζητειν εως αν]

Vivant a dites e[τ qu'a transcribes Didyme Jude] et Thomas." From this it seems that Didyme Jude is not Thomas; moreover, there is no room to restore Didymus. The second relative pronoun which Doresse has introduced into his translation, obviously for the sake of smoothness, does not occur in the Coptic and we have not restored it in the Greek. Our reconstruction was made independently of that proposed by H.-Ch. Puech (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1957, p. 153), with which it agrees substantially.

εὔρη, καὶ ὅταν εὔρη, [θαμβηθήσεται καὶ θαμ-
βηθεὶς βασιλεύσῃ κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα-
ήσεται.

“[Jesus says,] ‘Let him who see[ks] not cease [seeking until] he finds and when he finds, [he will be astounded, and] having been [astoun]ded, he will reign an[d having reigned], he will re[st].’ ”

COMMENTS

5. After the last word of the prologue there is a *coronis*, a sign used to separate the sayings in this fragment. We may confidently restore in the lacuna at the end of the line λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς, since this is the usual formula of introduction (see lines 9, 27, 36; Oxy P 1. 4, 11, [23], 30, 36, 41). It should be noted that whereas the Coptic has the past tense in the introductory formula, *peǵe*, the Greek uses the present. The past would be more obvious, and the problem is to explain why the Greek version has the present tense. The use of the present tense is quite common in Mt, Mk, and Jn, less so in Lk; in the NT it has a historical sense normally. We find the exact expression in Jn 13:31. But this combination of the present λέγει and Ἰησοῦς without the article is otherwise unknown. Harnack (*Expositor*, ser. 5, vol. 6 [1897] 403, n. 2) took the use of the present with Jesus, instead of “the Lord,” as a sign of great antiquity, and he contrasted it with the use of *Kyrios* in the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*. White (p. lxxv) believes that the anarthrous use of Ἰησοῦς is a mark of Johannine influence in the collection. Burney suggested (in W. Lock and W. Sanday, *Two Lectures on the ‘Sayings of Jesus’* [Oxford, 1897] pp. 47–48) that the formula is possibly a translation “from a Neo-Hebrew or Aramaic original.” He cites as parallels *Pirqê ‘Abôti* 1.4, 5, 12. But it was often taken with Lock (*op. cit.*, p. 18) in a “mystical” sense, meaning simply, “This is a saying of Jesus”; “this was said by Jesus in his lifetime and is still the utterance of him who is still a living Master” (see White, pp. lxxiii–lxxvi). But since we also find the present used of the disciples (see Oxy P 654.32–33; 655.17), the “mystical” sense must yield to the historical present, confirmed by the Coptic past.

6. ὁ ζητῶν: The saying is probably related to Mt 7:8, “the one who searches finds.” But it is obviously a development of it.

τοῦ ζητεῖν: This restoration (of Heinrici, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 78 [1905] 188–210) does not correspond exactly to the Coptic *efšine*, which is rather the 3 sg. m. pres. circumstantial, “While he is seeking.” Something is needed to fill out the line, and since the circumstantial notion is already expressed in the participle, the infinitive is best retained.

7. [θαμβηθήσεται]: At this point the Greek text is shorter than the Coptic. But we are aided in the interpretation of the Greek by several passages from Clement of Alexandria. In *Stromata* 2, 9, 45 (GCS 15, 137) we find a text which is quite close to our fragment, but it is cited as derived from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*: *κάν τῷ καθ' Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίῳ ὁ θαυμάσιος βασιλεύσει γέγραπται καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαήσεται*. Again in *Stromata* 5, 14, 96 (GCS 15, 389) the saying is found in still fuller form: *οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν ἕως ἂν εὕρῃ· εὕρων δὲ θαμβηθήσεται· θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει· βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαήσεται*. (Cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament, Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalypses* [Oxford, 1953] p. 2; Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 70–71; 215–16.) Is it possible that the *Gospel according to Thomas* has also quoted from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*? In the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to answer this question. We may also ask in what sense the verb *θαμβηθήσεται* is to be understood. The context in which the saying is quoted in Clement of Alexandria is one in which he is trying to show that the beginning of philosophy is wonder. But this is hardly the meaning in the collection of sayings that we have here. Harnack interpreted it rather in the sense of joyful surprise, comparing the parable of the hidden treasure in Mt 13:24; cf. White, p. 6; H. B. Swete, *Expository Times* 15 (1903–4) 491.

8. *βασιλεύση*: A misspelling for *βασιλεύσει*; at the period when the papyrus was written, η, ει, ι, υ were all pronounced alike in Egyptian Greek. See further Oxy P 1.13 *σαρκί* for *σαρκί* (in fact, “*σαρκί* has been corrected by the original hand from *σαρκί*”; GH, *Logia*, p. 12); 1.16 *δευψῶντα* for *διψῶντα*; 1.35 *γενώσκοντας* for *γινώσκοντας*; in 1.22 an epsilon has been inserted above the line in the word *πτωχῶν*; Oxy P 655.14 *εἰλικῶν* for *ἡλικῶν*; 655.16 *ὕμειν* for *ὑμῖν*; 655.19 *ἡμῶν* for *ἡμῖν*; Oxy P 654.10 reads *ἡμᾶς*, which should probably be read as *ὕμᾶς*; 655.20 *ἔσει* (a form acceptable even in earlier Greek for *ἔση*). Cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, §§ 11, 13, 15.

ἀναπαήσεται: A vulgar form of *ἀναπαύσεται*; cf. Ap 14:13; Clem. Alex., *Stromata* 2, 9, 45. The Coptic seems to have read here *ἀνά πάντα*; or is this possibly a deliberate change of meaning introduced?

Though J. H. Ropes (*Die Sprüche Jesu, die in den kanonischen Evangelien nicht überliefert sind* [Texte und Untersuchungen 14/2; Leipzig, 1896] p. 128) believes that the saying is authentic, Resch (*Agrapha*, p. 215) called it apocryphal, and Jacquier (*art. cit.*, p. 101) labeled it doubtfully authentic.

SECOND SAYING

ΛΕΓΕΙ Ι΄

10 ΟΙ ΕΛΚΟΝΤΕΣ ΗΜΑΣ [

- τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανου]· ἐὰν δ' εἴπωσιν ὅ]
 τι ὑπὸ τῆν γῆν ἐστ[ιν, εἰσελεύσονται]
 οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης φθάσαν]
 15 *tes ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡ βασι[λεία τοῦ θεοῦ]*
ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι [κάκτος. ὅς ἂν ἐαυτὸν]
γινῶ, ταύτην εὐρή[σει καὶ ὅτε ὑμεῖς]
ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσσεσθαι, [εἰδήσετε ὅτι υἱοὶ]
ἔστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ζ[ῶντος· εἰ δὲ μὴ]
 20 *γνώσ[εσ]θε ἑαυτοὺς, ἐν [τῇ πτωχείᾳ ἐστὲ]*
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ἡ πτω[χεία].

“Je[sus] says, [‘If] those who draw you on [say to you, “Behold,] the kingdom (is) in the heav[en,]”] the birds of the hea[ven will be (there) before you. But if they say th[at it is under the earth, the fishes of the se[a will enter before you]. And the king[dom of God] is within you [and outside (of you). Whoever] knows [himself,] will fin[d] it [and when you] know yourselves, [you will realize that] you are [sons] of the li[ving] Father. [But if you will not] know yourselves, [you are] in [poverty] and you are pov[erty.]’ ”

COMMENTS

9. Ἰ[η(σοῦ)ς]: Thanks to the Coptic version, we can now eliminate the often proposed restoration of J[udas], “not the Iscariot.”

10. οἱ ἔλκοντες: We have translated the Coptic above in function of the Greek participle; but it is just possible that the Coptic *netsōk hētīēut**n** means “those who go before you” (see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* [Oxford, 1939] p. 327a). But in neither case is the sense clear. Who are those who “draw you on” or “go before you”? It is now impossible to explain this word by appealing to Jn 6:44 or 12:32, as was done by the first editors and many commentators since then. They appear to be opponents of Jesus, whose teachings He is refuting by reducing them to absurdity before He affirms that the kingdom is within and without.

ἡμᾶς: Our translation corrects this word to *ὑμᾶς*, which is demanded by the context, as many former editors saw, and also by the Coptic translation. On the interchange of eta and upsilon, see the note on line 8 above.

11. ἡ βασιλεία: The absolute use of this word (without “of God” or “of heaven”) can be paralleled by Mt 13:38; 24:14; 4:23; 8:12; Acts 20:25.

οὐρα[νῶ]: Restored in the singular because of the article with the word in the following line.

13. *εἰσελεύσονται . . . φθάσαν]tes ὑμᾶς*: We are not happy about this reconstruction, because it does not exactly reflect the Coptic, but something

similar is needed to fill up the space. For the use of the circumstantial participle of φθάνω with a finite verb, cf. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, 1956) §2062a; R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, Part 2, 4th ed. (Hanover, 1955) §482, Anm. 14.

15. καί: This conjunction is peculiar here, for we would expect an adversative, which is precisely what we have in the Coptic (*alla*, “but”).

ἡ βασ[ιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ]: It would also be possible to restore τῶν οὐρανῶν. Support for this restoration is had in a passage of Hippolytus, *Elenchus* 5, 7 (GCS 26, 83): περὶ τὴν . . . φύσιν, ἥνπερ φησὶ (τὴν) ἐντὸς ἀνθρώπου βασιλείαν οὐρανῶν ζητουμένην, περὶ ἧς διαρρήδην ἐν τῷ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδίδασιν. . . . The Coptic version which we now have makes it all the more likely that the *Gospel according to Thomas* to which Hippolytus here refers is not the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas the Israelite*, but the one represented by the Oxyrhynchus fragments and the Coptic text. However, we have preferred to restore τοῦ θεοῦ, because this saying is obviously a development of Lk 17:21, ἰδοὺ γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστίν. Moreover, in Oxy P 1.7–8 we find the expression τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, which is rendered in the Coptic (86.18–19) simply by *tm^ontero*, “the kingdom” (absolutely), just as we find it here.

16. [κάκτός]: This restoration is taken from the Coptic *s^ompel^on bal*, “outside.” The exact meaning of the kingdom being “within you and without” is puzzling. L. Cerfaux and G. Garitte have devoted a study to the parables of the kingdom in this Coptic Gospel, but no attempt has been made by them to explain the sense of this phrase. See “Les paraboles du royaume dans l’Évangile de Thomas,” *Muséon* 70 (1957) 307–27.

ὁς ἂν ἐαυτὸν] γινῶ: There is a lack of correspondence here between the Greek and the Coptic, for the verb is 3 sg. 2 aor. subj., demanding a 3 sg. subject. We have simply adopted the restoration of this line given by former editors (see White, pp. 8–9), which cannot be improved on.

17. ταύτην: This pronoun must refer to the kingdom, as it is the only feminine in the preceding context. In Clement of Alexandria (*Paidagogos* 3, 1) we find the idea of the knowledge of oneself leading to a knowledge of God developed.

18. ἐαυτοῖς: For the use of this pronoun as a reflexive with a verb in the 2 pl., see below l. 20 and Blass-Debrunner, §64.1; Kühner-Gerth, §455.7.

