THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND THE EARLIEST TEXTS OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

KENNETH V. NELLER

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**

1983

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND THE EARLIEST TEXTS

OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF DIVINITY, ST. MARY'S COLLEGE

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEW TESTAMENT

BY

KENNETH V. NELLER

CANDLEMAS, 1983

ABSTRACT

Research on the Gospel of Thomas in the last quarter of a

century has made it clear that the origins of this apocryphal gospel

cannot be satisfactorilly explained from a single point of view. The

author thus suggests that Thomas be understood as a growing collection

of sayings which originated in various places and languages, with some

logia being added to the collection after its inception. While this

suggestion is by no means new, there have been few extensive attempts

to study Thomas from such a presupposition.

Due to the need for a control group, only the logia which have

rather close parallels to the Synoptic gospels are investigated. Ver-

bal and textual affinities are noted between these logia and the ear-

liest texts of the Gospels (the Coptic versions, the Diatessaron, the

Old Syriac version, and other early versions and Christian writings).

Various degrees of probable contact between each logion and these

texts are assigned.

The results of this study give some idea as to the place of

origin, the original language, and the approximate date at which cer-

tain logia were added to the collection. Those sayings which show a

closer affinity to the Diatessaron, the Old Syriac version, or other

Syrian writings may be considered as having been added to the sayings

collection as it circulated in its earliest form, possibly in a Sem-

itic language. Other logia which show no signs of awareness of a

Syrian reading, but which are similar to variants found in the Coptic

versions or other Egyptian texts, may well have originated in Egypt

and been added to the collection at a later stage. These results, however, must await verification by those who might approach Thomas from related, but different, perspectives.

CERTIFICATE

I certify that Kenneth V. Neller has fulfilled the conditions of the resolution of the University Court, 1967, No. 1, and that he is qualified to submit this thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Professor R. McL. Wilson,
St. Mary's College,
University of St. Andrews.

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based on the results of research carried out by myself, that it is my own composition and that it has not previously been presented for a higher degree. The research was carried out at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Professor R. McL. Wilson.

Kenneth V. Neller.

CURRICULUM VITAE

I, Kenneth V. Neller, was born in Corona, California, U.S.A., on 20th February, 1954. I graduated from Virgil I. Grissom High School, Huntsville, Alabama, in May, 1972. I received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Bible and History, summa cum laude, from Harding University, Searcy, Arkansas, in May, 1976. I then matriculated in Harding Graduate School of Religion in Memphis, Tennessee, in August of 1976. A Master of Theology degree was awarded to me in May, 1979. I also received a Master of Arts degree in New Testament from the same institution in May of 1980. I first matriculated as a research student in the Faculty of Divinity of the University of St. Andrews in October, 1979. Admission as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. was awarded by the Senatus Academicus, under recommendation by the Council of the Faculty of Divinity, at its meeting on 13th February, 1981.

CONTENTS

A quick perusal of David Scholer's *Nag Hammadi Bibliography,
1948-1969* (published as volume 1 of the Nag Hammadi Studies series),
which is now updated annually in *Novum Testamentum* under the title
"Bibliographia Gnostica," will make one quickly--and, for the novice
student, perhaps painfully--aware of the deluge of studies precipi-
tated by the Nag Hammadi discovery in general, but especially, by
the Gospel of Thomas. Indeed, so much has been written regarding
Thomas that one may wonder if anything else of benefit can be said.
But the complexity of the problems involved and the plethora of ques-
tions unanswered demand that the evidence at hand be re-examined,
from a different perspective if necessary, in an attempt to discover
further the proper "interpretation" of these "secret words."

We know least, perhaps, about the origins of this sayings
collection. The focus of this thesis will be primarily in this area.
By trying to discover what, if any, connections Thomas has with the
various early Gospel texts, clues may be furnished as to the geo-
graphic area in which the various logia originated.

The material in this study will best be understood when read
in conjunction with a Coptic copy of the Gospel of Thomas (e.g., the
Brill edition), a synopsis of the Gospels, and, if possible, a copy
of the particular Gospel text under discussion. Also very helpful
will be a copy of a list of variants which Thomas possibly has in
common with the earliest Gospel texts such as those compiled by G.
Quispel (see his *Gnostic Studies, II*, pp. 58-69, or his *Tatian and
the Gospel of Thomas*, pp. 174-90) or T. Baarda (in the sixth chapter

of Schippers' commentary on Thomas, pp. 135-55). Some of the variants in this thesis have not been discussed before, but the majority of them have been gleaned from these lists or from Schrage's monograph and Ménard's commentary. A thorough reassessment of the evidence, as we shall see, suggests that Thomas be considered from a somewhat different viewpoint.

One way God keeps us humble is by reminding us how little we can accomplish without the assistance and co-operation of others. And so it is, in a work such as this, that a debt of thanks is owed to many.

To the Currentview, Missouri church of Christ, to the Missouri Street church of Christ in West Memphis, Arkansas, and to the Hillsboro church of Christ in Nashville, Tennessee, I give my thanks for helping to make this study possible.

To Professor R. McL. Wilson, my supervisor, I owe my gratitude and offer my respect. Although his many responsibilities make great demands upon his time, all of this is momentarily pushed aside when one of his students is in need of his counsel.

To the librarian and staff at the University of St. Andrews I am particularly grateful for maintaining such a fine academic facility and for being of such great assistance. To the following I would also extend my thanks for their gracious hospitality and assistance: the Cambridge University Library, Cambridge; the Harding Graduate School of Religion Library, Memphis, Tennessee; and the Columbus, Kansas Public Library.

To the many other individuals who gave their assistance and encouragement in so many ways, may I say: though you are too numerous to mention by name, you are not forgotten.

Finally, to my wife, Barbara--who made untold sacrifices

that I might complete this study, and whose love and patience seem

almost boundless--to her I offer my deepest heartfelt thanks and

renew my pledge of undying love.

Kenneth V. Neller

Columbus, Kansas, U.S.A.

Candlemas, 1983

ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*
Aeg	*Aegyptus*
ANCL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library. 25 vols. Eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1867-1897.
Bib	*Biblica*
BibR	*Biblical Research*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beiheft zur *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
BZNW	Beiheft zur *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CQR	*Church Quarterly Review*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus: Academie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres*
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CThM	*Concordia Theological Monthly*
DB(H)	*A Dictionary of the Bible.* Ed. James Hastings. 5 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1898-1904.
EB(C)	*Encyclopaedia Biblica.* Ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black. 4 vols. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1899-1903.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain
ET	English translation
EThL	*Ephemerides théologicae Lovanienses*
EThR	*Études théologiques et religieuses*
ExpT	*Expository Times*
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte
GThT	*Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift*
HThR	*Harvard Theological Review*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
log.	logion, logia
M569	Pierpont Morgan MS 569: John Pierpont Morgan. *Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi;* Tomus 4: *Codex M569. Evangelia quattuor sahidice.* Rome, 1922.
MS, MSS	manuscript, manuscripts
NCE	*New Catholic Encyclopedia.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.
NGWG	*Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen*

NHLE	*The Nag Hammadi Library in English*. Ed. J. M. Robinson. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977.
NHS	Nag Hammadi Studies
NovTest	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTest Suppl.	Supplements to *Novum Testamentum*
NSHE	*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*. Ed. S. M. Jackson. New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1908.
NT	New Testament
NTApo	*Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, I. Band: *Evangelien*, II. Band: *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*. Ed. Edgar Hennecke. 3rd ed. edited by Wilhelm Schneemelcher. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959, 1964; ET ed. by R. McL. Wilson. London: Lutterworth Press, 1963, 1965.
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OC	*Oriens Christianus*
OLoP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
PBodmer	*Papyrus Bodmer XIX: Évangile de Matthieu XIV,28-XXVIII,20; Épître aux Romains I,1-II,3 en sahidique*. Ed. R. Kasser. Cologny-Genève: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1962.
POxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyrus
PPalau Rib.	*Das Markusevangelium saïdisch: Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M569*. or *Das Lucasevangelium saïdisch: PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M569*. Ed. Hans Quecke. Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1972, 1977.
PRainer	Sammlung Papyrus Erherzog Rainer, published in Carl Wessely, *Griechische und koptische Texte Theologischen Inhalts II, III, IV*; Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde 11, 12, 15. Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius, 1911, 1912, 1914. Cited according to vol. number and MS number.
PS	*Pistis Sophia: Neu herausgegeben mit Einleitung nebst griechischem und koptischem Wort- und Namenregister*. Ed. Carl Schmidt. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, 1925. Cited by page and line number. Schmidt's text with an English translation can be found in the edition of Violet Macdermot. NHS 9. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.
PSB	*Princeton Seminary Bulletin*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RomF	*Romanische Forschungen*
RSR	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RThPh	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
StEv	*Studia Evangelica*. vol. III, part II: *The New Testament Message*. Ed. F. L. Cross. TU 88. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964.
StPatr	*Studia Patristica*, Vol. 14. Ed. E. A. Livingstone. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1976.
StTh	*Studia Theologica*

ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
ThR	*Theologische Rundschau*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Eds. G. Krause and G. Müller. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974--.
TS	*Theological Studies*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
VigChr	*Vigiliae Christianae*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

I. INTRODUCTION

A. The Miscellaneous Nature
of the Gospel of Thomas

Though one of the apocryphal writings discovered at Nag Ham-

madi in 1945/1946[1] closes with the words ΠΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΠΚΑΤΑ

ΘΩΜΑC, "The Gospel according to Thomas," it is apparent to all who

read it that this book is no ordinary gospel. Whereas the canonical

Gospels we know are cogent accounts of selected events in Jesus' life,

containing his words and deeds placed in a specific context through

the use of narrative material, the Gospel of Thomas, at first glance,

seems to be nothing more than a collection of 114 logia, or sayings,[2]

_____

[1]For details of the discovery, see James M. Robinson, "Intro-
duction," in *NHLE*, pp. 21ff.

[2]This is the number set in the official translations by the
committee including A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till,
and Yassa 'Abd al Masih: in English, *The Gospel according to Thomas:
Coptic Text Established and Translated* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959).
Previous to this publication, two other translations of Thomas ap-
peared. In 1958, Johannes Leipoldt published a German translation,
"Ein neues Evangelium? Das koptische Thomas-evangelium übersetzt und
besprochen," *ThLZ* 83 (1958):481-96. The next year, a French transla-
tion was given by Jean Doresse, *Les livres secrets des gnostiques
d'Egypt, II: L'Evangile de Thomas ou les paroles secrètes de Jesus*
(Paris: Librairie Plon, 1959). (The two volumes of this work were
later translated by Philip Mairet into one English volume and pub-
lished in London: Hollis & Carter, 1960.) Both Leipoldt and Doresse
numbered the sayings differently from the official edition. Conse-
quently, there was some confusion in this early period as to which
numbering system a particular writer was following. For a helpful
comparative table of numbering systems (pp. 157-58) and a further
list of translations (pp. 154-55), see R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the
Gospel of Thomas* (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., Limited, 1960). A
photographic edition of the Gospel of Thomas may be found in *The
Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Codex II*, published
under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Arab Re-
public of Egypt (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), plates II,32-II,51.

introduced and connected by a minimum of narration--most frequently, the brief formula "Jesus said."

A closer examination of the Gospel of Thomas, however, reveals several other interesting literary characteristics. For instance, it is composed of apparently different types of material which can easily be placed into one of four categories. Some sayings are almost identical to those found in our Gospels[1] (e.g., log. 34/Mt. 15:14b); others have only a loose resemblance to canonical material (e.g., log. 75). A few of the sayings have an authentic "ring" to them, but cannot be found in the Gospels or sometimes in any other previously known writing (e.g., log. 82).[2] Finally, there are sayings which are obviously foreign to Jesus' teaching (e.g., log. 56) and which were most probably put on his lips by the author(s) of Thomas. These types of material are mixed throughout Thomas, sometimes occurring in the same logion.[3] Just where the author(s) obtained this material, particularly that which falls into the first three categories, is a matter of dispute. Whatever the

---

[1]Every effort has been made in this study to distinguish clearly between the canonical Gospels (Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John) and those which are considered non-canonical. Unless otherwise stated, the former will be referred to as "Gospels" (capitalized) and the latter as "gospels." The designation "gospel tradition" is a general term intended to include all gospel-type writings.

[2]Joachim Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, 2nd ed., trans. R. H. Fuller (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), identifies only log. 8, 36, and 82 as possibly being authentic sayings of Jesus. Ray Summers, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1968), pp. 71ff., nominates log. 102, 47a, 97, 43, and 82.

[3]All four types of material--close Gospel parallels, loose Gospel parallels, unique and authentic-sounding sayings, and foreign-sounding sayings--may perhaps be detected in log. 6 and log. 21.

literary quarry, it is not likely that these sayings come from a single source.

Another characteristic of Thomas is the diverse order of its material as compared with the parallel sayings as found in the canonical Gospels. Often Thomas does not give the sayings of Jesus in the same order as they are recorded in the Gospels. For instance, log. 92, 93, and 94 have parallels in Mt. 7:7, 6, and 8, respectively. This is sometimes true even when the sayings occur in the same logion; in log. 47b, Thomas has the parable of the wine and wineskins followed by the patch and garment, but in Mt. 9:16-17/par. this order is reversed. One of the most striking divergences in order concerns the seven parables of the kingdom recorded by Matthew in chapter thirteen of his Gospel.[1] Thomas contains each of these parables, but they occur respectively in log. 9, 57, 20, 96, 109, 76, and 8--not only in a different order, but in different contexts. This divergence in order would suggest either a collection of sayings made independently of the Gospels, or a thorough reworking of the canonical tradition, perhaps over a period of time.[2]

There is also the matter of doublets: some sayings are recorded in Thomas in two different places. This is somewhat unusual, considering the brevity of Thomas and the vast number of sayings available to the author(s), and has thus led some scholars to believe

---

[1]Cf. Gérard Garitte and Lucien Cerfaux, "Les paraboles du royaume dans l''Évangile de Thomas'," *Muséon* 70 (1957):307-27.

[2]The first explanation would appear the more likely at first, but the latter view is admirably defended by B. Dehandschutter, "L'Évangile selon Thomas: témoin d'une tradition prélucanienne?" in *L'Évangile de Luc. Problèmes littéraires et théologiques. Mémorial Lucien Cerfaux*, ed. F. Neirynck (Gembloux: J. Duculot, S. A., 1973), pp. 293-94, with the help of Garitte, "Le nouvel Évangile copte de Thomas," *Ac. Roy. Belge Bull. Cl. Lettr.*, 5e ser., 50 (1964):33-54, esp. 44-45.

that the duplicate sayings offer proof that at least some logia were
added by a later redactor, and that Thomas was thus a growing collec-
tion.[1]

But that the Coptic Gospel of Thomas is a complete literary
work, designed to stand as a whole, there can be no doubt. It is
unified by its claim to a single author; it is unified by its rela-
tively consistent form; it is unified in its content. Yet the obser-
vations briefly made above--that these sayings seem so loosely tied
together,[2] that they apparently come from diverse sources, and that

---

[1]See, for example, R. Schippers, *Het Evangelie van Thomas*
(Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1960), p. 133; and G. C. Stead, "Some Reflections
on the Gospel of Thomas," in *StEv*, pp. 400-401. There are those,
however, who prefer to see the doublets, and Thomas as a whole, as a
result of a single editor using multiple written sources. Cf. G.
Quispel, "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," *NTS* 5 (1959):288-90;
Robert M. Grant and David Noel Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*
(London: Collins, 1960), pp. 97ff.; Harvey K. McArthur, "The Gospel
according to Thomas," in *New Testament Sidelights: Essays in Honor of
Alexander Converse Purdy*, ed. H. K. McArthur (Hartford: Hartford
Seminary Foundation Press, 1960), pp. 48-50; and Hugh Montefiore, "A
Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel According to Thomas and of
the Synoptic Gospels," *NTS* 7 (1961):221-22. This view is possible,
but it does not adequately explain the diverse nature of Thomas and
is understandably dismissed by Stead, above. Cf. also the discussion
of doublets in Philip Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Liter-
atur: Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen, und die
Apostolischen Väter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), pp. 624-25.

[2]The only discernible connection among the sayings in Thomas
which is recognized by a majority of scholars is the catchword ar-
rangement. Cf. the discussions by Bertil Gärtner, *The Theology of
the Gospel of Thomas*, trans. Eric J. Sharpe (London: Collins, 1961),
pp. 28-29; R. Kasser, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* (Neuchâtel: Delachaux
et Niestlé, 1961), pp. 155-57; and Turner, in H. E. W. Turner and Hugh
Montefiore, *Thomas and the Evangelists* (London: SCM Press, Ltd.,
1962), pp. 80-81. An overview of the discussion is given by Ernst
Haenchen, "Literatur zum Thomasevangelium," *ThR* 27 (1961):306ff. Ac-
cording to Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, p. 623, this catchword arrangement
proves that some of these sayings circulated together in oral form
before they were recorded by the author of Thomas. But because some
of these catchwords occur only in the *Coptic* form of Thomas (see p. 7
n. 4 below), this theory is inadequate to explain all the catchword
associations.
    Recently, two very credible attempts have been made to define
the structure of Thomas: cf. David H. Tripp, "The Aim of the 'Gospel
of Thomas,'" *ExpT* 92 (1980):41-44; and Bruce Chilton, "The Kingdom in
Thomas: A Study of Theme, Transmission Stream, and Structure," an

they were perhaps collected together at different times and by dif-

ferent people--raise the question of whether the Gospel of Thomas

was originally written in the form in which we know it today.

The sayings of Jesus found in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri[1] and

their relationship to the Gospel of Thomas have a direct bearing on

this question. As Puech first discovered in 1952, the sayings in

the papyri are almost identical with their corresponding sayings in

the Coptic Thomas.[2] Thus, what Grenfell and Hunt discovered at the

turn of this century could well be fragments of three separate copies

of the Gospel of Thomas in Greek which are 150-200 years older than

the copy of the Coptic Thomas found at Nag Hammadi.[3]

---

unpublished paper, the first half of which was read in the seminar on
textual criticism at the S.N.T.S. conference held August 26-28, 1980,
in Toronto.

[1]These particular sayings are found in POxy 1, 654, and 655.
See Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt, eds., *The Oxyrhynchus
Papyri* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, Part I: 1897, Part IV: 1904),
1:1ff. and 4:1ff. This material was published together in a separate
volume entitled *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel
from Oxyrhynchus* (London: Henry Frowde for the Egypt Exploration
Fund, 1904). Cf. also Hugh G. Evelyn White, *The Sayings of Jesus
from Oxyrhynchus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1920). These frag-
ments have been dated variously by their editors, by G. Garitte ("Les
'logoi' d'Oxyrhynque et l'apocryphe copte dit 'Évangile de Thomas,'"
Muséon 73 (1960):151), and by Kasser (*Thomas*, p. 17): POxy 1: II or
III century (Grenfell/Hunt), not after the beginning of IV (Garitte),
beginning of III(?) (Kasser); POxy 654: middle or end of III (Gren-
fell/Hunt), III or IV (Garitte), ca. 250 (Kasser); POxy 655: not
later than 250 (Grenfell/Hunt), III (Garitte), end of III (Kasser).

[2]The first published account of this discovery appears to be
Puech, "Un logion de Jésus sur bandelette funéraire," *Bulletin de la
Société Ernest Renan*, n.s. 3 (1954):6-9, reprinted in *RHR* 147 (1955):
126-29. Gérard Garitte, "Le premier volume de l'édition photograph-
ique des manuscrits gnostiques coptes et l''Évangile de Thomas,'"
Muséon 70 (1957):59-73, evidently made the same discovery indepen-
dently. Cf. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, in *NTApo*, 1:61 (ET 1:98), who
agrees with Puech's identification, but with a little more caution.

[3]Johannes Munck, "Bemerkungen zum koptischen Thomasevangel-
ium," *StTh* 14 (1960):133-34, admits this identification is a possi-
bility, but he suggests an alternate solution: the papyri could repre-
sent various collections of sayings later incorporated into the Gospel
of Thomas. But in light of the incipit of POxy 654, the fact that

There are, however, some significant differences between them. The eight sayings in POxy 1, for instance, are the same as those found in log. 26-33 of Thomas, with one exception: part of the fifth saying of POxy 1 is recorded in log. 77 of Thomas, far removed from log. 30 where one would expect to find it. Similarly, POxy 655 contains sayings parallel to log. 36-39 of Thomas, but it apparently also preserves a saying similar to log. 24 of the Coptic collection,[1] again manifesting a difference in order between the Greek and Coptic collection. Moreover, it appears that several of the sayings have been considerably revised. For example, the last clause of the fifth saying of POxy 654, "and nothing buried which will not be raised up,"[2] is lacking in log. 5 of Thomas. Also, the end of the sixth saying of POxy 654 reads quite differently from the end of log. 6 of the Coptic collection. In addition, log. 36 of Thomas is much shorter than the first saying of POxy 655.