γνώσσεσθαι: A misspelling for γνῶσσεσθε; the diphthong *αι* was pronounced like epsilon, as in Modern Greek, at the time of the writing of this fragment. See further Oxy P 654.37 -εῖται for -εῖτε; Oxy P 1.5–6 νηστεύσθηται for νηστεύσητε; 1.7 εῦρηται for εῦρητε. For the converse change see below line 23, ἐπερωτῆσε for ἐπερωτῆσαι. Cf. E. Mayser, *op. cit.*, §14.

εἰδήσere: Or possibly εἴσεσθε.

19. ὑμεῖς : A correction written above the line.

ζ[ῶντος] : GH, *New Sayings*, p. 11 read T[before the break in the papyrus, admitting that a pi is also possible (p. 17). However, the traces of this letter are quite faint and can also be read as a zeta, which would agree with the Coptic *etonh*, "who is living." Cf. Jn 6:57 ὁ ζῶν πατήρ, and l. 2 of the prologue above. See also Rom 9:26 (= Hos 2:1).

20. γνώσθε : This form looks like a 2 pl. 2 aor. subj. midd. of γινώσκω. But why should it be middle followed by a reflexive pronoun? Former commentators emended it to γνώσ(εσ)θε, a future middle form which would go well with the reflexive pronoun object, and which parallels γνώσεσθαι of l. 18.

ἐν [τῇ πτωχείᾳ ἐστὲ] : The association of poverty with a lack of knowledge reminds us of the explanations offered by some of the patristic writers why the Ebionites had a name apparently derived from 'ebyōn, "poor." Cf. THEOLOGICAL STUDIES 16 (1955) 338; "Ebionites," *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* 4 (fasc. 25, 1958) 33.

21. ἡ πτω[χεία : GH, *New Sayings*, p. 11, read an omicron before the break in the papyrus. This must be read as an omega, as W. Schubart (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 20 [1921] 222) previously suggested, but he restored the word πτω[σις]. The Coptic version makes our restoration certain. The word itself occurs in Oxy P 1.22.

To what extent this long saying is authentic is difficult to determine.

THIRD SAYING

ΟΥΚ ΑΠΟΚΝΗΣΕΙ ΑΝΘ[
ΡΩΝ ΕΠΕΡΩΤΗΣΕ ΠΑ[
ΡΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΤΗ[
ΟΤΙ
25 ΣΕΤΕ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ ΕΣΟΝΤΑΙ Π[
ΟΙ ΕΣΧΑΤΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΚΑΙ [
ΣΙΝ

While former commentators succeeded in restoring the second part of this saying, their efforts were not so successful in the first part, as now appears from the Coptic version. The Coptic third saying: "Jesus said, 'The man old in his days will not hesitate²² to ask a little child of seven days about the place (*topos*) of life, and he will live. For many (that are) first will be last and they will be(come) one alone' " (81.4–

²² For some unknown reason J. Doresse (*Thomas*, p. 90) translates the future (*fnaǵnau*) as a jussive. Likewise, one wonders whence comes the expression "il apparaitra que" before "many (that are) first will be last."

10). The Greek text, which varies slightly, can be restored with great probability except for the last line.

[λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς·]
 οὐκ ἀποκνήσει ἀνθ[ρωπος πλήρης ἡμε]
 ρῶν ἐπερωτῆσε πα[ιδίον ἐπτά ἡμε]
 ρῶν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[s ζωῆς καὶ ζήσει· εἶ]
 25 σετε ὅτι πολλοὶ ἔσονται π[ρώτοι ἔσχατοι καὶ]
 οἱ ἔσχατοι πρῶτοι καὶ [ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔξου]
 σιν.

“[Jesus says,] ‘A ma[n full of d]ays will not hesitate to ask a ch[ild of seven da]ys about the place of [life and he will live.] He will [know] that many (that are) fi[rst] will be [last and] the last will be first and they [will have eternal life].’ ”

COMMENTS

22. ἀνθρωπος : Of all the previous restorations of this line only C. Taylor’s came close to the Coptic, ἀνθρωπος πλήρης ἡμερῶν. In fact, it is still acceptable. This saying is to be compared with a similar one preserved in *A Manichaean Psalm-book*, published by C. R. C. Allberry (Manichaean Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Collection, vol. 2 [Stuttgart, 1938] p. 192): “The grey-haired old men,—the little children instruct them. They that are six years old instruct them that are sixty years old.” Though there are differences of detail, the general idea is the same. Possibly the Psalm-book has borrowed from this passage.

23. ἐπερωτῆσε : Misspelling for ἐπερωτῆσαι ; see note on line 18.

πα[ιδίον ἐπτά ἡμε]ρῶν : The passage quoted above (see note on line 15) from Hippolytus (*Elenchus* 5, 7), quoting the *Gospel according to Thomas*, has a further expression that is interesting for this passage: ἐμὲ ὁ ζητῶν εὐρήσει ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἐτῶν ἐπτά. The idea of an old man being instructed by a small child was apparently a favorite with the Gnostics; see J. Doresse, *Thomas*, pp. 126 ff.

24. περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆ[s ζωῆς : Cf. the Coptic saying § 25 (Pl. 86, lines 4–5), in which the disciples ask, “Show us the place (*topos*) in which you are, since (*epei*) there is need (*anagkē*) for us to seek after it.” The answer given is not exactly *ad rem*, but the question shows that the idea of a “place” of life or of the presence of Jesus concerned those who used this Gospel. According to J. Doresse (*Thomas*, p. 120), the same expression occurs in another

Chenoboskion text, *The Dialogue of the Saviour* (ms. 1, p. 132?): "Matthew says, 'Lord I wish [to question you] about the place of life.'"

είσere: Given the variant spellings in this text and the others (see note on line 18), we suggest that this form is an alternative for *είσεται*, "he will know." The preceding context certainly demands a verb with a 3 sg. subject; the 2 pl. does not fit in at all. M.-J. Lagrange (*Revue biblique* 30 [1921] 235) was apparently the first to perceive this, reading the end of l. 24 thus: *τῆ[ς] δοχῆς· εἰ δὲ μὴ, γινώσεται*. However, our restoration, based on the Coptic version, would be too long if we were to retain *γινώσεται*. Hence we suggest the shorter form *είσere*.

25. *δτι*: Inserted above the line.

πολλοὶ ἔσονται . . .: Quoted *ad litteram* from Mk 10:31, whereas Mt 19:30 omits *οἱ* before the second *ἔσονται*. The form in Lk 13:30 is slightly different (Huck-Lietzmann, *Synopse*, p. 147). Cf. also Mt 20:16. White (p. 16) has a remark that is worth quoting here. "The Saying—however we restore it—is a remarkable instance of that salient characteristic of the Oxyrhynchus collection as a whole—the mixture of elements at once parallel to and divergent from the Synoptics. For while the first part of the Saying has nothing exactly similar in the Synoptics, it nevertheless seems related to a clearly marked group of episodes in the Gospels. On the other hand the second part of the Saying corresponds exactly with the Synoptic version. . . . The Synoptics and the Saying are indeed so close that it is incredible that the two are independent, and the evidence . . . goes to show that it is the writer of the Sayings who is the borrower."

26. *καὶ [ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔξου]σιν*: We are at a loss to restore the end of this saying properly according to the version in the Coptic. Is it possible that the Coptic has changed the text here or that it is based on a different Greek recension? White (p. 15) restored *[ζωὴν κληρονομήσου]σιν*, but this yields thirty-four letters to the line. GH (*New Sayings*, p. 18) suggested, "shall have eternal life"; cf. Jn 3:16, 36; 5:24. We prefer the latter, being one letter shorter. Lagrange's suggestion (*ibid.*) *[μόνοι ζωὴν ἔξου]σιν* is also possible.

FOURTH SAYING

ΛΕΓΕΙ ἸΗΣ̄ .[

ΘΕΝ ΤΗΣ ΟΥΨΕΩΣ ΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ [

ΑΠΟ ΣΟΥ ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΗΣΕΤ[

30 ΤΙΝ ΚΡΗΠΤΟΝ Ο ΟΥ ΦΑΝΕ[

ΚΑΙ ΘΕΘΑΜΜΕΝΟΝ Ο Ο[

Except for the end of the first line, this saying was correctly restored by the first editors and subsequent commentators. The Coptic version now supplies the end of that line. The fourth Coptic saying: "Jesus said, 'Know what is before your face, and that which is hidden from you will be revealed to you. For (*gar*) there is nothing hidden which will not be revealed'" (81.10-14). The Greek text may now be restored as follows:

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς γ[νώθι τὸ ὄν ἔμπροσθ]
 θεν τῆς ὄψεως σοῦ, καὶ [τὸ κεκαλυμμένον]
 ἀπὸ σου ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται[αὶ σοι· οὐ γάρ ἐστ]
 30 τιν κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φανε[ρὸν γενήσεται]
 καὶ θεταμμένον ὃ οὐκ ἔγερθήσεται].

"Jesus says, 'K[now what is be]fore your face, and [that which is hidden] from you will be reveal[ed] to you. For there i]s nothing hidden which will not [be made] mani[fest] and (nothing) buried which will not [be raised up.]'"

COMMENTS

27. γ[νώθι τὸ ὄν ἔμπροσθ]θεν: Thanks to the Coptic we can now eliminate the restoration of former commentators, "Everything that is not before . . .," and restore an imperative. H.-Ch. Puech (*Revue de l'histoire des religions* 147 [1955] 128) wonders whether we should not read a masculine τὸν ἔμπροσθεν, in which case our Lord would be referring to Himself. The Coptic *peitmp'mio mpekho ebol* can be translated either as "what is" or "who is." If the neuter is read, we may compare Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* 2, 9, 45: θαύμασον τὰ πάροντα.

28. [τὸ κεκαλυμμένον]: This part of the saying is variously preserved in the Synoptic tradition, with Luke giving us two versions of it. See Mk 4:22—Lk 8:17 and Mt 10:26—Lk 12:2 (Huck-Lietzmann, *Synopse*, p. 74). "In the first of these groups, where Luke is clearly dependent upon Mark, the Saying occurs in a series of disconnected logia and is therefore without context; but in the second we find it in the Charge to the Twelve (*Matth.* x 5ff.), or to the Seventy (*Luke* x 1ff.), though the third evangelist defers some of the most characteristic matter—including the parallel to the present Saying—to chapter xii. Our authorities for the Saying in its two-fold form are, then, Mark (for Group I) and Q (for Group II). . . . Grenfell and Hunt consider it to agree with Matthew and Luke (Group II) in general arrange-

ment, but with Mark in the language of the first clause of the second half. . . . Now the first clause of the second half of Saying IV coincides word for word with the Lucan parallel in Group I, and it therefore seems likely that Mark should be left out of the matter altogether. . . . It may, then, be claimed that the Saying is dependent partly upon the Q tradition, and partly upon the Lucan version of Mark's tradition" (White, p. 18). Actually, the saying which is preserved in the Oxyrhynchus fragment and in the Coptic version is not exactly identical with any of the canonical forms of the saying; the greatest similarity is found in the third member of the saying with the beginning of Lk 8:17, while the second member best resembles Mt 10:26, but the canonical version is in the negative, whereas the saying here is positive. The first and fourth members of the saying are not found in the canonical Gospels at all. H.-Ch. Puech (*art. cit.*, p. 128) has discovered this same saying also in the Manichaean *Kephalaia* 65 (Manichäische Handschriften der Staatlichen Museen Berlin, Vol. 1; [Stuttgart, 1940] p. 163): "Know that which is before your face and what is hidden from you will be revealed to you." He believes there is a deliberate suppression of reference to the resurrection here, evidence of a Gnostic theologoumenon.

29. ἀποκαλυφ(θ)ήσεται[αι]: Corrected from the papyrus' ἀποκαλυφῆσεται.

31. θεθαμμένον: To be read as τεθαμμένον. See next note.

ὁ οὐκ ἐγεροθήσεται: Restoration of GH (*New Sayings*, p. 18). Cf. their note: "Instead of 'shall be raised' a more general expression such as 'shall be made known' can be supplied; but this detracts from the picturesqueness of what is in any case a striking variation of a well-known saying." The restoration has been confirmed by an inscription on a shroud found in the hamlet of Behnesa and bought in 1953. It is dated paleographically to the fifth or sixth century A.D. and reads:

λέγει Ἰησοῦς· οὐκ ἔστιν τεθαμμέ
νον ὁ οὐκ ἐγεροθήσεται.

"Jesus says, 'There is nothing buried which will not be raised up.'"
See H.-Ch. Puech, *art. cit.*, pp. 127-28. We have then in the Greek a longer version than the Synoptic accounts or the Coptic traditions. Is it possible to say which was prior, the longer or the shorter? R. Bultmann (*Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* [Göttingen, 1958] p. 95) and J. Jeremias (*Unknown Sayings*, p. 16) regard the saying as a secondary expansion of the canonical saying. We believe that this is the correct interpretation, certainly preferable to that suggested by Puech (*art. cit.*, pp. 128-29), according to which the longer text would have been uttered by the Risen Christ and the whole saying would refer to His person (masculine τὸν ἐμπροσθεν). He is in-

clined to regard the short version as “propre aux témoignages coptes . . . transmise par des documents émanant de gnostiques et de manichéens, c’est-à-dire de gens qui s’accordent à rejeter toute conception matérielle de la résurrection.” But the short version is also found in the canonical Gospels. The part of the saying that offers a paraphrase of the canonical saying should be regarded with the same authenticity; as for the last member, it is probably a literary embellishment of the canonical saying.

FIFTH SAYING

[.]ΕΤΑΖΟΤΣΙΝ ΑΤΤΟΝ Ο[
 [.]ΓΟΤΣΙΝ ΠΩΣ ΝΗΣΤΕΤ[
 [.....]ΜΕΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΩΣ [
 35 [.....]ΑΙ ΤΙ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣ[
 [....]Ν ΛΕΓΕΙ ΙΗΣ[
 [.....]ΕΙΤΑΙ ΜΗ ΠΟΙΕΙΤ[
 [.....]ΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΑΝ[
 [.....]Ν Α[.]ΟΚΕΚΡ[
 40 [.....]ΚΑΡΙ[.] ΕΣΤΙΝ [
 [.....]Ω ΕΣΤ[
 [.....]ΙΝ[

Though Grenfell and Hunt (*New Sayings*, p. 19) admitted that this saying was “broken beyond hope of recovery,” some commentators succeeded in correctly restoring some of the lines. Due to the Coptic version we can advance the restoration still farther; however, once again we are faced with two slightly different recensions. The fifth Coptic saying runs as follows: “His disciples (*mathētēs*) asked him; they said to him, ‘Do you wish that we fast (*nēsteue*)? And in what way shall we pray, shall we give alms (*eleēmosynē*), and what shall we observe (*paratērei*) in eating?’ Jesus said, ‘Do not lie, and what you hate do not do, for all will be revealed before heaven. For (*gar*) there is nothing hidden which will not be revealed, and nothing concealed that will remain without disclosure’ ” (81.14–13). From this Coptic version it is clear that the disciples were wondering to what extent they, as followers of Jesus, were to retain Jewish practices as the external observances of their religion. Jesus’ answer insists rather on the internal aspects of religion. With this to guide us, we may now restore the Greek text thus:

- [ἐξ]ετάξουσιν αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
 [λέ]γουσιν πῶς νηστεύ[σομεν, καὶ πῶς προσ]
 [εὐξέ]μεθα καὶ πῶς [ἐλεημοσύνην ποιή]
 35 [σομεν, κ]αὶ τί παρατηρή[σομεν ὅταν δειπ]
 [νώμε]ν; λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς· [μὴ ψεύδεσθε καὶ ὁ]
 [τι μισ]εῖται μὴ ποιεῖ[τε· πάντα γὰρ ἔστ]
 [αι πλήρ]ης ἀληθείας ἀν[τι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· οὐ]
 [δὲν γὰρ ἔστι]ν ἀ[π]οκεκρ[υμμένον ὁ οὐ φανε]
 40 [ρὸν ἔσται· μα]κάρι[ός] ἔστιν [ὁ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῶν].
 [πάντα γὰρ ἐν φανε]ρῷ ἔστ[αι παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὁς]
 [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔστ]ιν. [

“[His disciples] ask him [and s]ay, ‘How [shall we] fast, [and how shall] we [pray] and how [shall we give alms, a]nd what shall [we] observe [when we sup?]’ Jesus says, ‘[Do not lie and what] you [hate] do not do. [For all things will be full of (?)] truth bef[ore] heaven. For there is nothing] hidden [which will not be (made) known. Ha]ppy is [he who does not do these things. For all] will be mani[fi]st before the Father who] is [in heaven.]’ ”

COMMENTS

32. ἐετάξουσιν : See Jn 21:12 for the use of this verb in disciples’ questions. The question resembles in some ways that of the rich young man (Mt 19:16–22; Lk 18:18–22). It gives a bit of context to the saying, and in this respect resembles Oxy P 655.17 ff. Such an introduction we find in the following Coptic sayings: 11, 18, 20, 25, 38, 44, 52, 53, 54, 96, 111 (Leipoldt’s numbering). In three cases the subject is simply “they” (presumably “the disciples”): 91, 97, 101. Elsewhere we find Mary speaking (21), Salome (62), a woman of the crowd (79), Simon Peter (12, 112), and Thomas (12, 13).

33. πῶς : It is clear that the Greek text has a slightly different recension, for this occurrence of πῶς does not correspond to the Coptic. We restore the future of the verb to make it similar to the construction of the rest of the Greek saying. The first three subjects about which the disciples inquire, viz., fasting, prayer, and almsgiving, are treated in Mt 6:2–4, 5–15, 16–18, but in reverse order.

34. ἐλεημοσύνην : The singular of this noun occurs in Mt 6:2–4, and because the questions asked seem in some way related to this passage (see previous note), we have restored the singular. However, the plural is also possible, as can be seen from Acts 9:36; 10:2; 24:17.

35. *ὅταν δειπνῶμεν*: This expression is not certain, but we are trying to render the Coptic *enaʿr paratērei eou ʿnēi* [for ʿnēin?] *ouōm*, “we shall observe what in eating?” Our reconstruction is at best a conjecture.

36. *ψεύδεσθε*: The aorist subjunctive would also be possible, but we have preferred the present imperative because another occurs in the following line. Cf. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §§1800, 1840; Blass-Debrunner, §364, 3.

37. *μισέϊται*: A misspelling for *μισέϊτε*; see note on line 18. Despite the appeal to a misspelling, our reconstruction can be regarded as certain because of the Coptic version. It should be noted that Jesus does not answer the questions put by the disciples but insists on other things—a fact that former commentators were not able to ascertain.

How are we to restore the end of l. 37 and the beginning of l. 38? The last two letters before the break in l. 38 suggest the original of the Coptic *ʿmpʿmto ebol ʿnʿpe*, “before heaven.” We have, accordingly, restored *ἄν[τὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ]*. There is nothing in the Coptic that corresponds exactly to *]ης ἀληθείας*, which reminds us of Jn 1:14 but has an entirely different meaning, of course. Our restoration here is highly questionable.

39. *ἀποκεκρυμμένον*: See the preceding saying, ll. 28–30.

40. *μακάριός ἐστιν*: Is this part of the same saying? If so, then we have a different ending in the Greek that is not found in the Coptic. J. Doresse (*Thomas*, p. 91) treats this as part of a distinct saying. He has in his favor the fact that *makarios* is preserved in the Coptic of the following saying. But it would then seem that we must either shorten our restoration of l. 39 and the beginning of l. 40 or suppose that the usual introduction, “Jesus says,” has been omitted. Neither seems possible. Moreover, the letters that remain on the following lines do not seem to agree with any possible reconstruction of the Greek of the following Coptic saying.

40. *ταῦτα*: Refers to lying and doing what one abominates. However, the restoration of this and the next two lines is sheer conjecture on my part.

While certain elements of this saying are derived from our canonical Gospels and to that extent can be regarded as authentic sayings of Jesus, the saying as a whole is most likely the work of later compilers.

Oxy P 1

Fragment 1 measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ " x $5\frac{3}{4}$ " and represents the top part of a page from a papyrus codex. The top right-hand corner of the verso contains IA, the number 11, written in a later hand. “As it was usual to foliate the right-hand pages of a book, the position of the numeral

here is one good reason for supposing the leaf to have been so placed that the *verso* side came uppermost" (GH, *Logia*, p. 6). While most subsequent commentators accepted this decision of the first editors that the verso of the fragment preceded the recto, P. Batiffol questioned it.³³ That Grenfell and Hunt were correct is now shown by the order of the sayings preserved in the Coptic Gospel. Those on the verso precede those on the recto. Though the fragment has not been broken vertically down the center like Oxy P 654, the letters at the beginning of the lines have at times been so effaced that problems of restoration arise (especially at the beginning of the recto). However, since many of the lines are read with complete certainty, we can easily ascertain the number of letters on the normal line; line 1 has 17, line 6 has 16, line 20 has 19, line 29 has 17, line 36 has 18. A line-filler, shaped like a 7, is found at the end of three lines: 3 (with 13 letters), 17 (with 15 letters), 18 (with 14 letters). 21 lines are preserved on both the verso and the recto. As we shall see below, the verso must have contained at least 16 more lines. Consequently, we have only a little more than half of the papyrus page.

The eight sayings on Oxy P 1 correspond to the Coptic sayings 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 with the end of 77, 32, 33, 34. We shall number them here as sayings 6-13, following the numbering given by White (pp. 25 ff).

SIXTH SAYING

ΚΑΙ ΤΟΤΕ ΔΙΑΒΛΕΨΕΙΣ
ΕΚΒΑΛΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΚΑΡΦΟΣ
ΤΟ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΩ
4 ΤΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΣΟΥ

We have unfortunately only the end of the Greek saying, but it is enough to show that it corresponds to the twenty-seventh Coptic saying of the *Gospel according to Thomas*, which reads as follows: "Jesus said, 'The splinter which is in your brother's eye you see, but (*de*) the beam which is in your own eye you do not see. When (*hotan*) you cast the beam out of your own eye,³⁴ then (*tote*) you will see in order to cast the splinter out of your brother's eye'" (86.12-17).

³³ "Les Logia du papyrus de Behnesa," *Revue biblique* 6 (1897) 502. A. Ehrhard (*Die altchristliche Literatur und ihre Erforschung von 1884-1900* [Freiburg i. B., 1900] p. 124) agreed with Batiffol. Also C. Bruston, *Les paroles de Jésus* (Paris, 1898).

³⁴ Not "la poutre qui est dans ton oeil" (J. Doresse, *Thomas*, p. 96).