These and other differences between the Greek papyri and the Coptic Thomas have led Puech to suggest that there were two recensions of the Gospel according to Thomas: one read by orthodox Christians as late as the fifth or sixth century (represented by the Greek

---

POxy 1 is the eleventh page of a book (cf. Grenfell and Hunt, *POxy*, 4:10), the very close similarities between the Greek fragments and the Coptic Thomas, and the fact that the three fragments were discovered in the same vicinity and belong essentially to the same period, this is perhaps less likely.

[1]It seems that Rodolphe Kasser, "Les manuscrits de Nag' Hammâdi: Faits documents, problèmes," *RThPh* 9 (1959):357-70, was the first to identify this particular fact.

[2]This is according to the restoration of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhychus *Logoi* of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas," *TS* 20 (1959):505-60. This article has been reprinted in a slightly revised form in his *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971), pp. 355-433. Cf. the restoration of Otfried Hofius, "Das koptische Thomasevangelium und die Oxyrhynchus-Papyri Nr. 1, 654, und 655," *Evangelische Theologie* 20 (1960):21-42, 182-92.

fragments), and one which circulated among the Gnostics and Manicheans (and served as the basis for the Coptic translation). The "heterodox" (Coptic) version is thus a Gnostic revision of the "orthodox" or "more orthodox" version.[1] It is significant that most scholars have accepted this understanding, at least in its general outline.[2]

A second observation also helps to explain the differences between the Greek and Coptic collections. Since both are likely to be different recensions of the same work, both would have a history of transmission all their own.[3] Thus they would have been used, revised,[4] and copied differently.

---

[1]Henri-Charles Puech, "Une collection de paroles de Jésus récemment retrouvée: L'Evangile selon Thomas," *CRAI* (1957):163-64. Cf. Puech, in *NTApo*, 1:221-22 (ET 1:305-306). But it should be remembered that even the "more orthodox" Greek version contains the esoteric prologue: "These are the /secret7 words . . ."; cf. R. McL. Wilson, "II. Apokryphen des Neuen Testaments," in *TRE*, 3:325.

[2]Cf. Fitzmyer, *Essays*, pp. 415-16; Antoine Guillaumont, "Les logia d'Oxyrhynchos sont-ils traduits de copte?" *Muséon* 73 (1960): 333; Grant and Freedman, *Secret Sayings*, pp. 67ff.; and many others. M. Marcovich, "Textual Criticism on the Gospel of Thomas," *JThS* 20 (1969):53-74, has taken this theory one step further. He suggests *three* recensions--the Coptic, the Greek, and the Thomas used by the Naassenes. For the opposing view, see Wolfgang Schrage, *Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zu den koptischen Evangelienübersetzungen: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur gnostischen Synoptikerdeutung*, BZNW 29 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964), p. 15; and idem, "Evangelienzitate in den Oxyrhynchus-Logien und im koptischen Thomas-Evangelium," in *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen*, eds. W. Eltester and F. H. Kettler, BZNW 30 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964), pp. 255ff., esp. p. 267. Schrage feels that there is no greater Gnosticizing tendency in the Coptic Thomas than there is in POxy. In fact, the Coptic version of Thomas is sometimes closer to the canonical text of the Gospels than the Greek version, and therefore *more* "orthodox." Also cf. Wilson, in *TRE*, 3:325.

[3]Cf. Schneemelcher, in *NTApo*, 1:61ff. (ET 1:97ff.); K. H. Kuhn, "Some Observations on the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas," *Muséon* 73 (1960):317ff.; and R. McL. Wilson, "The Gospel of Thomas," in *StEv*, p. 449.

[4]The work of the Coptic redactor(s) appears to be quite extensive. For instance, the first half of POxy 1. 5 is found in log. 30, but the second half is appended to log. 77 and connected to it by the Coptic word ⲠⲰϨ, which is thus used in two different ways. This Coptic word-play would suggest the conscious repositioning of

The Oxyrhynchus sayings, then, give further evidence that the Coptic Gospel of Thomas did not always exist in its present form, but that it is a piece of literature behind which there lies a history of transmission.[1] The history of this work, as far as we can determine, would include at least two recensions which underwent sometimes extensive revision and which were possibly read by groups with different theological backgrounds.

There is also wide disagreement among scholars as to the origin of Thomas, which tends to decrease one's confidence in the theories which hold that the entire collection originated in one place. For instance, a variety of suggestions have been made concerning the language in which the collection was first compiled. Quispel insists that the original language was the Aramaic of the Jewish-Christians who wrote it.[2] Nagel also argues for an Aramaic original.[3] Similarly,

---

the saying found in POxy 1. 5b to its present place in log. 77. Cf. Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):317-18. In addition, the word-play on the word ΜΑΑϪΕ meaning both "ear" and "measure" in log. 33 indicates possible Coptic redactional activity. Cf. Richard Laurence Arthur, "The Gospel of Thomas and the Coptic New Testament" (Th.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1976), pp. 41-42. Cf. also Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 177, for the word ⲤⲞⲞⲨⲚ used in two different ways in log. 91.

[1]This is somewhat contrary to the views of Haenchen, *ThR* 27 (1961):314. He admits that some slight revision of Thomas may have occurred during its history, but, because the Greek and Coptic forms of Thomas are essentially the same, he concludes that Thomas experienced no significant growth after about A.D. 200. The converse of this--that Thomas underwent at least *some* further growth after its inception--is a possibility which this thesis argues should be left open. Cf. Tai Akagi, "The Literary Development of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas" (Ph.D. diss., Western Reserve University, 1965), pp. 328, 361ff., who, although he is prone to see very little change in Thomas from its origin to the present Coptic text, admits that some minor alterations have occurred, including the addition of five new logia.

[2]*NTS* 5 (1959):277ff.

[3]Peter Nagel, "Erwägungen zum Thomas-Evangelium," in *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, 5. Band, 2. Teil, ed. Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1969), pp. 379ff.

Guillaumont,[1] Schippers,[2] and Ménard[3] opt for a Syriac original,

though, as Cullmann points out,[4] it would be extremely difficult to

distinguish between the two languages if one of them lies behind our

Greek and Coptic texts.[5] On the other hand, Grant,[6] Haenchen,[7]

Schrage,[8] Kasser,[9] Ehlers,[10] and others argue for a Greek original.

And, one must not forget the word-plays found only in the Coptic

Thomas,[11] which *may* imply that some logia were originally composed

in Coptic.

Nor is there a consensus among scholars as to the *place* of

Thomas' origin.[12] Respected writers such as Doresse, Guillaumont,

van Unnik, Cullmann, Schippers, Baarda, Quispel, Haenchen, Koester,

---

[1]Antoine Guillaumont, "Sémitismes dans les logia de Jésus re-trouvés à Nag-Hamâdi," *JA* 246 (1958):117.

[2]*Thomas*, pp. 19, 133. Schippers (p. 133) believes that the collection was not made all at once, but grew gradually. Evidently, however, he considers this growth to have occurred in the same general area (Syria).

[3]Jacques-É. Ménard, "Le milieu syriaque de l'Évangile selon Thomas et de l'Évangile selon Philippe," *RSR* 42 (1968):261. Cf. idem, *L'Évangile selon Thomas*, NHS 5 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 3ff.

[4]Oscar Cullmann, "Das Thomasevangelium und die Frage nach dem Alter der in ihm enthaltenen Tradition," *ThLZ* 85 (1960):333.

[5]For a more complete discussion of the possible Semitic back-ground of Thomas, see pp. 126ff. below.

[6]Robert M. Grant, "Notes on the Gospel of Thomas," *VigChr* 13 (1959):170. Cf. Grant and Freedman, *Secret Sayings*, p. 65.

[7]*ThR* 27 (1961):157, 161. Cf. Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):317ff.

[8]In *Apophoreta*, pp. 252-53.   [9]*Thomas*, pp. 10-11, 18.

[10]Barbara Ehlers, "Kann das Thomasevangelium aus Edessa stammen?" *NovTest* 12 (1970):303-304.

[11]See pp. 6-7 above, esp. p. 7 n. 4.

[12]For a more thorough discussion of provenance, see pp. 123ff. below.

Schrage, Ménard, Klijn, and many others, believe the collection origi-
nated in Syria. Fewer scholars, though equally as eminent, nominate
Egypt as the place of origin. These include Cerfaux, Piper, Wilson,
Turner, Grobel, and Dehandschutter. And the difference of opinion
does not stop here. There is also the question of whether these log-
ia have a rural or urban background. Ménard, for example, on the ba-
sis of log. 14b, thinks that at least in some places Thomas reflects
a rural background.[1] On the other hand, Grant and Freedman see in
log. 64 an urban character.[2] By inference, they would be supported
by those who consider the sayings collection to have originated in
the city of Edessa.[3] Again, an inconsistent interpretation of Thomas
may indicate a diverse background as the best explanation for all of
its characteristics.

The diverse background of Thomas is further hinted at when
one considers the purpose of Thomas. The author's intention has been
an enigma to scholars since the discovery at Nag Hammadi. The first
clue as to purpose, the author's identity, leads nowhere, for no one
knows who wrote the Gospel of Thomas. What does seem clear is that
it was *not* the apostle Thomas as the reader would be led to believe.[4]
Nevertheless, theories as to the author and his purpose have been
posited from the second clue, the intended audience of Thomas. It
has long been assumed, largely because the Coptic Thomas forms part

---

[1]*Thomas*, p. 100. Cf. W. H. C. Frend, "The Gospel of Thomas:
Is Rehabilitation Possible?" *JThS* 18 (1967):13ff.

[2]*Secret Sayings*, p. 161. Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 100-101;
and Montefiore, *NTS* 7 (1961):229-30.

[3]See p. 22 n. 3 and p. 123 n. 1 below.

[4]For an extended discussion of authorship. see Puech, in
NTApo, 1:205-206 (ET 1:285-87).

of the Gnostic library unearthed at Nag Hammadi, that it is in its

present form a Gnostic work, intended for Gnostic readers.[1] Indeed,

it must be admitted that several sayings in Thomas are easily under-

stood when compared with Gnostic teaching, and a Gnostic interpreta-

tion is legitimate in light of the esoteric prologue. Consequently,

the majority of scholars interpret the new gospel in terms of Gnos-

ticism,[2] some making brilliant suggestions in an attempt to make

sense of its miscellaneous nature,[3] while others extend this Gnostic

understanding of Thomas even to the writing in its original form.[4]

There are, however, at least two objections to such a homo-

geneous understanding. First, not all the sayings in Thomas are

---

[1]This is probably the simplest explanation of Thomas in its
present form, but one immediately runs into a problem when trying to
identify the *specific* Gnostic sect, as the commentators of Thomas
have found. But this may not be too surprising in light of the ob-
servations of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, "Gnostic and Canonical Gospel
Traditions (with Special Reference to the Gospel of Thomas)," in *Le
Origini dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966,*
ed. Ugo Bianchi, SHR 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 552-53, when
he states that the Nag Hammadi library represents a variety of Gnos-
tic viewpoints and "cannot reflect the dogmas of one sect, however
broadminded and syncretistic."