Before we proceed to the restoration of this saying in its entirety, a preliminary problem must be discussed, which is raised by the first Greek word that is preserved in this fragment. The conjunction *καὶ* does not correspond to anything in the Coptic, where the adverb *tote* introduces the main clause. But it does correspond exactly to the canonical versions of Mt 7:5 and Lk 6:42, both of which do not have a subordinate temporal clause preceding but an imperative. Consequently, the clause immediately preceding the preserved part must be reconstructed according to the text of the canonical Gospels.

- i [λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς]
- ii [βλέπετε τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν]
- iii [τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελ]
- iv [φοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ δόκον]
- v [τὴν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ]
- vi [οὐ κατανοεῖς ὑποκρι]
- vii [τά, ἔκβαλε τὴν δόκον]
- viii [ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου]
- 1 καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις
- 2 ἔκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος
- 3 τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ
- 4 τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.

[“Jesus says, ‘You see the splinter in your brother’s eye, but the beam in your own eye you do not see. Hypocrite, cast the beam out of your eye,] and then you will see in order to cast out the splinter which (is) in your brother’s eye.’ ”

COMMENTS

Our restoration follows the wording of the Coptic version, except for the lines vi–vii, which we have discussed above. The vocabulary is Lucan, since the preserved part of the saying seems to be closer to Lk 6:42 than to Mt 7:5, as will be seen below.

2. *ἐκβαλεῖν*: GH (*Logia*, p. 10) noted that the preserved part of the saying “agrees exactly with the wording of” Lk 6:42. However, a glance at a modern critical text of the *NT* reveals that the infinitive is found at the end of the verse. A. Harnack (*Expositor*, ser. 5, vol. 6 [1897] 322) explained the discrepancy, noting that “recent editors, following their preference for B [Vaticanus], have put *ἐκβαλεῖν* at the end, whereas all other Uncials, and

also the Coptic version, show the word where we find it in the Papyrus." This being so, the relation of the saying to the Lucan version is clear. The close dependence of this saying on the canonical text assures it the same authenticity that the latter enjoys.

SEVENTH SAYING

ΛΕΓΕΙ

- 5 ΙΣ ΕΑΝ ΜΗ ΝΗΣΤΕΤΣΗ
 ΤΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟΝ ΟΤ ΜΗ
 ΕΤΡΗΤΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ
 ΑΝ ΤΟΤ ΘΤ ΚΑΙ ΕΑΝ ΜΗ
 ΣΑΒΒΑΤΙΣΗΤΕ ΤΟ ΣΑΒ
 10 ΒΑΤΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΟΨΕΣΘΕ Τ^Ο
ΠΠΑ

While the Coptic is an almost exact reproduction of the Oxyrhynchus saying, it does not have the introductory *pege IC* ("Jesus said") at the beginning. G. Garitte (*Muséon* 70 [1957] 70) treats this saying as a continuation of the former, whereas J. Leipoldt (col. 486) and J. Doresse (*Thomas*, p. 96) separate them, following the Greek division. The twenty-eighth Coptic saying runs thus: "Jesus said, 'If you do not fast (*nēsteue*) to the world (*kosmos*), you will not find the kingdom; if you do not make the sabbath a (real) sabbath, you will not see the Father'" (86.17-20).

λέγει

- 5 'Ι(ησοῦ)ς· ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσῃ
 ται τὸν κόσμον, οὐ μὴ
 εὑρηται τὴν βασιλεί
 αν τοῦ θ(εο)ῦ· καὶ ἐὰν μὴ
 σαββατίσῃτε τὸ σάβ
 10 βατον, οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸ(ν)
 π(ατέ)ρα.

"Jesus says, 'If you do not fast (to) the world, you will not find the kingdom of God; and if you do not make the sabbath a (real) sabbath, you will not see the Father.'"

COMMENTS

5. *νηστεύσῃται*: Misspelling for *νηστεύσῃτε*; see note above on Oxy P 654.18.

τὸν κόσμον: The accusative case here is strange, and former commentators made all sorts of suggestions regarding the interpretation of it. Comparing Clement of Alexandria's expression, μακάριοι . . . οἱ τοῦ κόσμου ηἰστειότεροι (Stromata 3, 15, 99), some regarded it "as a clerical error for τοῦ κόσμου"! (e.g., C. Taylor, *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels* [Oxford, 1899] pp. 11-13). Others tried to make an accusative of time out of it.⁸⁵ However, the sense of the expression is now clear to us from the Coptic, which preserves for us the two Greek words, *nēsteue* and *kosmos* (possibly because the expression was strange to the Coptic translators too!), and adds the preposition *e*, "to," before the latter word. Hence, the sense is "to fast to the world." Since we have no reason to consider the Greek defective, we must regard the accusative as one of respect. "Fasting to the world" must mean a withdrawal from a worldly or secular outlook; it is not necessary to understand it in the sense of "separating oneself from the world" by living a monastic or eremitical life—the second half of the saying would seem to be against this extreme. Cf. *Acta Pauli et Theclae* (ed. Tischendorf, p. 42): μακάριοι οἱ ἀποταξάμενοι τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ. Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, § 48, p. 68.

7. εῦρηται: Misspelling for εῦρητε; see note above on Oxy P 654.18. Note that whereas the Greek has "the kingdom of God," the Coptic simply has *tm'ntero*, "the kingdom." See note on Oxy P 654.15.

8. καί: "The use of this conjunction as a short formula of citation, meaning, 'And he saith,' is well established" (C. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 8). Cf. Heb 1:10; *Pirqé 'Abôt* 2.5; Oxy P 1.15.

9. σαββατισητε τὸ σάββατον: Being a construction with a cognate accusative (lit., "to sabbatize the sabbath"), it explains the peculiar Coptic construction, where the repeated word is really superfluous, *etel'ni'meire 'mψambaton 'nsabbaton*. (The dissimilation of *bb* to *mb* in the first occurrence of the word in Coptic, but not in the second, should be noted.) The Greek expression occurs in the LXX at Lv 23:32; 2 Chr 36:21. C. Taylor (*op. cit.*, pp. 14-15) showed that it does not simply mean "to observe the (weekly) sabbath." In Lv 23:32 it refers to the Day of Atonement, which is to be kept as a real sabbath. Hence, it is likely that we should understand the expression in this saying in a metaphorical sense or a spiritual sense. Cf. Heb 4:9 and Justin (*Dial. w. Trypho* 12, 3; *PG* 6, 500), who uses *σαββαρίζω* in the

⁸⁵ So Batiffol (*art. cit.*, p. 505), citing with approval the explanation of Herz (*Guardian*, 28 July 1897) that the Greek is an excessively literal (mis)translation of the Hebrew 'm l' *iswmw l'wlm*, which actually meant, "si vous ne jeûnez toujours. . . ." The most far-fetched explanation was that of P. Cersoy (*Revue biblique* 7 [1898] 415-16), who suggested that the Greek translator of this originally Aramaic saying confused *sum* ("a fast") with 'lm ("world") and that we should therefore read here *iēn nēsteian*, a cognate accusative, parallel to the one we have in the second part.

sense of a spiritual sabbath opposed to the formal Jewish observance; for him it consisted in abstinence from sin. Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*, § 74, p. 99.

10. ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα: Cf. Jn 6:46; 14:7-9 for the exact expression. Similar expressions: "to see God" (Mt 5:8; Jn 1:18; 1 Jn 4:20; 3 Jn 11); "to see the Lord" (Jn 21:18; 1 Cor 9:1; Heb 12:14). For the future indicative interchanging with the aorist subjunctive, see Blass-Debrunner, § 365, 3.

We see no reason why this saying could not be an authentic one. E. Jacquier (*art. cit.*, p. 110) regarded it as "probablement authentique." But U. Holzmeister (*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 38 [1914] 118, n. 1) labelled it "unecht."

EIGHTH SAYING

ΑΕΓΕΙ ἸΣ Ε[Σ]ΤΗΝ
 ΕΝ ΜΕΣΩ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΣΑΡΚΕΙ ΩΦΘΗΝ
 ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΡΟΝ ΠΑΝ
 15 ΤΑΣ ΜΕΘΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ
 ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΕΤΡΟΝ ΔΕΙΨΩ
 ΤΑ ΕΝ ΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟ
 ΝΕΙ Η ΨΥΧΗ ΜΟΥ ΕΠΙ
 ΤΟΙΣ ΤΙΟΙΣ ΤΩΝ ἈΝΩΝ
 20 ΟΤΙ ΤΤΦΛΟΙ ΕΙΣΙΝ ΤΗ ΚΑΡ
 ΔΙΑ ΑΥΤΩ[Ν] ΚΑΙ . . . ΒΑΕΙΣ³⁶

.

Whereas the Coptic version of this saying has preserved it for us in its entirety, the Oxyrhynchus fragment has only the first half of it. The twenty-ninth Coptic saying reads thus: "Jesus said, 'I stood in the midst of the world (*kosmos*) and I revealed myself to them in flesh (*sarx*). I found them all drunken; I did not find any of them thirsty. My soul (*psychē*) was pained for the sons of men, for they are blind in their heart and do not see that they came into the world (*kosmos*) empty. They seek further to come out of the world (*kosmos*) empty. But (*plēn*) now they are drunk.³⁷ When (*hotan*) they set aside their wine, then (*tote*) they will do penance (*metanoiē*)'" (86.20-31).

³⁶ But the *editio princeps* (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 1, p. 3) reads:

ΚΑΙ ΟΤ ΒΑΕ
 ΠΟΤΕΙΝ

³⁷ In our opinion neither J. Doresse nor G. Garitte has translated the end of this saying correctly. The Coptic reads: *plēn tenou setohe. hotan eušanneh pouēr p tote sena' metanoiē*.

It should be noted how closely the Coptic translates the Greek in this saying, where we have the Greek text. For instance, in 86.22 the Coptic reads *hⁿnsarx*, where we might have expected the definite article; but it is the exact equivalent of the Greek. Likewise 86.23–24 reads *laau n^hētou*, “none among them,” a literal rendering of *οὐδένα . . . ἐν αὐτοῖς*. Though we cannot generalize from this instance, it should nevertheless be borne in mind when a decision is to be made about the relation of the Coptic version to the Greek text in the Oxyrhynchus papyri.

- λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ἔ[σ]την
 ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου
 καὶ ἐν σαρκί ὤφθην
 αὐτοῖς καὶ εὔρον πάν
 15 τας μεθύοντας καὶ
 οὐδένα εὔρον δεψῶ(ν)
 τα ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ πο
 νεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ
 τοῖς υἱοῖς τῶν ἀν(θρώπ)ων
 20 ὅτι τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρ
 διά αὐτῶ[ν] καὶ [οὐ] βλέπ
 i [ουσιν ὅτι ἤκουσιν εἰς]
 ii [τὸν κόσμον κενοὶ ζῆ]
 iii [τοῦσι δὲ πάλιν ἐξελ]
 iv [θεῖν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου κε]
 v [νοί. πλὴν νῦν μεθύου]
 vi [σιν· ὅταν ἀποθῶνται]
 vii [τὸν οἶνον αὐτῶν, τότε]
 viii [μετανοήσουσιν.]

“Jesus says, ‘I s[t]ood in the midst of the world and I appeared to them in flesh and I found them all drunken and I did not find one among them thirsting and my soul is pained for the sons of men, for

J. Doresse (*Thomas*, p. 97) translates, “Qu’il vienne cependant quelqu’un qui les redresse. Alors, quand ils auront cuvé leur vin, ils se repentiront.” G. Garitte (*Muséon* 70 [1957] 71): “ceterum (*plēn*) nunc . . . ; quando impleverint cor suum, tum paenitentiam agent (*metanoein*).” The crucial form is *setohe* (3 pl. pres. ind. of *i^hhe*, “to be drunk”; cf. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, p. 456b, *tohe* for *take*). Our interpretation agrees with that of Leipoldt (col. 486). A little higher up, our interpretation differs from that of Doresse and Garitte again, in taking *je n^htauei* . . . (l. 27) as the object clause of *senau* and not as a subordinate clause parallel to *je hⁿē^he* . . . (again in agreement with Leipoldt). Doresse (*Thomas*, p. 97) has omitted the Oxyrhynchus parallel to this 29th Coptic saying.

they are blind in their heart and do [not] se[e that they have come into the world empty. They seek further to go out of the world empty. But now they are drunk. When they put away their wine, then they will do penance].’ ”

COMMENTS

As Garitte has already pointed out (*Muséon* 70 [1959] 70, n. 5), the Coptic version makes impossible the attempt of some former commentators to join the end of the preserved part of the verso with the first line of the recto. Grenfell and Hunt (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 1, p. 1) themselves protested against the “current view that there is a *priori* probability in favour of only one line being lost at the bottom of the *verso*. The lacuna may have extended to five or even ten lines.” Garitte’s conclusion: “Si le texte grec était aussi long que le copte, la lacune doit être environ 17 lignes.” Our own restoration of this and the following Greek saying yields sixteen lines (numbered with Roman numerals). The Coptic version, moreover, shows the unity of this saying, which was contested by P. Batiffol, who wanted to make two sayings out of it, mainly on the basis of the change of tense in the verbs (*Revue biblique* 6 [1897] 306–7).

The reader is referred to the treatment of this saying by J. Jeremias (*Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, pp. 69–74), many of whose remarks are still valid.

11. ἔστην . . . ἐν σαρκὶ ὄφθην : Jesus here speaks as a “Divine Being”; “. . . in these words we must recognize a backward glance upon His work on the part of the still living not the risen Christ” (A. Harnack, *Expositor*, ser. 5, vol. 6 [1897] 330). The reason for this is the shift in tense from the past (in lines 11, 13, 14, 16) to the present (in lines 17, 20, 21). White (p. xxxvi) thought that the whole saying betrays “incipient rather than fully developed Johannism.” See the references below for verbal parallels to Johannine writing. The whole tone of the first part of the saying should, moreover, be compared with Mt 23:37, “O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! . . . How often I have longed to gather your children around me, as a hen gathers her brood under her wings, but you refused!” Cf. Lk 13:34.

12. ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κόσμου : Cf. Jn 1:9, 10; 3:17; 6:14; 11:27; 12:46; 16:28; 18:37. This use of *κόσμος* is distinctively Johannine.

13. ἐν σαρκὶ ὄφθην : Cf. 1 Tim 3:16; Jn 1:14; 1 Jn 4:2–3.

15. μεθύνοντας : This notion has Pauline affinities, cf. 1 Th 5:7–8. The figurative use of “sobriety” recurs in 2 Tim 4:5; 1 Pt 1:13; 4:7; 5:8 (J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings*, p. 71).

16. δειψῶντα : Some former commentators thought that Encratite influence was to be seen in the use of this word. However, it can more easily be ex-

plained as Johannine; cf. Jn 4:13–14; 6:35; 7:37, but also Mt 5:6. For the form see note above on Oxy P 654.8.

17. *πονεί*: This phrase is certainly dependent on Is 53:11, *βούλεται κύριος ἀφελῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ*, as has been generally recognized. Har-nack also quoted Mt 26:38; Mk 14:34; Jn 12:27 for canonical statements about Jesus' troubled soul. The tone of the second part of this saying is closely related to that of the Synoptics. See J. Jeremias (*Unknown Sayings*, p. 71) for the Semitisms in this part of the saying. The Coptic version shows that we are dealing with one long saying here; it is not to be divided into two sayings at this point, as A. de Santos Otero has done (*Los Evangelios apócrifos*, pp. 95–96).

20. *τυφλοὶ εἰσιν τῇ καρδίᾳ*: White (p. 34) cites a parallel expression from the Greek *Gospel according to Thomas* (A viii; ed. Tischendorf): *ἄν καρποφορεῖτωσαν τὰ σὰ, καὶ βλέπεύωσαν οἱ τυφλοὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ*. For the idea of spiritual blindness see Ps 68/69:24; Jn 9:39; Ap 3:17; Mt 15:14.

iv. *κενοί*: Cf. 1 Cor 15:58.

Though there is no direct parallel to this saying in our canonical Gospels, there is nothing in it that prevents it from being regarded at least as substantially authentic. Cf. E. Jacquier, *Revue biblique* 15 (1918) 111.

NINTH SAYING

E

Recto 22 [. . .] . . [T] HN Π Τ Ω Χ Ι Α

The thirtieth Coptic saying reads as follows: "Jesus said, 'If the flesh (*sarx*) has come to be because of the spirit (*pneuma*), it is a wonder. But (*de*) if the spirit (*pneuma*) (has come to be) because of the body (*sōma*), it is a wonder of wonder(s).³⁸ But (*alla*) I wonder [. . . *sein?*]³⁹ at this: how this (?) great wealth dwells in this poverty' "

Though we have no guarantee that the Coptic version is an exact reproduction of the Greek, we may suggest a tentative restoration somewhat as follows:

viii [λέγει]
ix ['Ι(ησοῦ)ς· εἰ ἐγένετο ἡ σάρξ]

³⁸ Reading *oušpēre *nšpēre pe* on Pl. 86, lines 33–34.

³⁹ On line 35 a word has been added that does not begin at the beginning of the line and does not otherwise seem to fit into the sentence, unless it is an adjective or adverb. Unfortunately, the first two or three letters of it have been lost; what remains of the end of it seems to be *sein*. Our restoration disregards it.

- x [ἔνεκεν τοῦ πνεύμα]
 xi [τος, θαῦμά ἐστιν· εἰ δέ]
 xii [τὸ πνεῦμα ἔνεκεν τοῦ]
 xiii [σώματος, θαῦμά ἐστι]
 xiv [τῶν θαυμάτων· ἀλλὰ θαυ]
 xv [μάζω ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὅτι ὁ]
 xvi [τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος ἐνοί]
 22 [κεῖ ταύ]τη[ν τ]ήν πτωχεία(ν).

COMMENTS

xv. ἐπὶ τούτῳ: Cf. Acts 3:12.

xvi. ὁ τοσοῦτος πλοῦτος: See Ap 18:17.

22. πτωχεία(ν): The epsilon is inserted above the line; see note on Oxy P 654.8. The accusative can be used with the verb ἐνοικέω; see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s.v.*; E. Mayser, *Grammatik* 1/3 (1936) 219. There is no canonical saying that contains πτωχεία, nor any that resembles the full saying preserved in the Coptic.

TENTH SAYING

- [ΔΕΓ]ΕΙ [ΙΣ ΟΙΙ]ΟΥ ΕΑΝ ΩΣΙΝ
 [. . .]Ε[. . .] . ΘΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ⁴⁰
 25 [. .]ΣΟ . Ε[. .] ΕΣΤΙΝ ΜΟΝΟΣ
 [. .]ΤΩ ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΙ ΜΕΤ ΑΤ
 Τ[ΟΥ] ΕΓΕΙ[Ρ]ΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΙΘΟ
 ΚΑΚΕΙ ΕΤΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΜΕ
 ΣΧΙΣΟΝ ΤΟ ΞΤΛΟΝ ΚΑΓΩ
 30 ΕΚΕΙ ΕΙΜΙ

It is this saying more than all the others that shows that the Coptic version is not a direct translation of the Greek, for we have here a bipartite saying, whereas the Coptic has preserved the two parts separately—the first part here in its proper place and order, but the second part as the conclusion of a longer, later saying. The text of the thirty-first Coptic saying: “Jesus said, ‘In the place where there are three gods, they are gods. In the place where there are two or one, I

⁴⁰ The *editio princeps* (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 1, p. 3) gives the following reading, obviously dependent on restorations suggested by scholars:

- [Β ΟΥΚ] Ε[ΙΣΙ]Ν ΑΘΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ
 [Ο]ΠΟΥ Ε[ΙΣ] ΕΣΤΙΝ ΜΟΝΟΣ
 5 [ΔΕ]ΓΩ ΕΓΩ . . .

am with him' ” (87.2–5). And the text of the seventy-seventh Coptic saying: “Jesus said, ‘I am the light which is over all of them; I am the All; the All has gone out from me and the All has reached me. Split wood, I am there; take up the stone, and you will find me there’ ” (94.22–28).

The first part of the Greek saying does not correspond exactly to the thirty-first Coptic saying, and so our restoration cannot be certain in this case. But taking a lead from the Coptic we may restore it thus:

[λέγ]ει [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· ὁ]που ἐὰν ὤσω
 [γ' θε]ο[ί,] ε[ἰσι]ν θεοί· καὶ
 25 [ὁ]π[ου] ε[ἰς] ἐστιν μόνος
 [αὐ]τῷ, ἐγὼ εἰμι μετ' αὐ
 τ[οῦ]. ἔγει[ρο]ν τὸν λίθο(ν)
 κάκει εὐρήσεις με,
 σχίσον τὸ ξύλον, καὶ γὼ
 30 ἐκεῖ εἰμι.

“[Jesus sa]ys, ‘[Wh]ere there are [three g]o[ods, they ar]e gods. And where one is all alone to himself, I am with him. Take up the stone and there you will find me; split the wood and I am there.’ ”

COMMENTS

23. *ἔπου*: “Immediately before *ου* there is part of a stroke which may very well be the end of the crossbar of *π*” (GH, *Logia*, p. 13). This reading is now confirmed by the Coptic.

24. [γ' θε]ο[ί,] ε[ἰσι]ν θεοί: Blass' brilliant restoration, followed by most commentators (see White, p. 35), [β', οὐκ] ε[ἰσι]ν ἄθεοι, was certainly a step in the right direction. Objection cannot be made to the use of a cipher in a literary text, even side by side with a number written out, for several cases of this have been found, especially in the papyri; see White, p. 36. The Coptic would suggest that we must read *three* instead of *two*. This, of course, yields a sentence in Greek that is as mysterious as the Coptic version.

25. *εἰς ἐστιν μόνος*: The Greek does not correspond to the Coptic here, so we cannot force it. Who is intended here? A god or a man? The first sentence would suggest that a god is meant, but then we have an obvious problem on our hands. In this second sentence we find the word “god” neither in the Greek nor in the Coptic, and there is, moreover, an obvious reference to Mt 18:20. For these reasons we prefer to think that the sentence refers to a man. A parallel to this saying is found in Ephraem's *Evangelii concordantis expositio*

14, 24 (CSCO 145, 144): "Ubi unus erit, ibi sum et ego." But see the full context and the discussion in A. Resch, *Agrapha*, § 175, p. 201. See further *Pirqê 'Abôt* 3.2; Strack-Billerbeck 1, 794.

26. *αὐτῶ*: We prefer this reading, since Grenfell and Hunt (*Logia*, p. 9) first read a "t" after the lacuna. The verb *λέγω*, which is read by most commentators, disturbs the sense. C. Clemen (*Die christliche Welt*, 29 July 1897, p. 704, n. 4) compared *αὐτῶ* to the Hebrew *l'baddô*.