[2]These scholars would include Cerfaux, Leipoldt, Grant, Freed-
man, Schoedel, Hunzinger, Cullmann, Montefiore, Gärtner, Kasser, Schip-
pers, Haenchen, McArthur, Turner, Janssens, Ménard, Summers, Dehand-
schutter, and Kaestli.

[3]Cf. especially Grant and Freedman, *Secret Sayings;* Gärtner,
Theology; Ernst Haenchen, *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums,* Theo-
logische Bibliothek Töpelmann 6 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1961); De-
handschutter, in *L'Évangile de Luc,* pp. 287ff.; and Ménard, *Thomas.*

[4]Just a few of those who view Thomas as not only Gnostic in
its present form but as *originally* Gnostic include Garitte and Cer-
faux, *Muséon* 70 (1957):307ff., esp. p. 322; Leipoldt, *ThLZ* 83 (1958):
493; Robert M. Grant, "Two Gnostic Gospels," *JBL* 79 (1960):4; Kasser,
Thomas, p. 14; Haenchen, *Botschaft,* pp. 10-12; Montefiore, *NTS* 7
(1961):222; and Gärtner, *Theology,* p. 26.

easily explainable by Gnosticism,[1] even if Gnosticism is defined

rather broadly.[2] Then, too, some of the sayings explainable by Gnos-

ticism can also be understood in the light of other contexts.[3] Thus

several scholars have suggested alternative intended audiences. Quis-

pel, for example, believes that the author was an Encratite writing

to those of a similar persuasion;[4] other students of the Gospel of

_____

[1]Cf. Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, p. 635. Others have also ob-
served that elements besides those of Gnosticism are present. Cf.
Puech, in *NTApo*, 1:221 (ET 1:305); Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of
the Egyptian Gnostics*, pp. 348ff.; Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 43, 131-32;
and Hans Quecke, "L'Evangile de Thomas. Etat des recherches," in *La
Venue du Messie: Messianisme et Eschatologie*, by E. Massaux et al.
(Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1962), pp. 225ff. Cf. also A. J. B.
Higgins, "Non-Gnostic Sayings in the Gospel of Thomas," *NovTest* 4
(1960):292-306.

[2]Cf. R. Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 54, who defines Naassene thought
(which he believes influenced Thomas) in such a way so as to include
the sometimes conflicting ideologies of rabbinicism, Jewish-Chris-
tianity, anti-Jewish Marcionitism, and asceticism.

[3]For instance, while Grant and Freedman (*Secret Sayings*, pp.
129f.) and Ménard (*Thomas*, pp. 103f., 151f., and 175) would under-
stand log. 16, 49, and 75 as Gnostic, G. Quispel, "L'Évangile selon
Thomas et les origines de l'ascèse chrétienne," in *Aspects du Judéo-
Christianisme: Colloque de Strasbourg, 23-25 Avril 1964* (Paris:
Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), pp. 37ff., maintains that
they are *not* Gnostic sayings, but of Jewish-Christian ascetic (En-
cratitic) origin. Cf. Henri-Charles Puech, "Explication de l'Evan-
gile selon Thomas et recherches sur les Paroles de Jésus qui y sont
réunies," *Annuaire de College de France* 57 - 61 (1957-1961); and
"Doctrines ésotériques et thèmes gnostiques dans l''Évangile selon
Thomas,'" *op. cit.* 61 -72 (1961-1972); both articles are reprinted
in Puech's *En quête de la Gnose, II: Sur l'Évangile selon Thomas*
(Gallimard, 1978), pp. 65-284. On pp. 77ff. and 93ff., Puech notes
the Jewish-Christian background of the sayings which is sometimes
still visible, but he basically interprets the sayings as Gnostic
(pp. 96ff.).

[4]G. Quispel, "'The Gospel of Thomas' and the 'Gospel of the
Hebrews,'" *NTS* 12 (1966):381. In this he has modified his views some-
what, for he earlier advocated that the "syncretistic" sayings were
from a Jewish-Christian source (the Gospel of the Hebrews) and the
other sayings were from the Gospel of the Egyptians, which betrays
contact with early Gnostic thought: cf. his article in *NTS* 5 (1959):
276-90. Cf. also H. J. W. Drijvers, "Edessa und das judische Chris-
tentum," *VigChr* 24 (1970):17, 23. Interestingly enough, Richardson
concludes that Thomas is *both* Gnostic (though not fully Gnostic) *and*
Encratite: Cyril C. Richardson, "The Gospel of Thomas: Gnostic or En-
cratite?" in *The Heritage of the Early Church: Essays in Honor of G.
V. Florovsky*, eds. D. Neiman and M Schatkin, Orientalia Christiana

Thomas feel that the logia were originally written by and addressed
to ordinary Jewish-Christians.[1] Stead, on the other hand, observes
the diversity of thought in Thomas and reminds us that the Christian
(possibly Syrian) community in which Thomas was probably written was
very heterogeneous in its beliefs and a work composed by and intended
for such an audience would easily explain the different elements in
Thomas.[2] This observation emphasizes an important point: there is a
possibility that Thomas was intended for an audience of widely vary-
ing beliefs and cannot be interpreted from a single philosophical
viewpoint.

The second, and more important objection to identifying the
Gospel of Thomas simply as a Gnostic work has to do with its literary
history mentioned above. Since Thomas most likely underwent a series

---

Analecta 195 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1973),
pp. 65-76.

[1]Cf. Puech (note 3 of the preceding page); Otto Piper, "The
Gospel of Thomas," *PSB* 53 (1959):22-23; Akagi, "Literary Develop-
ment," pp. vii, 121, 199ff.; and Tripp, *ExpT* 92 (1980):44. Akagi
even interprets most of the logia in the *Coptic* Thomas in terms of
Jewish-Christianity. There are many, however, who do not think this
is possible: cf. Haenchen, *Botschaft*, pp. 50, 66-67; Gärtner, *Theo-
logy*, pp. 54ff. (specifically taking exception to Quispel's earlier
view); and Archie Lee Nations, "A Critical Study of the Coptic Gospel
according to Thomas" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1960), pp.
106-107, 143. Some scholars, in fact, view some logia as possibly
anti-Jewish: cf. Grant/Freedman, *Secret Sayings*, pp. 74ff.; Wilson,
Studies, pp. 131-32; Munck, *StTh* 14 (1960):139; and Schippers, *Thom-
as*, pp. 54, 133.

[2]Stead, in *StEv*, pp. 399-400. Cf. Helmut Koester, "GNOMAI
DIAPHOROI: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of
Early Christianity," in *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, by
J. M. Robinson and H. Koester (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971),
pp. 119ff. This article was published earlier in *HThR* 58 (1965):279-
318. This idea is taken a step further by Bruce Lincoln, "Thomas-
Gospel and Thomas-Community: A New Approach to a Familiar Text,"
NovTest 19 (1977):65ff. He views Thomas as a document addressed to
a community whose members are on one of four levels of spiritual ma-
turity and interprets each logion as being addressed to one of these
groups. It is a brilliant theory, but one which unfortunately relies
upon criteria too subjective to be really convincing.

of revisions and since it is probable that Thomas was a continually
growing tradition, it is also possible that Thomas was not *originally*
a Gnostic work, even if it can be identified as Gnostic in its pres-
ent form.[1] This would easily explain why no single explanation of
Thomas' purpose is applicable to every logion. During its history
of transmission, a logion which meant one thing to a certain redactor
may have been revised, or perhaps just reinterpreted, to mean some-
thing different by another. This reworking may not have been entire-
ly thorough so that vestiges of a former purpose or interpretation
might still be discerned.[2] Or, the core of Thomas may have been so
theologically neutral that it could have been used by several groups
and adapted for various purposes. In any case, we may be dealing
here with a collection of sayings which has had multiple purposes
during the course of its history.

This may be demonstrated by the apparently inconsistent
terminology used in the collection. For instance, reference to the
"kingdom" is made in a variety of ways:[3] simply "the kingdom" (log.
3, 22, 27, 46, 49, 82, 107, 109, 113); "the kingdom of heaven" (log.
20, 54, 114); and "the kingdom of the Father" (log. 57, 76, 96,
97(?), 98, 99, 113). The latter term is extremely rare in the New

---

[1]Cf. Puech, in *NTApo*, 1:221-22 (ET 1:305-306); Wilson, *Stud-
ies*, pp. 14ff.; George W. MacRae, "The Gospel of Thomas--*Logia
Iesou*?" *CBQ* 22 (1960):66ff.; and Kendrick Grobel, "How Gnostic is the
Gospel of Thomas?" *NTS* 8 (1962): 367ff. According to Grobel (p. 367),
Søren Giversen, *Thomas Evangeliet. Indledning, oversaettelse og kom-
mentarer* (Copenhagen: Gads Forlag, 1959), also stresses that the Nag
Hammadi readers may not have been the same theological group for
which Thomas was originally intended.

[2]Indeed, some sayings may have become so corrupt through this
continual revision that it is difficult to make sense of them. Cf.
log. 74 where the speaker, addressee, and meaning of the saying are
unclear. Of course, this vagueness could also be due to scribal
error or the reader's misunderstanding of the writer's purpose.

[3]On the use of "kingdom" in Thomas, cf. Garitte and Cerfaux,
Muséon 70 (1957):307-27; Gärtner, *Theology*, pp. 211ff.; and Dieter
Mueller, "Kingdom of Heaven or Kingdom of God?" *VigChr* 27 (1973):266-76.

Testament,[1] while the New Testament term "kingdom of God" is not found in Thomas. The inconsistency of usage in Thomas is in marked contrast to the Synoptic writers' preference for one term: Matthew for "kingdom of heaven" and Mark and Luke for "kingdom of God."

Other examples of the lack of uniform usage include the title "son of man," which is assiduously avoided in Thomas (cf. log. 44), except, strangely enough, in log. 86. Moreover, in the beatitudes which are unique to the collection, as well as in those with Gospel parallels, Thomas habitually uses the third person ("blessed is he"/"blessed are those"), similar to Matthean style. But in log. 68, we find "blessed are *you*." Further, the word "blessed" is almost invariably transliterated from Greek into Coptic with the word ΜΑΚΑριΟϹ (log. 7, 18, 19, 49, 54, 58, 68, 69a, 69b, 103), but in log. 79 "blessed" is represented by the Coptic word ΝϵϵΙΑΤ- three times.

Similarly, we may note the seemingly inconsistent positions taken in Thomas. One possible example concerns fasting: it is condemned in log. 6, 14, and 104, but it is used in a favourable way in log. 27 (though this may be a figurative usage).[2]

Finally, we might briefly consider a problem which will be discussed more fully in the next section of this chapter--the sources used in the Gospel of Thomas and Thomas' relationship to the canonical Gospels. The very fact that some logia so closely parallel the Synoptics, while others, though parallel, have a definite independent appearance, *may* testify to various redactors adding new logia to the

---

[1]"Kingdom of their/my Father" occurs only in Mt. 13:43 and 26:29; cf. p. 188 n.2 below.

[2]Cf. Antoine Guillaumont, " Νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον (POxy 1, verso, 1.5-6)," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 61 (1962):15-23.

collection at various times, although other explanations are certainly possible. Also relevant are the multiplicity of other sources suggested, including the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Egyptians, the Gospel of the Nazarenes, the Clementine material, and various oral traditions. An illustration of the uncertainty and complexity of the problem is precipitated by the study of K. P. Donfried on the Epistle of 2 Clement. He suggests that 2 Clement (written in Corinth ca. A.D. 100) used a source which was later partially incorporated into Thomas (written in Syria or Egypt ca. A.D. 140-190)![1] All of this may indicate the diversity of Thomas' background.

In view of the above evidence, then, it would not be remiss to suggest as a working hypothesis that the Gospel of Thomas should be understood and studied as a work which has a tremendously varied background. That it is a *collection* of material from various sources seems obvious. As a collection, it would be subject to more revision and adaptation than would a work which has a specific plot which would be damaged by extensive tampering. And, the differences between the Oxyrhynchus Papyri and the Coptic Gospel of Thomas are convincing witnesses that a good measure of revision in Thomas did in fact occur. The difficulty that commentators have in interpreting Thomas from any one specific point of view points to the strong possibility that this collection of sayings was revised and used for a number of purposes. If this is true, then it would be most difficult to explain Thomas in its present form as originating in any one area, in any one language, and at any one time. It might be possible to

---

[1] Karl Paul Donfried, *The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity*, NovTest Suppl. 38 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), esp. pp. 76, 77.

speak of the "original" Thomas in such a way, but what sayings con-
stitute the "original" Thomas? This question may be unanswerable
with our present resources; it will certainly not be solved by apply-
ing sweeping generalizations or subjective criteria to the entire
collection. Each logion must be investigated individually and ob-
jectively.[1] Only in this way can we ever hope to understand these
"secret words" properly.

B. The Relationship of the Gospel of Thomas to the Synoptic Gospels

But in order to determine, if possible, the origins of these
logia, it is necessary to have a control group, something with which
to compare them. To a great extent, this is why the parallels be-
tween Thomas and our Gospels have evoked such great interest.[2] The
logia in Thomas which have no known parallels could have been written
at a number of times and places or borrowed from sources as yet un-
known to us, but the Gospels, especially the Synoptic gospels, offer
parallels so close to a large number of Thomas' sayings (usually cal-
culated at about one-half of them) that one cannot help but see a
possible connection between the two. The question is, is it a direct
connection? That is, did Thomas get this particular material from
Matthew, Mark, and Luke? Particularly if the latter is true, but

---

[1]See the prudent approach to Thomas taken by Munck, *StTh* 14
(1960):130-47. Cf. also Wilson, in *StEv*, pp. 456-59.

[2]This is especially true of the parallels to the Synoptic
gospels where the similarities are quite obvious. It has been noted,
however, that Thomas also contains several Johannine terms and ideas.
Cf. Raymond E. Brown, "The Gospel of Thomas and St. John's Gospel,"
NTS 9 (1962-63):155-57; and Marcovich, *JThS* 20 (1969):72f. Unfor-
tunately, this Johannine-type material is too obscure to be of any
use for this thesis, despite the contention of Jesse Sell, "Johannine
Traditions in Logion 61 of the Gospel of Thomas," *Perspectives in Re-
ligious Studies* 7 (1980):24-37, that Thomas betrays a "*direct* know-
ledge of large parts of the Fourth Gospel" (p. 25).

even if it is not, it is also possible that Thomas has drawn some say-
ings from traditions unknown to or unused by the Gospel writers. In
this case, Thomas could well preserve some authentic sayings of Jesus
not preserved anywhere else.

It is no wonder, then, that the relationship between Thomas
and the Gospels has been a topic of intense discussion ever since the
Nag Hammadi discovery. Some of the earliest writers on this topic,
not the least of whom is Quispel, have been adamant that Thomas is
totally independent of our Gospels in its origin.[1] Quispel reaches
this conclusion in a rather indirect manner.[2] The sayings of a non-
Synoptic type he quickly dismisses as possibly being dependent on the
Gospel of the Egyptians.[3] Some of the Synoptic-type sayings, how-
ever, are clearly similar to those in the Gospel of the Hebrews, a
Jewish-Christian gospel. There are also similarities between Thomas
and the Pseudo-Clementine writings, which Quispel believes to be of
Jewish-Christian origin and based on a Jewish-Christian gospel. He

---

[1]For a good overview of the basic arguments for and against
dependence upon the Gospels, see Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "L'Évangile de
Thomas. Son importance pour l'étude des paroles de Jésus et du gnos-
ticisme chrétien," *EThR* 54 (1979):381ff.; and John Horman, "The Source
of the Version of the Parable of the Sower in the Gospel of Thomas,"
NovTest 21 (1979):326ff.

[2]Cf. G. Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament,"
VigChr 11 (1957):189-207. His views are elaborated in his later ar-
ticles, many of which have been published in his volume of collected
essays, *Gnostic Studies, II* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeolo-
gisch Instituut, 1975).

[3]This thesis may be partly justified in view of Clement of
Alexandria's quotation in *Strom.* 3. 13. 92. 2f. (GCS ed.) of a say-
ing found in log. 22--a saying which he assigns to the Gospel of the
Egyptians (a similar saying is also found in 2 Clem. 12. 1-2). The
possibility of the dependence of Thomas upon the Gospel of the Egyp-
tians has also been suggested by Leipoldt, *ThLZ* 83 (1958):495; Puech,
in *NTApo*, 1:215 (ET 1:297-98); Grant, *VigChr* 13 (1959):171; and
others. But its likelihood is doubted by R. McL. Wilson, "Thomas and
the Synoptic Gospels," *ExpT* 72 (1960):38; Cullmann, *ThLZ* 85 (1960):
328; and Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 9.

thus concludes that the Gospel of Thomas, as well as the Pseudo-Clementines, are largely based on this Jewish-Christian apocryphal gospel, the Gospel of the Hebrews.[1] Thomas, therefore, was written independently of our Gospels.

Leipoldt reaches a similar conclusion, but by very different means.[2] He begins by noting the differences between Thomas and our Gospels, and then justifiably seeks a reason for these differences. He assumes that if Thomas used the Gospels, we would be able to detect a definite purpose in each of the variations. But this is not possible. Therefore, it is more plausible to believe that these deviations are due to the fact that Thomas contains a tradition similar to, but independent of, our Gospels.[3]

---

[1]He further states that the Gospel of the Hebrews is the basis for some of the readings found in the Diatessaron and Western text (see pp. 151ff. and Chapter V below).
    The idea that Thomas is at least in part dependent upon the Gospel of the Hebrews is supported by such writers as Puech, Leipoldt, van Unnik, Till, Grant, Doresse, Bartsch, MacRae, Montefiore, and Turner. Such a hypothesis is rife with problems, however, not the least of which is the extremely fragmentary evidence which we have for the Gospel of the Hebrews: cf. P. Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:104ff. (ET 1:158ff.). Thus, while dependence upon the Gospel of the Hebrews is possible, there is not enough evidence to make any definite assertions: cf. Wilson, *ExpT* 72 (1960):38; Cullmann, *ThLZ* 85 (1960):328; and Haenchen, *ThR* 27 (1961):162-69. This is also the position of A. F. J. Klijn, *Edessa, die Stadt des Apostels Thomas: Das älteste Christentum in Syrien*, trans. M. Hornschuh (Neukirchener-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), p. 69, although earlier, in "A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts (1949-1959), Part II," *NovTest* 3 (1949):166, he advocated the possible dependence on the Gospel of the Hebrews.
    Another problem with Quispel's thesis is that Clement of Alexandria in *Strom.* 2. 9. 45. 5 (GCS ed.) quotes, as from the Gospel of the Hebrews, a saying resembling log. 2 (cf. also *Strom.* 5. 14. 96. 3). Log. 2, however, has no close Synoptic parallel. How then can it be claimed that Thomas' non-Synoptic material has come from the Gospel of the Egyptians and his Synoptic material has come from the Gospel of the Hebrews? Cf. Kaestli, *EThR* 54 (1979):382-83; and, further, pp. 153ff. below.

[2]Leipoldt, *ThLZ* 83 (1958):494.

[3]Cf. Montefiore, *NTS* 7 (1961):220ff.

Furthermore, those who have investigated Thomas from a form-critical standpoint have often concluded that this new "gospel" contains very early traditions, perhaps just as old or older than those found in our Gospels.[1] This fact, in conjunction with the arguments above, is enough to convince writers like Hunzinger and Bauer that Thomas is indeed independent.[2]

At least one other argument for the independence of Thomas has been offered by MacRae.[3] He observes that the sayings in Thomas which have Gospel parallels very frequently follow one Gospel, then another, often changing back and forth even within a single saying, without any apparent reason. MacRae thus suggests that the lack of preference for any one Gospel is a good indication that Thomas is independent. In other words, as Wilson states, "Independent access to a cycle of tradition similar to that of the Synoptics is surely a simpler and more probable explanation than random selection of sayings from all three."[4]

Nevertheless, these problems are not viewed as insurmountable by many writers and thus there are those who have also maintained that, from the very beginning, Thomas was dependent, at least in part,

---

[1] There are also cases where a saying in Thomas could originally be earlier than the Gospels, but in its present form it is probably in a later stage of development, e.g., log. 65: cf. Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 101-102, 147.

[2] Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, "Aussersynoptisches Traditionsgut im Thomas-Evangelium," *ThLZ* 85 (1960):843-46; *idem*, "Unbekannte Gleichnisse Jesu aus dem Thomas-Evangelium," in *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche*, ed. Walter Eltester (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1960), pp. 209-20; and J. B. Bauer, "Zum koptischen Thomasevangelium," *BZ* 6 (1962):283-88; *idem*, "The Synoptic Tradition in the Gospel of Thomas," in *StEv*, pp. 314-17. Cf. Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," pp. 129ff.

[3] MacRae, *CBQ* 22 (1960):59-60, 63.