27. *ἐγγειρον*: R. Reitzenstein (*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 6 [1905] 203) pointed out the occurrence of a part of this saying in a gloss of the *Etymologicum Gudianum*. Note that the order of the two members of this second part of the saying is reversed in the Coptic.

29. *καγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι*: In what sense is this second part of the saying to be understood? It has often been interpreted in a pantheistic sense, or more precisely in a "panchristic" sense, asserting the ubiquity of Jesus in the world. Cf. Eph 4:6. J. Jeremias (*Unknown Sayings*, p. 96, n. 2) gives a convenient list of those who so explained it. He rejects this interpretation and prefers that first suggested by H. Lisco and adopted by A. Harnack, H. B. Swete, and White. According to this interpretation, two pictorial illustrations are given to explain *how* Jesus is present to the individual—two kinds of strenuous work, lifting stones and splitting wood. The combination of these two types of work was probably suggested by Qoh 10:9, "He who quarries stones may be hurt by them, while he who splits logs is endangered by them." In contrast to the pessimism of the Preacher, Jesus promises His abiding presence even in the most strenuous type of work.

Now the Coptic version definitely supports the "panchristic" interpretation, if we take into consideration the full context of the Coptic saying. However, this may be a clear case in which the Coptic offers us a different redaction, for the second part of the Greek saying is separated from the first in the Coptic version, as we have already noted. Consequently, the interpretation offered by J. Jeremias may still be valid for the earlier (or at least different) Greek recension. He is, moreover, inclined to regard the second part of the Greek saying as authentic. E. Jacquier (*Revue biblique* 15 [1918] 112) called it "douteuse."

ELEVENTH SAYING

ΛΕΓΕΙ ἸΗΣΟΥΣ ΟΤΙ

Κ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΔΕΚΤΟΣ ΠΡΟ
ΦΗΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΠΡΪΔΙ ΑΤ
Τ[Ο]Τ ΟΤΔΕ ΙΑΤΡΟΣ ΠΟΙΕΙ
ΘΕΡΑΠΕΙΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΤΣ

35 ΓΕΙΝΩΣΚΟΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟ

This saying is exactly preserved in the Coptic version of the thirty-second saying, "Jesus said, 'No prophet (*prophētēs*) is accepted in his town; a physician does not heal (*therapeue*) those who know him'" (87.5-7). There is no need to repeat the Greek text in this case. It is translated as follows: "Jesus says, 'A prophet is not acceptable in his own homeland, nor does a physician work cures on those who know him.'" "

COMMENTS

Parallels to the first part of this saying are to be found in Mt 13:57; Mk 6:4; Lk 4:24; Jn 4:44 (Huck-Lietzmann, *Synopse*, p. 18). But in no case is the wording identical. The closest parallel is offered by Lk, οὐδεὶς προφήτης δεκτός ἐστιν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ; but the longer forms of Mt and Mk begin in a way that is more similar to our fragment, οὐκ ἔστιν προφήτης ἀτιμος εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν συγγενέσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ (Mk 6:4). Jn 4:44 echoes the Mt-Mk tradition. Luke's editorial handling of this saying in connection with one about a physician (4:23) makes us think that our saying is closer to his tradition than to the other Synoptics. See White's comment on p. 42.

33. ποιῆ ἰατρίας: This phrase was considered to be an Aramaism by P. Cersoy (*Revue biblique* 7 [1898] 417-18); C. Taylor (*The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 57) has pointed out that the same expression occurs in the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* 20.2. Actually it reads τὰς ἰατρίας μου ἐπετέλουν (ed. E. Amann, p. 256).

35. γινώσκοντας: For γινώσκοντας; see note on Oxy P 654.8.

The first part of this saying should be considered as authentic as the canonical parallels. The second may be authentic, or may be merely a saying constructed as an answer to the retort, "Physician, heal thyself."

TWELFTH SAYING

ΛΕΓΕΙ Ἰᾶ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΟΙΚΟΔΟ
 ΜΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΠ ΑΚΡΟΝ
 [Ο]ΡΟΤΣ ΤΨΗΛΟΤΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ
 ΤΗΡΙΓΜΕΝΗ ΟΤΤΕ ΠΕ
 40 [Σ]ΕΙΝ ΔΤΝΑΤΑΙ ΟΤΤΕ ΚΡΤ
 [Β]ΗΝΑΙ

Once again we have an almost exact correspondence between the Greek and Coptic saying; the latter (the thirty-third saying) reads: "Jesus said, 'A city (*polis*) which is built upon a high mountain (and)

it in a hidden place; but (*alla*) he is wont to place it on a lampstand (*lychnia*) so that everyone who comes in and goes out may see its light' ” (87.10–18). The beginning of the Greek text which is preserved corresponds more or less to the Coptic; the initial pronoun is missing. We may restore it as follows:

41 λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· <δ> ἀκούεις
 [ε]ἰς τὸ ἐν ὠτίον σου, το[ῦ]
 [το κήρυξον ἐπὶ τῶν]
 [δωμάτων

“Jesus says, ‘What you hear in your one ear, preach that upon your roof-tops’ ”

COMMENTS

41. ἀκούεις : The present tense, whereas the Coptic has the future. Following the latter, we have also supplied a relative pronoun object to this verb. The Coptic version also supports the reading of line 42, which was generally adopted by former commentators and the *editio princeps*.

The first part of the saying is an expanded version of Mt 10:27 (cf. Lk 12:3).

The second part of the saying, which is preserved only in the Coptic version, is related to Mt 5:15; Lk 11:33; and to Mk 4:21; Lk 8:16.

OXY P 655

The last group of Oxyrhynchus sayings of Jesus is found in the so-called “Fragment of a Lost Gospel,” Papyrus 655, the largest piece of which measures 3¼” x 3¼” and comprises the middle part of two narrow columns. It contains parts of at least four sayings which correspond to the thirty-seventh to fortieth Coptic sayings of the *Gospel according to Thomas*. We shall refer to them as sayings 14–17. Some of the lines of col. I are completely preserved so that it is possible to determine the normal number of letters on a line: it varies between 12 letters in line 23 and 16 letters in lines 13, 18, 22.

FOURTEENTH SAYING

[. . .]ΠΟ ΠΡΩΙ Ε[.
 [.]Ε ΑΦ ΕΣΠ[.
 [.]ΡΩΙ ΜΗΤΕ [. . .

- [.....]ΜΩΝ ΤΙ ΦΑ[
 5 [.....] ΤΗ ΣΤ[.
 [.....] ΤΙ ΕΝΔΥ[.
 [..]ΣΘΕ [..]ΔΩ ΚΡΕΙ[.
 [...]ΕΣ [...] ΤΩΝ [..
 ΝΩΝ ΑΤΙ[...]ΥΖΑ[.
 10 ΝΕΙ ΟΥΔΕ Ν[.]ΕΙ [.
 ΕΝ ΕΧΟΝΤ[...]ΝΔ[.
 ΜΑ ΤΙ ΕΝ[...] ΚΑΙ
 ΤΜΕΙΣ ΤΙΣ ΑΝ ΠΡΟΣΘΗ
 ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΑΙΚΙΑΝ
 15 ΤΜΩΝ ΑΥΤΟ[.]ΩΣΕΙ
 ΤΜΕΙΝ ΤΟ ΕΝΔΥΜΑ Υ
 ΜΩΝ

The thirty-seventh Coptic saying, which corresponds to this Oxyrhynchus fragmentary text, is much shorter than the Greek. It may represent a different Greek recension of the Gospel or a deliberate shortening of the text in the Coptic. At any rate, we can only use the Coptic as a control for the restoration of the first few lines of the Greek text. The Coptic version runs as follows: "Jesus said, 'Do not be solicitous from morning till evening and from evening till morning about what you are going to put on'" (87.24-27). Even this part of this saying does not correspond exactly to the beginning of the Greek text. We may restore it as follows:

- [λέγει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· μὴ μεριμνᾶ]
 1 [τε ἀ]πὸ πρωὶ ἕ[ως ὀψέ]
 [μῆτ]ε ἀφ' ἑσπ[έρας]
 [ἕως π]ρωὶ μῆτε [τῆ]
 [τροφῆ] ὑμῶν τί φά
 5 [γητε μῆτε] τῆ στ[ο]
 [λῆ ὑμῶν] τί ἐνδύ
 [ση]σθε. [πολ]λῶ κρεί[σ]
 [σον]ές ἐ[στε] τῶν [κρί]
 νων ἄτι[να α]ὐξά
 10 νεὶ οὐδὲ ν[ήθ]ει μ[ηδ]
 ἐν ἔχοντ[α ἔ]νδ[υ]
 μα. τί ἐν[δέιτε] καὶ
 ὑμεῖς ; τίς ἂν προσθ(εί)η

ἐπὶ τὴν εἰλικίαν
 15 ὑμῶν; αὐτὸς δὲ ὥσει
 ὑμῖν τὸ ἔνδυμα ὑ
 μῶν.

“[Jesus says, ‘Be not solicitous f]rom morning un[til evening, nor] from eve[ning until mo]rning either [for y]our [sustenance], what [you will] eat, [or] for [your] clo[thing], what you [will] put on. [You] are worth [far] more than [the lili]es whi[ch g]row but do not s[pi]n, a[n]d have n[o] clo[th]ing. And you, what do [you lack?] Who of you can add to his stature? *He* will [g]ive you your clothing.’ ”

COMMENTS

This saying is related to the canonical words recorded by Mt 6:25–32 and Lk 12:22–30, but we have either a different tradition preserved in this fragment or else a deliberate condensation. Lines 7–13 of the fragment can be compared with Mt 6:28 (= Lk 12:27); lines 13–16 with Mt 6:27 (= Lk 12:25). Cf. also *Acta Thomae* 36 (ed. Bonnet, p. 153). There is no reason why this form of the saying should not be given the same degree of authenticity that is accorded the canonical versions. E. Jacquier (*Revue biblique* 15 [1918] 116) regarded it as authentic, but J. Jeremias (*Unknown Sayings*, p. 86) would consider only the last three lines as authentic. He rejects the rest because he makes of this and the following saying but one unit. Since the following saying is marked with Gnostic ideas on sexual asceticism, it is not to be regarded as authentic (*ibid.*, p. 17). However, we do not believe that these two sayings should be treated as one. The change of subject in line 17 is the beginning of a new saying, as is now evident from several similar cases in the Coptic version. See note on Oxy P 654.32. This saying deals only with excessive solicitude for food and clothing and the correct dependence that the Christian should have on the Father.

i. This first line can now be restored confidently, thanks to the canonical version (Mt 6:28) and the Coptic, which supplies the negative form of the saying.

4. τροφοῖ: Suggested by Mt 6:25.

5. στολῆ: The first editors admitted that this word was not the happiest of restorations but nothing else seems to fit and no one else, as far as we can ascertain, has come up with a better solution.

10. GH (*New Sayings*, p. 41) did not attempt to restore the end of this line nor the lacuna in line 12. In the *editio princeps* (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part 4, p. 25) they discuss the lacunae without bringing anything new to the

problem, except the possibility of reading ἐν[δεῖτε] in line 12. T. Zahn (*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 16 [1905] 97, n. 1) suggested the reading [μηδ]ἐν ἔχοντ[α ἐ]νδ[υ]μα. τί ἐν[δύσεσθ]ε καὶ ὑμεῖς. But the verb ἐνδύσεσθε is too long for the lacuna, as is evident from a glance at Plate 2. Hence we suggest a combination of the first part suggested by Zahn with the verb ἐνδεῖτε in line 12.