[4] R. McL. Wilson, "'Thomas' and the Growth of the Gospels," *HThR* 53 (1960):240.

upon the Gospels. First of all, there is the fact that the Gospels
are the only other place where much of Thomas' material is preserved;
they are thus a strong contender for being one of Thomas' sources.
Of course, the differences between the two must be readily admitted,[1]
but these are discounted by writers such as Grant who see the devia-
tions as tendentious alterations made by Gnostic redactors working
on Gospel material.[2] Indeed, Dehandschutter strongly objects that
the author(s) of Thomas has not been given his due as a redactor.[3]
The writers of the canonical gospels, working with their sources,
were surely more than cut-and-paste men; should not the author(s)

---

[1]The differences between Thomas and the Gospels have fre-
quently been used to prove Thomas' independence. One may wonder,
however, what would happen if the differences among the Gospels were
pressed to such an extent. For example, John M. Rist, *On the Inde-
pendence of Matthew and Mark* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1978), pp. 2-3, notes that eleven-twelfths of Mark's subject-matter
appears in Matthew. Yet, there are some striking verbal differences--
only 51% of Mark's words appear in Matthew; there is some divergence
of order as well. Rist, therefore, concludes that Mt. is independent
of Mk. Nonetheless, the vast majority of scholars maintain that Mt.
did in fact use Mk. as a source, despite the differences. Similarly,
there are frequent agreements of subject between Thomas and the Gos-
pels, but the verbal parallels are fewer, and the order is often dif-
ferent. If one is to be consistent, however, these differences of
words and order should not be used *in and of themselves* to preclude
Thomas' dependence upon the Gospels.

[2]Grant, *VigChr* 13 (1959):174ff., and *JBL* 79 (1960):3. Among
others, cf. Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 47ff.; Gärtner, *Theology*, pp. 11ff.;
Kasser, *Thomas*, pp. 19, 21-22, 27ff.; Haenchen, *Botschaft*, pp. 34ff.;
Turner, in Turner and Montefiore, *Thomas*, pp. 32ff.; Yvonne Janssens,
"L'Évangile selon Thomas et son charactère gnostique," *Muséon* 75
(1962):301ff.; Jacques-É. Ménard, "Les problèmes de l'Évangile selon
Thomas," in *StPatr*, pp. 220ff. (Ménard's article is an expansion of
an article of the same title which appeared in *Essays on the Nag
Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhlig*, NHS 3, ed. M. Krause,
Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972, pp. 59-73); B. Dehandschutter, "Les para-
boles de l'Évangile selon Thomas. Le parabole du trésor caché (log.
109)," *EThL* 47 (1971):199-219; and W. R. Schoedel, "Parables in the
Gospel of Thomas: Oral Tradition or Gnostic Exegesis?" *CThM* 43 (1972):
548-60.

[3]In *L'Évangile de Luc*, p. 297.

of Thomas be allowed the same literary liberties?

The argument is also made that the methods for proving that Thomas is independent are those which have been applied to the Gospel material and are thus not applicable to Thomas, since it is of a different genre and milieu. It is upon these grounds that Klijn criticizes Montefiore's conclusions,[1] though Klijn himself does not necessarily advocate Thomas' dependence.

Moreover, it is inconceivable to some that Thomas could have been written in the mid-second century without the author having had any contact with the canonical tradition whatsoever.[2] Consequently, the view that Thomas is dependent upon the Gospels is seen as being more consistent chronologically.[3]

---

[1]A. F. J. Klijn, "Das Thomasevangelium und das altsyrische Christentum," *VigChr* 15 (1961):152.

[2]Cf. McArthur, in *NT Sidelights*, pp. 67-68. An abbreviated form of this article was published under the title of "The Dependence of the Gospel of Thomas on the Synoptics," in *ExpT* 71 (1960): 286-87. McArthur's assumptions have been criticized by Wilson, *ExpT* 72 (1960):36ff.

[3]The weakness of this argument has been that the Gospels as we know them were not necessarily well-known and held as authoritative at the time Thomas was written, which is given by most as about A.D. 140. This is particularly true if Thomas was written at Edessa (but cf. B. W. Bacon's suggestion that Matthew could have been written in Edessa!: *Studies in Matthew* /London: Constable & Company, 1930/, pp. 498-99). Moreover, the Edessene origin of Thomas has not yet been proven—cf. the discussion between Ehlers, *NovTest* 12 (1970): 284-317; and A. F. J. Klijn, "Christianity in Edessa and the Gospel of Thomas," *NovTest* 14 (1972):70-77. It is also significant that, especially in more recent writings, some scholars have demonstrated a reluctance to date Thomas quite so early. For instance, R. Schippers, *Thomas*, and "Het Evangelie van Thomas een onafhankelijke traditie? Antwoord aan professor Quispel," *GThT* 61 (1961):46-54, proposes a date of A.D. 190; Montefiore, *NTS* 7 (1961):223, and Johannes Leipoldt, *Das Evangelium nach Thomas: Koptisch und Deutsch*, TU 101 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967), p. 17, think Thomas was written in the second half of the second century; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 3, prefers "la fin du IIe siècle." Koester, on the other hand, in Helmut Koester and Thomas O. Lambdin, "The Gospel of Thomas (II, 2)," in *NHLE*, p. 117, says the collection was composed "in the period before about 200 C.E., possibly as early as the second half of the first century"! Cf. Koester, "Gnostic Writings as Witnesses for the Development of the

Finally, it has been observed by Kuhn, Schrage, Schippers, Ménard, and others that Thomas has certain affinities to the early versions.[1] This could suggest: (a) that at least portions of Thomas are based upon the Gospels as found in these versions; (b) that certain logia in Thomas have been corrected to agree with a particular version of the Gospels; or (c) that Thomas has experienced influences very similar to those which exerted themselves upon some of these early versions.

These, then, are some of the main arguments for both sides of the question of dependence. The scarcity of evidence and lack of sound reasoning have fostered misunderstandings and prevented either side from being totally convincing. There is thus still room for further investigations which might bring new insights to the problem.

But if the discussion thus far has failed to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, there are at least two things upon which both sides generally agree. The first, unfortunately, seems to be an unwarranted assumption, namely that Thomas is to be understood and interpreted as a whole. In its present form, this is true enough, but when one begins investigating its *background*--time of origin, place of origin, original language, and sources--the assumption that Thomas must be understood as a whole is not necessarily sound. To be sure, most writers readily agree that Thomas has been composed from various sources of material, which accounts for the material of the Synoptic

Sayings Tradition," in *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. 1: *The School of Valentinus*, ed. Bentley Layton, SHR 41 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), pp. 238-61.

[1]Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):317ff.; and Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 11ff., have observed close connections between Thomas and the Coptic versions; Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 19-20, 133-34; and Ménard, in *StPatr*, pp. 209ff., and *Thomas*, pp. 10ff., have noticed similarities to the Syriac versions.

and non-Synoptic type; some even go so far as to postulate that Thomas
was a growing, developing collection of sayings.[1] Nevertheless, there
is among those who have studied Thomas a tendency to view the entire
work as having *one* time of origin, *one* place of origin, and being
initially written in *one* language.[2] It is not unusual, then, to hear
the opinion expressed that all the Synoptic-type material of Thomas
has one source. Thus, on the one hand we have Quispel who says that
"all the Sayings of the synoptic type" in Thomas "might come from the
same source" and who then goes on to identify this source as the Gos-
pel of the Hebrews,[3] and on the other hand we have Grant and Freed-
man who identify this source of Synoptic-type material as the canoni-
cal Gospels themselves.[4]

Again, the question of the "core" of Thomas comes into play.
We might be able to speak in a singular way concerning the "core" of
Thomas, but who has yet identified the core?[5] But if we say that

---

[1]Cf. Puech, in *NTApo*, 1:221-22 (ET 1:306); Doresse, *Secret
Books*, pp. 343-44; Grant and Freedman, *Secret Sayings*, pp. 68, 111;
and Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 18. Regrettably, no one has been able to be
more specific: see the critique by Akagi, "Literary Development,"
pp. 104ff.

[2]Cf., for example, the studies and statements made by Gärtner,
Theology; Grant and Freedman, *Secret Sayings*; and Schoedel, *VigChr* 14
(1960):233.

[3]*VigChr* 11 (1957): 191ff.; *NTS* 12 (1966):373ff.

[4]*Secret Sayings*, pp. 97ff. Hans-Werner Bartsch, "Das Thomas-
Evangelium und die synoptischen Evangelien," *NTS* 6 (1960):249-61, is
a rare exception to this rule. His study demonstrates that he is
willing to allow the possibility that some of the Synoptic-type mate-
rial is independent of the Gospels, while some is also dependent. A
similar attitude is sometimes displayed by Ménard, *Thomas*: cf. pp.
166-67, 176, 180.

[5]In 1959, Kasser, *RThPh* 9 (1959):365-67, tentatively suggest-
ed as a working hypothesis that the core of Thomas is a Gnostic hymn,
but this theory has never really been developed, his promise in his
commentary (*Thomas*, p. 19) notwithstanding. Akagi, "Literary Devel-
opment," pp. 328ff., believes that all but five of the 114 logia were
present in the original Thomas.

Thomas represents a growing tradition which was repeatedly revised and at least once translated (from Greek to Coptic),[1] must we not also admit that it is possible, even probable, that the 114 logia of Thomas have different times, places, and languages of origin? This view of Thomas is entirely consistent with the picture Wilson paints of its early development. According to his understanding,

> . . . it /is/ evident that the materials of which the gospel is composed are by no means uniform in character. In the most general terms, we may perhaps speak of an element of genuine early tradition, possibly embodying a few authentic sayings; of an element parallel to but perhaps independent of our Gospels, but apparently from a later stage in the development of the tradition; of the influence of the canonical Gospels on the form and wording of these two types of saying, and of an element derived from the Synoptics; and finally of Gnostic redaction of the material as a whole, and Gnostic construction of further sayings.[2]

A similar view of Thomas has also been independently proposed by Koester[3] and looked upon with favour by Rudolph and Vielhauer.[4]

---

[1]Garitte, *Muséon* 73 (1960):155ff., and "Les 'logoi' d'Oxyrhynque sont traduits du copte," *Muséon* 73 (1960):335-49, seeks to show that the Greek papyri of Thomas were translated from Coptic, but he has not gained much of a following in this opinion (although he does receive a word of support from Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):319-20; and Kasser, *Thomas*, pp. 16-17). His views are refuted by Guillaumont, "Les logia d'Oxyrhynchos sont-ils traduits du copte?" *Muséon* 73 (1960):326-33. Also, August Strobel, "Textgeschichtliches zum Thomaslogion 86 (Mt 8,20/Lk 9,58)," *VigChr* 17 (1963):223, suggests that the Coptic translator of this saying was working from a *Syriac Vorlage*. Nagel, in *Die Araber*, 5:2:382, believes the *Vorlage* of the Coptic translator to be *Aramaic*.

[2]Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 147-48. Cf. *idem*, review of *Verhältnis*, by Schrage, *VigChr* 20 (1966):118-23. Arthur, "Thomas," p. 106, puts an interesting twist on this picture: he believes that Thomas was originally a Gnostic treatise to which Synoptic-type sayings were *later* added.

[3]Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," pp. 126-43, and "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," in *Trajectories*, pp. 166-87.

[4]Kurt Rudolph, "Gnosis und Gnostizismus, ein Forschungsbericht," *ThR* 34 (1969):189, 192-93; and Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, pp. 627-29. Cf. Akagi, "Literary Development," esp. pp. 384ff. He traces the development of Thomas through at least three stages and thereby emphasizes that Thomas represents a growing tradition.

Unfortunately, no one has been able to propose a theory which would satisfactorily account for the details of the composition of Thomas, but this understanding of Thomas certainly takes into full account the diversity of the material contained in Thomas and again points to the necessity of interpreting each logion individually.

The second piece of common ground occupied by both sides of the question of dependence is an admission which can be accepted without much hesitation: that at least at some point in its history, the Gospel of Thomas has had contact with and been influenced by the canonical Gospels.[1] The question is, when? The answer for those who see Thomas as dependent is obvious, but even those who view Thomas as independent concede that some of the similarities between the two point to probable contact at a later period.

With these things in view, this study seeks to investigate the several logia in Thomas which have rather close Synoptic parallels. Each saying will be examined individually from a verbal and textual standpoint. That is, Thomas will not only be compared with the Greek text of our Gospels, but with early versional and patristic material as well, since it is thought by some that these may contain the source(s) of some Synoptic-type material found in Thomas. Hopefully, this will lead to a better understanding of the background of each logion and of Thomas as a whole.

C. The Limitations of This Investigation

But before such an investigation can begin, it is important for us to recognize several possible problems.[2] The first thing we

---

[1]Cf. G. Quispel, "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," *VigChr* 12 (1958):193-94; and Wilson, *Studies*, p. 145.

[2]In addition to the following discussion, it is interesting to note that the questions and problems which D. Moody Smith raises in connection with the study of John's gospel in relation to the

must remember is that the Gospel of Thomas is unlike any other piece
of literature known to us. It is certainly not a "gospel" of the
canonical type. Perhaps the most that can be said is that it repre-
sents the same genre, or *Gattung*, of material as the postulated "Q"
document--a collection of sayings.[1] Nevertheless, as soon as we say
this we stand in need of modification or correction, for there are
disagreements as to just what discourse material Q contains, and many
scholars maintain that Q also includes a good measure of narrative
material,[2] and Thomas, of course, does not.[3] Thus there are similar-
ities, but Thomas and Q should not be considered identical in form or
content.

It is also **very** interesting to note that the Synoptic material
in Thomas bears a striking resemblance to the Gospel material quoted
by the early church fathers. This, however, should not be too sur-
prising since both Thomas and many of these writings date from the
second century after Christ. As a close study of this literature re-
veals, the early Christian writers seldom quote a scripture *verbatim*,
especially when it is short enough to be quoted, at least in its gen-
eral outline, from memory.[4] Consequently, there is a tendency to

---

Synoptics are surprisingly similar to those which apply to the study
of Thomas and the Synoptics. Cf. "John and the Synoptics: Some Di-
mensions of the Problem," *NTS* 26 (1980):425-44.

[1]Cf. Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):258; Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI,"
p. 135; James M. Robinson, "LOGOI SOPHON: On the *Gattung* of Q," in
Trajectories, pp. 71ff.; and Kaestli, *EThR* 54 (1979):388-89.

[2]See, for instance, B. H. Streeter, "The Original Extent of
Q," in *Studies in the Synoptic Problem by Members of the University of
Oxford*, ed. W. Sanday (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 185-208.

[3]For discussions on the differences between the two, cf. Cull-
mann, *ThLZ* 85 (1960):330; Robert North, "Chenoboskion and Q," *CBQ* 24
(1962):154-70; and Nagel, in *Die Araber*, 5:2:377-78, 385.

[4]Cf. W. Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century. An Exam-
ination of the Critical Part of a Work Entitled 'Supernatural Relig-
ion'* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1876), esp. pp. 21ff.; Ll. J. M. Bebb,

harmonize Gospel material, combine different passages, change the

order of the verses of a Gospel, change the order of elements in a

single verse, and alter the passages to the purpose and meaning of

the writer.[1] It is not the purpose of this thesis to discuss this

point at length, but perhaps a few examples will be sufficient to

illustrate it.

In the Didache 1. 3, we find:

Bless those who curse you and pray for your enemies; fast
for those who persecute you. For what good is it if you
love those who love you? Do not even the Gentiles do the
same? But you love those who hate you and you will not have
an enemy.[2]

At first glance, this might appear to be a direct quotation from the

Gospels, but a closer look reveals that the writer combines elements

from Mt. 5:45-47 with those of Lk. 6:27-28, 32-33 and mixes their

order. The wording of Didache 1. 4 likewise follows a similar

---

"The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations on the
Text of the Books of the New Testament," in *Studia Biblica et Eccle-
siastica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), 2:214ff.; Leon E. Wright,
*Alterations of the Words of Jesus as Quoted in the Literature of the
Second Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press,
1952), pp. 5ff.; M. J. Suggs, "The Use of Patristic Evidence in the
Search for a Primitive New Testament Text," *NTS* 4 (1958):139-47; and
Bruce M. Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of
the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1972):379-400.

[1]Wright, *Alterations*, groups the changes of Gospel material
into eight categories according to the perceived motivation of the
early fathers and scribes, and devotes a chapter to each: prudential
motivation, contextual adaptation, harmonistic motivation, stylistic
motivation, explanatory motivation, ethical and practical motivation,
dogmatic motivation, and heretical adaptation.

[2]Translated from the Greek as found in the volume written by
a Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, *The New
Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905),
p. 34. Cf. also Helmut Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den
apostolischen Vätern*, TU 65 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957). Both
works give the patristic citation and the possible biblical sources
in Greek in parallel columns.

pattern.[1] Justin also reverses the word order in some of his quota-

tions. In *Apol.* 1. 63. 11 we read:

> "No one knows the father except the son, nor the son, ex-
> cept the father and those to whom the son will reveal it."

Here, he has switched the first two clauses of Mt. 11:27b/Lk. 10:22b.[2]

There are also times when he slightly alters the wording of a passage.

In *Apol.* 1. 15. 1 he does this to Mt. 5:28:

> Now about continence he said this: "Whoever looks at a woman
> to lust after her has already committed adultery in his heart
> before God."

This is the same thing Clement of Alexandria does when he writes:

> "Blessed are they," according to the scripture, "who hunger
> and thirst for truth, for they will be filled with everlast-
> ing food."[3]

He seems to be referring to Mt. 5:6, but he alters the wording in

places.

---

[1]Did. 1. 3, 4 is part of a section deemed to be a collection
of sayings incorporated into the larger work. It is interesting, how-
ever, to note that the form critics have judged these verses to be
ultimately dependent upon our Gospels, even though they are not exact
quotations (and, in fact, exhibit many characteristics of the sayings
in Thomas). This is already the opinion of the Oxford Society, *New
Testament*, pp. 33-36. Cf. also Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*,
pp. 217-30, 260; and "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," p. 135. It is somewhat sur-
prising to see this position being taken by Koester, since he else-
where assigns most biblical allusions in the apostolic fathers to oral
tradition. His view concerning Thomas is similar (cf. "GNOMAI DIA-
PHOROI," pp. 129ff.). But if these sayings from the Didache can be
dependent upon the Gospels, why cannot some of the sayings in Thomas?
This would not mean, of course, that *all* the sayings in Thomas are de-
pendent, merely that the problem is more complex than has sometimes
been realized.

[2]For a detailed study of this passage and its development,
see Paul Winter, "Matthew XI 27 and Luke X 22 from the First to the
Fifth Century," *NovTest* 1 (1956):112-48.

[3]*Strom.* 5. 11. 70. 1 (GCS ed.). See also *Strom.* 2. 19. 100. 4:
"Be, says the Lord, merciful and compassionate, as your heavenly father
is compassionate" (cf. Lk. 6:36). Michael Mees, "Überlegungen zum
Thomasevangelium," *Vetera Christianorum* 2 (1965):151-63, esp. p. 158,
also notes the similarities between the way Clement uses text and the
way the writer of Thomas uses text.

Significantly, the use of Gospel material by the second-century fathers is very similar to what we find when we study the Synoptic-type passages in Thomas.[1] Now, there are those who claim that this diversity in quotations by the fathers is due in part to the wide circulation of oral tradition and the absence of canonical-Gospel authority at this early period.[2] This is entirely possible. There are, however, very few, if any, patristic scholars who would be willing to ascribe this entire phenomenon to such a cause. Indeed, the fact that a single writer quotes the same scripture in several different forms, including the canonical form,[3] makes the exclusive influence of oral tradition difficult to maintain. In other words, it may be easier to envision an apostolic father quoting a familiar text from memory and adapting it to his purpose,[4] rather than quoting

---

[1]Compare Thomas, for example, with the statement about Justin made by C. R. Gregory, *Canon and Text of the New Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907), p. 96: "Justin quotes from memory. He sometimes quotes much at random. He adds to one book words from another. He combines two or three passages into one unwittingly. But in all he shows that the gospel history for him is precisely the history that we have in our four Gospels."

[2]Cf. R. McL. Wilson, review of *Synoptische Überlieferung*, by Koester, in *NTS* 5 (1959):144-46.

[3]Clement, for example, cites Mt. 5:8 exactly in *Strom.* 2. 11. 50. 2, but gives an altered form of the saying in *Strom.* 5. 1. 7. 7. Cf. Mt. 19:11, 12 with *Strom.* 3. 6. 50. 1-3 (an almost exact quotation) and *Strom.* 3. 1. 1. 1-3 (cited in altered form). Cf. Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1881), 2: 113-14; and Metzger, *NTS* 18 (1972):380. An illustration of Frederic Kenyon, *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*, 4th ed. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939), p. 27, is relevant here. In speaking of the use of the scriptures by the early fathers, he makes the following statement: "In the first place, it is evident that they quoted from memory. . . . A curious proof of the liability to error in quotations from memory is furnished by a modern divine. It is said that Jeremy Taylor quotes the well-known text, 'Except a man be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God,' no less that nine times, yet only twice in the same form, and in no single instance correctly."

[4]Cf. Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 87-88.

multiple oral traditions.