13. The corrected optative form was suggested by the first editors.

14. εἰλικίαν: A misspelling for ἡλικίαν; see note on Oxy P 654.8. We have translated the word as "stature," but it is also quite likely that the meaning "age, length of life"—which is the more normal meaning of the word—should be used both here and in Mt 6:27 and Lk 12:25. See W. F. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago, 1957) p. 345.

15. αὐτός: This can only refer to the Father, as in Mt 6:26. Zahn refers also to 1 Cor 15:37-38.

16. ὑμεῖν: For ὑμῖν; see note on Oxy P 654.8.

FIFTEENTH SAYING

ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΤ

ΤΩ ΟΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ ΑΤΤΟΥ

ΠΟΤΕ ΗΜΕΙΝ ΕΜΦΑ

20 ΝΗΣ ΕΣΣΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΕ

ΣΕ ΟΨΟΜΕΘΑ ΛΕΓΕΙ

ΟΤΑΝ ΕΚΑΤΣΗΣΘΕ ΚΑΙ

ΜΗ ΑΙΣΧΤΝΘΗΤΕ

.....

The thirty-eighth Coptic saying is an almost exact reproduction of the Greek text, in so far as the latter is preserved. "His disciples said, 'On what day will you reveal yourself to us and on what day shall we see you?' Jesus said, 'When (*hotan*) you take off your clothes (and) are not ashamed,⁴³ and take your tunics and lay them under your feet like little children and tread upon them, then (*tote*) [you will become] sons of the Living One and you will not fear' " (87.27-34; 88.1-2). Whereas the Coptic has omitted the translation of αὐτῷ (line 17) and αὐτοῦ (line 18), it has added *Iēsous*, which is absent in the Greek. The

⁴³ The Coptic *etetⁿšakēkēiⁿ eḥēu ⁿmpetⁿšipe*, "when you take off your clothes (and) are not ashamed," has been mistranslated both by Leiboldt (col. 486: "Wenn (*hotan*) ihr eure Scham auszieht") and by Garitte (*art. cit.*, p. 71: "Quando (*otan*) despoliabitur vos a pudore vestro et (au)feretis vestimenta vestra et ponetis . . ."). On *kōk aḥēu* see W. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1955) § 277.

first part of the saying is perfectly preserved in the Greek and needs no restoration; our attempt to complete it is, of course, based on the supposition that the Coptic and Greek corresponded substantially in the second part.

- λέγουσιν αὐ
τῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ·
πότε ἡμεῖν ἔμφα
20 νῆς ἔσει καὶ πότε
σε ὀφόμεθα ; λέγει·
ὅταν ἐκδύσησθε καὶ
μὴ αἰσχύνθητε
i [καὶ λάβητε τοὺς χι]
ii [τῶνας ὑμῶν καὶ θῆτε]
iii [αὐτοῦς ὑπὸ τοὺς πό]
iv [δας ὑμῶν ὡς τὰ παι]
v [δία καὶ πατήσητε]
vi [αὐτοῦς, τότε γενήσε]
vii [σθε υἱοὶ τοῦ ζῶντος]
viii [καὶ οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆ]
ix [σεσθε.

“His disciples say to him, ‘When will you be revealed to us and when shall we see you?’ He says, ‘When you take off your clothes and are not ashamed, and take your tunics and put them under your feet like little children and tread upon them, then you will become sons of the Living One and you will not fear.’ ”

COMMENTS

19. *πότε* . . . : This question recalls that put in the mouth of “Judas, not the Iscariot” (most likely Judas Thomas, the alleged compiler of this Gospel), by the writer of the fourth canonical Gospel, “Master, how does it happen that you are going to show yourself to us and not to the world?” (Jn 14:22).

ἡμεῖν : For *ἡμῖν* ; see note on Oxy P 654.8.

v. *πατήσητε* : Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata* 3, 13, 92; *GCS* 15, 238) has preserved a quotation from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, which has a very similar statement ascribed to Jesus, “To Salome’s question, when the things about which he was speaking will be known, the Lord said, ‘When you tread upon the garment of shame, and when the two become one and

the male (will be) with the female, neither male nor female.' ” See the discussion in Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 252–54.

In this saying, at least as it is preserved for us in the Coptic version, we find the characteristic Gnostic ideas about sexual ascetism that were current in the second and third centuries A.D. These ideas force us to classify this saying in the category of J. Jeremias' “tendentious inventions.”

SIXTEENTH SAYING

Θ[
 30 ΔΕ[
 Ο[
 ΤΑ[
 ΓΤ[
 ΚΑ[
 35 Ν. [
 ΚΑ[
 ΗΜ[
 ΣΙ[
 [
 40 [

Because of the fragmentary nature of this part of the fragment, no attempt was made in the past by commentators to restore these lines.⁴⁴ The lines that follow (41–46) correspond to the fortieth Coptic saying; hence these lines (beginning at least with line 30) must correspond to the thirty-ninth. Is it possible to restore the Greek text on the basis of this Coptic saying? We have tried various possibilities, but none of them was so obvious as to be convincing, given the present reading of the fragment. Several points, however, should be noted. First of all, at least two blank lines are needed for the restoration of the following saying; these should normally be lines 39–40. But line 37 seems to contain the beginning of the word *ἡμέραι*, which corresponds to the Coptic. But then there is not room enough to complete the end of this saying in Greek with the present disposition of lines. However, if the fragment (c) is correctly spaced on the Plate (and there is no reason to question the spacing of the editors), then at least *three* blank lines must be left between fragment (c) and (b). Secondly, in line 33 the second

⁴⁴ T. Zahn (*Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 16 [1905] 99, n. 2) suggested the following possibilities: line 30 λέ[γουσιν αὐτῶ]; 31 ο[ἰ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ]; 33 γυ[νή] or γυ[μνός]; 35 ἡμ[εῖς].

letter is far from certainly an upsilon; in fact, we may have there no more than one letter, gamma. The same is true of the second letter in line 38; in this case, there is a trace of a letter, but it could be almost anything.

The thirty-ninth Coptic saying: "Jesus said, 'Often have you desired (*epithymeî*) to hear these words which I am saying to you, and you have no other from whom to hear them. There will be days, when you will seek me (and) will not find me'" (88.2-7).

This saying is related to one that is preserved for us in Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1, 20, 2, *πολλάκις ἐπεθύμησα(ν) ἀκοῦσαι ἕνα τῶν λόγων τούτων καὶ οὐκ ἔσχον τὸν ἐροῦντα*. See also Epiphanius, *Pan.* 34, 18, 13 (GCS 31, 34). Resch (*Agrapha*, § 139, p. 179) thinks that it is an extracanonical parallel to Lk 10:24 and Mt 13:17. If we use these various leads, we arrive at a Greek form of the saying that is possible, but which is not altogether satisfying when an attempt is made to fit it to the letters that remain on the fragment.

30 λέ[γει Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· π]
ο[λλάκις ἐπεθυμήσα]
τα[ι ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς λό]
γ[ους οὗς ὑμῖν λέγω]
κα[ὶ οὐκ ἔχετε τὸ]
35 ν [ἐροῦντα ὑμῖν]
κα[ὶ ἐλεύσονται]
ἡμ[εῖραι ὅτε ζητή]
38 σε[τέ με καὶ οὐχ εὔ]
i [ρήσετέ με.

COMMENTS

We admit that our restoration is quite questionable in many places, but we propose it in the hope that someone will be fortunate enough to see more clearly and make the proper adjustments.

30. The breaking up of *πολλάκις*, as we have restored the text, is most improbable.

31. The ending *αι* on *ἐπεθυμήσεται* instead of *ἐπεθυμήσατε* can be paralleled in these papyrus fragments; see note on Oxy P 654.18.

34. The breaking up of *τόν* is proposed as a parallel to that of *οὐκ* in Oxy P 1.30-31 and 655.45-46.

36. ἐλεύσονται ἡμέραι : Cf. Mt 9:15. Cyprian, *Testimoniorum libri tres ad Quirinum* 3, 29 (CSEL 3, 143).

37. ζητήσετέ με . . . : Cf. Jn 7:34, 36.

SEVENTEENTH SAYING

39 [
 40 [
 ΕΛ[
 ΤΗΣ [
 ΚΡΥΨ[
 ΕΙΣΗΛ[
 45 ΕΙΣΕΡ[
 ΚΑΝ[
 ΔΕ ΓΕΙ[
 ΜΟΙΩ[
 ΚΕΡΑΙ[
 50 ΡΑ[

As can be seen, lines 41–50 contain but a few letters (a maximum of five) at the beginning of the lines. V. Bartlet succeeded in identifying lines 41–46 as a variant of Lk 11:52, *οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς νομικοῖς, ὅτι ἤρατε τὴν κλεῖδα τῆς γνώσεως· αὐτοὶ οὐκ εἰσήλθατε καὶ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἐκωλύσατε* (GH, *New Sayings*, p. 44). C. Taylor (*op. cit.*, p. 23) subsequently identified lines 47–50 as related to Mt 10:16, *γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνιμοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί*. They were both on the right track, as the Coptic version now shows, but we can still improve on their restoration. The fortieth Coptic saying reads thus: “Jesus said, ‘The Pharisees and the scribes have received the keys of knowledge (*gnōsis*); they have hidden them and have not (*oute*) entered, and those who wished to enter they have not permitted. But (*de*) you, be wise (*phronimos*) like the serpents and guileless (*akeraios*) like the doves’ ” (88.7–13). We may now restore the Greek text as follows:

i [λέγει]
 39 [Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς· οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ]
 40 [οἱ γραμματεῖς ἀπ]
 ἐλ[αβον τὰς κλεῖδας]
 τῆς [γνώσεως καὶ ἀπέ]

κρυψ[αν αὐτὰς οὐτε]
 εἰσῆλ[θον καὶ τοῖς]
 45 εἰσερ[χομένους οὐ]
 κ ἀν[εῖσαν· ὑμεῖς]
 δὲ γεί[νεσθε φρόνι]
 μοι ὡ[ς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀ]
 κέραι[οι ὡς αἱ περισστε]
 50 ρα[ί.

“Jesus says, ‘The Pharisees and the scribes have received the keys of knowledge and have hidden them; neither have they entered nor permitted those who would enter. But you be wise like the serpents and guileless like the doves.’ ”

COMMENTS

The Coptic now agrees with the Greek in every instance except in lines 44–45, where we had to restore the participle as in Lk 11:52, instead of the clause, “those who wished to enter.”

40. ἀπέλαβον: Having thus restored the text on the basis of the Coptic version, we read in G. Quispel’s article (*Vigiliae christianae* 11 [1957] 202, n. 17) that we had been anticipated by J. H. A. Michelsen, who suggested long ago reading ἔλ[αβον], referring to Pseudo-Clementine *Hom.* 18, 15.

42. γνώσεως: Cf. Pseudo-Clementine *Hom.* 18, 16, 2 (*GCS* 42, 248): ἀπέκρυπτον τὴν γνώσιν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ οὐτε αὐτοὶ εἰσῆλθον οὐτε τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰσελθεῖν παρέσχον. This form is actually quite close to the Coptic.

ἀπέκρυψαν: The Codex Bezae on Lk 11:52 reads a form of this verb instead of ἤρατε. For a previous reconstruction that is close to our own, see A. de Santos Otero, *Los Evangelios apócrifos*, p. 83.

44. εἰσῆλθον: Or εἰσῆλθαν.

46. ἀνείσαν: For this verb see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s.v.*; E. Mayser, *Grammatik* 1/3 (1936) 207.

47. γείνεσθε: For γίνεσθε; see note on Oxy P 654.8.

While E. Jacquier (*Revue biblique* 15 [1918] 117) was inclined to regard this saying as authentic, it is much more likely that in its present form it is a conflation of two canonical sayings.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

From the foregoing detailed comparison of the Greek sayings of Jesus preserved in the three Oxyrhynchus fragments with the Coptic

Gospel it should be evident that we are dealing with two different copies of the *Gospel according to Thomas*. There can no longer be any doubt about the fact that the Oxyrhynchus fragments 1, 654, 655 are part of the *Gospel according to Thomas*. This conclusion is imposed on us by the prologue which introduces the fragments and, even more so, by the almost identical order of sayings within the fragments and the Coptic version. The identification of these fragments with the *Gospel according to Thomas* eliminates all the previous speculation about their relationship to the *logia* that Matthew collected, or to the *logia* on which Papias commented; nor are they part of the *Gospel according to the Egyptians* (so Harnack), nor of the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* (so Batiffol, Grenfell and Hunt, and the majority of critics after them), nor of the *Gospel of the Ebionites* (so Zahn)—not to mention the fantastic opinion of H. A. Redpath, that they are “a fragment of perhaps some apocryphal gospel claiming to give a sort of *procès verbal* of the indictment or evidence used at the trial of Christ.”⁴⁵ The fact that in one or two instances our collection preserves a saying that is also found in one or other of these Gospels does not weaken in the least the identification which is now established. All that can be said on this score is that these other Gospels have preserved the same saying. In fact, given the peculiar character of the *Gospel according to Thomas* as a collection of Jesus’ sayings, we would naturally expect some of the Agrapha preserved in other writings to turn up here.⁴⁶ Moreover, there are many more Coptic sayings which can be paralleled elsewhere than the few from the Oxyrhynchus papyri which we happen to have studied in this article.

⁴⁵ *Expositor*, ser. 5, vol. 6 (1897) 228.

⁴⁶ Apparently those entrusted with the official edition of the *Gospel according to Thomas* are convinced that the principal sources of the sayings are, beside the canonical Gospels, the *Gospels according to the Egyptians* and *according to the Hebrews*. So W. C. Till (*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 41 [1958–59] 451); H.-Ch. Puech (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1957, p. 160); G. Quispel (*Vigiliae christianae* 11 [1957] 194). Should not the similar positions taken by scholars in the past about the relation of the Oxyrhynchus fragments to these Gospels teach us to be more cautious? After all, what we know of these two Gospels is nothing more than a series of quotations preserved in various patristic writers. To postulate such a collection as the source of the complete Gospel which we now have is to go beyond the evidence. It may be that the *Gospel according to Thomas* is the source of the quotations found in those Gospels, or again maybe all three depend on a common source.

While in most cases we found an almost word-for-word identity between the Greek and Coptic versions, there are some differences which force us to conclude that we are not dealing with the same recension of the *Gospel according to Thomas* in the two languages. Allowance must be made, of course, for translation differences, which do not really prove a difference of recension. But there are variants, e.g., shorter and longer versions, or a change in order, which clearly point to a difference in recension. Though it is possible that another Greek recension existed, of which the Coptic is a faithful rendering, it is much more likely that the Coptic version is an adapted translation—most likely with adaptations made to suit some of the theologoumena of the Gnostics who used or translated the Gospel.

This difference of recension, however, is not such as to hinder us from using the Coptic as a guide for the restoration of the lacunae in the Greek text.⁴⁷ In some instances we had to depart from the Coptic version since the extant Greek words would not permit a literal translation back into Greek. Nevertheless, the Coptic recension supplies the tenor of the saying and enables us to correct many of the former restorations which were quite acceptable previously because of the lack of an extrinsic guide such as we now have in the Coptic.

The Gospel to which these Oxyrhynchus fragments belong is not the

⁴⁷ The closeness of the relationship of the Greek and Coptic recensions can be seen from the following list, which attempts to sum up the degree of correspondence which exists between the various sayings. Sayings 9, 13, and 16 are so fragmentary that no judgment can be based on them. But Sayings 7, 11, and 12 are not fragmentary, and of these 11 is identical with the Coptic and the other two are almost identical, having slight variants which we may ascribe to translation and not to a different recension. In the case of the fragmentary sayings we must distinguish between (a) those which are split vertically down the center (Prologue, Sayings 1-5 on Oxy P 654, 10 on Oxy P 1, 17 on Oxy P 655) and (b) those which lack a beginning or end, but have the remaining lines well preserved (Sayings 6, 8, 15). In group b we have once again an almost identical correspondence in which the slight variants are most probably due to the translation and not to a difference in recension. In group a Saying 1 is shorter than the Coptic, Sayings 4, 5, 10 (= Coptic Sayings 31 and part of 77), 14 contain a longer and different ending, thus giving evidence of a different recension; possibly Saying 3 also belongs here. But the other sayings in this group (Prologue, 2, 17) manifest in their preserved parts an almost identical correspondence with the Coptic again. Hence the number of cases in which we find an exact or almost exact correspondence with the Coptic justifies our using the Coptic as a guide to the restoration of the Greek text, even though we do admit recensional differences, which we have carefully noted at the proper places.

Infancy Gospel according to Thomas the Israelite Philosopher.⁴⁸ It is rather another *Gospel according to Thomas*, which was well known in antiquity. We have cited above a passage from Hippolytus, who ca. 230 A.D. tells us that the Naassenes, a Gnostic sect of the third century, used τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφόμενον εὐαγγέλιον.⁴⁹ Likewise Origen mentioned a short time later a heterodox Gospel, τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, which existed in his day together with a *Gospel according to Matthias*.⁵⁰ Eusebius probably echoed his information, when he spoke of Θωμᾶ εὐαγγέλιον as one of those "revered by the heretics under the name of the Apostles." Jerome too derived from Origen his knowledge of the existence of the Gospel (*evangelium, quod appellatur secundum Thomam*, transl. of Origen's *Hom. in Luc. 1*; PL 26, 233; GCS 49, 5; *evangelium iuxta Thomam, Comment. in Mt.*, Prol.; PL 26, 17).⁵¹ But the testimony of Cyril of Jerusalem causes a problem, for he attributes the Gospel not to the Naassenes, as did Hippolytus, but to the Manicheans: ἔγραψαν καὶ Μανιχαῖοι κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον.⁵² And in another place he says, "Let no one read the *Gospel according to Thomas*, for it is not by one of the twelve apostles, but by one of the three wicked disciples of Manes."⁵³ Patristic scholars have debated whether this *Gospel according to Thomas*, attributed by Hippolytus to the Naassenes and by Cyril to the Manicheans, is one and the same. J. Quasten suggested

⁴⁸ See M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 49-70. Anyone who compares the text of the Coptic *Gospel according to Thomas* with this Infancy Gospel will see that it is of an entirely different genre and a completely independent composition. At the time of Cullmann's lectures in this country on the *Gospel according to Thomas* some Catholic newspapers quoted "a leading Vatican Biblical expert," Msgr. Garofalo, to this effect: the document on which Cullmann had lectured was "only a new edition of a well-known apocryphal 'Gospel of St. Thomas' dating from the second century and recounting miracles performed by the Christ Child" (*Baltimore Catholic Review*, 3 April 1959, p. 4). This is not correct.

⁴⁹ *Elenchus* 5, 7, 20; GCS 26, 83.

⁵⁰ *Hom. in Luc. 1*; GCS 49, 5.

⁵¹ See further Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.*, Texte und Untersuchungen 5/2 [Leipzig, 1889] p. 169); Ambrose (*Expos. ev. Luc. 1, 2*; CSEL 32, 11); Bede (*In Lucae ev. expositio* 1, prol.; PL 92, 307C); Peter of Sicily (*Hist. Manich.* 16; PG 104, 1265C); Ps.-Photius (*C. Manich.* 1, 14; PG 102, 41B); Ps.-Leontius of Byzantium (*De sectis* 3, 2; PG 86/1, 1213C); Timothy of Constantinople (*De recept. haeret.*; PG 86/1, 21C); Second Council of Nicaea (787), act. 6, 5 (Mansi 13, 293B); Gelasian Decree (Texte und Untersuchungen 38/4 [Leipzig, 1912] pp. 11, 295-96).

⁵² *Catecheses* 4, 36; PG 33, 500B.

⁵³ *Catecheses* 6, 31; PG 33, 593A.

that the Manichean Gospel was "merely a redaction, a working over of the Gnostic *Evangelium Thomae*."⁶⁴ The heavily Gnostic character of many of the sayings in the Coptic Gospel has already led to the conclusion that the latter is most likely the Manichean version of which Cyril speaks. The deliberate change of ending in the fourth saying, which is paralleled in the Manichean *Kephalaia*, is certainly evidence in this direction, as H.-Ch. Puech has already pointed out.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, though it is clear that the Greek text in the Oxyrhynchus papyri represents a different recension, we are not in possession of any evidence to say that this represents the *Gospel according to Thomas* which Hippolytus ascribed to the Naassenes.

Though we have remarked above that this Coptic Gospel is in no way a "Gospel" in the sense of the canonical Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, it is nevertheless significant that it is entitled *peuaggelion*. Modern *NT* scholars are wont to define a gospel-form in function of the canonical writings, a composition including the words and deeds of Jesus. Yet the ancient compiler of this collection of sayings apparently had no qualms about calling it a "Gospel." May it not be possible that in a collection of sayings such as we have in the *Gospel according to Thomas*, an original idea of a Gospel as the "good news" is preserved? We recall here Papias' statement about Matthew's collection of the *logia* and the postulated source of the Synoptics, *Q*. We suggest, therefore, that this fact be kept in mind when discussions are engaged in concerning the nature of the gospel-form, for the ancients obviously could also call a collection of sayings a "Gospel."

We do not intend to enter into a discussion here of the relation of the sayings of the Coptic Gospel to the Synoptics or to John. This relation exists, but it can only be studied in the light of all of the sayings preserved, and we have been dealing in this paper only with the parallels to the Oxyrhynchus sayings. Moreover, such a study will require a long time yet, for each of the 114 sayings must be studied individually.

Undoubtedly the *Gospel according to Thomas* is one of the most important of the Chenoboskion texts, because it will shed new light on the

⁶⁴ *Patrology* 1 (Westminster, 1950) 123.

⁶⁵ "... il est aujourd'hui évident que l'*Évangile de Thomas* dont les anciens témoignages signalent la présence parmi les Écritures manichéennes ne fait qu'un avec notre nouvel inédit" (*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1957, p. 153).

Gospel tradition of the early Church. While it can and will be studied for the interest it has as a Manichean Gnostic document, bringing new information to the history of that sect, it has a value which transcends this aspect, which it shares with the other Gnostic texts, in that it also has relevance for the New Testament. It is an apocryphal Gospel, and in no way can enter the canon as "the Fifth Gospel."⁵⁶

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⁵⁶ News about this Coptic Gospel stirred up the usual journalistic sensationalism. Unfortunately, it is not the first time that journalists announced to the world the discovery of a "Fifth Gospel." See F.-M. Braun, "A propos d'un 'Cinquième Evangile,'" *Vie intellectuelle* 34 (1935) 220-24. At that time it was question of some *Fragments of an Unknown Gospel*, published by H. I. Bell and T. C. Skeat (London, 1935).

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