This, of course, does not prove that Thomas makes use of our Gospels in a similar way; nor does it disprove the possibility that the author uses oral, perhaps even independent, traditions. What it does demonstrate is that the Christian literature of the second century (and this can be said for the third and fourth centuries as well)[1] seldom contains exact quotations of scripture. This may help us to understand the similar phenomenon in Thomas. To be sure, Thomas is of a different literary genre than the writings of the fathers. Nevertheless, it is a product of the same period and would quite naturally bear similar characteristics.

We should thus be on our guard against concluding that a particular saying in Thomas is independent of the Synoptics merely because it is different.[2] Similarly, we should beware lest any parallels between Thomas and our Gospels and Q spawn unwarranted assumptions which might bias our investigation of each logion.[3] For, though we may note similarities between Thomas and other types of literature, this sayings collection as a whole seems to represent a unique literary *Gattung* and must be treated as such.

We have thus seen some of the limitations of and requirements for using verbal comparison and literary criticism on Thomas. But if the preceding analysis is correct, traditional form-critical methods

-----

[1] Cf. Metzger, *NTS* 18 (1972):379ff.

[2] Cf. Wright, *Alterations*, pp. 75ff., who makes an analogous statement concerning the biblical allusions found in patristic literature. See also p. 21 n. 1 above.

[3] Unfortunately, this is what has happened to Hunzinger, *ThLZ* 85 (1960):843. He considers Thomas to be of the same literary *Gattung* as Q. Since Q is assumed to lie behind our Gospels, and consequently contains traditions older than our Gospels, he erroneously claims that the traditions in Thomas are also older than the Gospels.

must also be applied to the sayings in Thomas only with the utmost

care. As we have seen,[1] these methods have been used to study the

Synoptic-type sayings in Thomas with the conclusion that some of them

are older than, and thus independent of, our Gospels. But, as

Schoedel suggests, consideration should be given to the fact that

what appears to be more primitive in form may merely be due to Gnos-

tic exegesis.[2] Moreover, we should remember that these form-critical

methods were developed while studying the canonical Gospels and the

same criteria used for the Gospels cannot always be applied to Thomas.[3]

The difficulties become more evident when the basic principles

of form criticism are considered. Bultmann may wish to apply form-

critical methods "to the whole range of synoptic material," but he is

careful to add that "naturally such a task cannot put aside literary

nor yet historical criticism."[4] The obscure background of Thomas

would thus militate against the wholesale *formgeschichtliche* inter-

pretation of this new sayings collection. This is further apparent

as Bultmann continues:

> The proper understanding of form-criticism rests upon the
> judgment that the literature in which the life of a given
> community, even the primitive Christian community, has taken
> shape, springs out of quite definite conditions and wants of
> life from which grows up a quite definite style and quite
> specific forms and categories.[5]

It is the task of the form critic, then, to identify the "conditions

---

[1]Page 20 above.   [2]Schoedel, *CThM* 43 (1972):548-60.

[3]Klijn, *VigChr* 15 (1961):152, reminds us that the Synoptics
and Thomas are from two completely different milieux and thus criti-
cizes Montefiore, *NTS* 7 (1961):220ff., for taking laws which apply to
the Synoptics and applying them to Thomas. Klijn's views are, of
course, contrary to those of Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," p. 132.

[4]Rudolf Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, 2nd
ed., trans. John Marsh (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), p. 3.

[5]Ibid., p. 4.

and wants of life" of the community from which a specific piece of literature sprang in order to identify and understand properly the individual literary forms which it produced. But as we have seen, the community in which Thomas originated is far from certain; not only is the place of origin disputed, but the specific beliefs of this community are also in question. It is probable, in fact, that Thomas has various places of origin and doctrinal backgrounds. Consequently, the main premise upon which form criticism operates has, in the case of Thomas, been severely complicated. This is not to say that a form-critical investigation of Thomas will be fruitless. On the contrary, it is quite obvious that Thomas and the Synoptics are similar, and one would hope and even expect that a method of investigation used on a particular phenomenon could be used with profit on a phenomenon possessing like characteristics. Thus, form criticism is a logical approach to Thomas and one of the few methods of investigation available to us.[1] Nevertheless, it would be careless and methodologically unsound to use the form-critical procedure without first acknowledging its limitations and dangers in the particular case of Thomas.

This would apply to redaction criticism as well: many of the assumptions applied to the Gospels may not necessarily be valid for Thomas. In fact, much of the primary material for redaction criticism—narrative material to place a saying in a specific context and introductory formulae to certain sayings which give them a particular significance—is absent in Thomas. It is for this reason that Schrage

---

[1]Cf. Quispel, *NTS* 5 (1959):282, where he recognizes the dangers of the abuse of form criticism, but still tries to apply it responsibly to Thomas. Cf. also Kaestli, *EThR* 54 (1979):386-87.

reluctantly relegates this method to a minor role in the search for Thomas' sources.[1]

Another approach to the investigation of Thomas, and one which must go hand in hand with those mentioned above, is textual criticism. But again, because of the unique nature of Thomas, this method too has its limitations. According to classical textual criticism as described by Hort, there are very few corruptions in the biblical text which can be traced to a cause other than transcriptional mistakes or the attempt to correct apparent errors.[2] He thus maintains that "even among the numerous unquestionably spurious readings of the New Testament there are no signs of deliberate falsification of the text for dogmatic purposes."[3] There are those, however, who disagree with him, especially where patristic literature is concerned.[4]

In this respect the Gospel of Thomas may come under a great deal of suspicion, for it is quite evident that some of its sayings

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, pp. 5-6. Cf. J. H. Sieber, who, in his dissertation, "A Redactional Analysis of the Synoptic Gospels with Regard to the Question of Sources of the Gospel of Thomas" (Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School and University Center, 1966), concludes that Thomas is independent of the Gospels. He supports his thesis by noting that Thomas betrays very little, if any use of the redactional forms of the Synoptic evangelists. This, however, may not be considered too surprising, given the literary nature of Thomas; the narrowness of Sieber's investigation, then, could thus render his conclusions somewhat premature.

[2]Westcott and Hort, *New Testament*, 2:282-84.

[3]Ibid., 2:282. It is unclear whether Hort has in mind New Testament manuscripts only, or intends to include patristic writings in this statement as well, but the latter is probably the case (cf. 2:110-12). Wright, *Alterations*, pp. 5ff., at least interprets Hort this way, and consequently disagrees with him.

[4]See note above. Hort's statement was questioned at least as early as J. Rendel Harris, *Codex Bezae. A Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament*, Texts and Studies, 2,1 (Cambridge: University Press, 1891), p. 228. In addition, cf. C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1951), pp. 5ff., 25ff.

have been constructed in a tendentious manner; one might well ask if
this is the case in some of its Synoptic-type sayings. Thus the pri-
mary problem one encounters when viewing Thomas from a text-critical
standpoint is the question of whether Thomas is dependent upon the
Gospels or not.[1] If it is dependent, then it can be used much like
the witness of the fathers, realizing that the text may not be as pre-
cise as a biblical manuscript, but Thomas could nonetheless be useful
in supplementing testimony for or against a certain reading, as well
as in giving an indication of the date and location in which a spe-
cific text was known (if indeed that can be determined for the paral-
lel saying in Thomas itself!). On the other hand, if Thomas is in-
dependent of the Gospels it is of no value in the determination of the
original New Testament text. On the contrary, it provides a valuable
witness as to how a particular saying developed *outwith* the canonical
situation and may give us insight as to how the Gospel writers used
the traditions available to them. In addition, it may give us a clue
as to the external forces which influenced the New Testament text at
an early period. The question of dependence is thus crucial to how
one views and uses the material in Thomas, but there can be no doubt
that a great potential is there.

    This thesis is primarily a verbal and textual investigation.
Each logion considered will be studied as objectively as possible,
keeping the preceding observations and limitations in mind. Any
verbal and textual connections between the Synoptic material of Thomas
and other texts and versions of the New Testament will be noted and
the relevant implications, particularly those which pertain to the

---

[1]Cf. Wilson, in *StEv*, p. 456.

questions of source and origin, will be drawn. Although literary-, form-, and redaction-critical views will not be emphasized, the re-sults of these methods will occasionally be compared with the textual results, and questions for further study may thus be identified.

II. THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND

THE COPTIC GOSPELS

The copy of the Gospel of Thomas discovered at Nag Hammadi

is written in the Coptic language. To be more specific, it is writ-

ten primarily in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic, with the marked in-

fluence of the Achmimic and Subachmimic dialects appearing in places.[1]

As we have noted, about half of the logia in Thomas contain easily

recognizable verbal parallels to the Synoptic gospels; this verbal

similarity becomes all the more apparent when Thomas is compared

with the Gospels in a Coptic version of the New Testament. It is

therefore not too surprising that the question of a relationship be-

tween the two has been raised,[2] and it is this question that this

---

[1]Cf. Doresse, *Secret Books*, p. 137; Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 1;
and Leipoldt, *Thomas*, p. 22. For example, sometimes the preposition
"to" is represented by the Sahidic Є- , sometimes by the Achmimic Ⲁ-.
Or, where the Sahidic would normally use the relative prefix ⲉⲧⲁ?-,
ⲉⲧⲁⲥ-, ⲉⲧⲁ?-, often the indeclinable Achmimic ⲉⲧⲁ?- is used.
Robert Haardt lists several places where the Future I prefix ⲚⲀ- oc-
curs without the "Ⲛ", which he says is due to Achmimic or Subachmimic
influence: "Zur subachmimischen Einfluss im Thomasevangelium," *Wiener
Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 57 (1961):98-99. For a de-
tailed discussion of the Achmimicisms in Thomas, see Arthur, "Thomas,"
pp. 95ff. Also to be considered is the study of Bentley Layton on
the Hypostasis of the Archons (*HThR* 67 /1974/: 351-425), a work which,
like Thomas, is found in Nag Hammadi Codex II. Layton (pp. 374-83)
avows that the Subachmimic influence upon the Hypostasis of the Archons
is more pervasive than previously thought. In fact, the work is ba-
sically Subachmimic in grammar, while being Sahidic in vocalization.
Cf. the dialectal characteristics given in Paul E. Kahle, Jr., ed.,
Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt (London:
Oxford University Press, 1954), pp. 197ff.; and the detailed study of
Peter Nagel, "Grammatische Untersuchungen zu Nag Hammadi Codex II," in
Die Araber, 5:2:393-469.

[2]Such a potentially valuable investigation was urged by
Garitte, *Muséon* 70 (1957):65. Schrage's study (*Verhältnis*) is the
most thorough to date.

chapter addresses. There is, however, at least one prerequisite to

a responsible discussion of this question: an acquaintance with the

historical backgrounds of the Coptic versions and of Thomas.

A. Preliminary Matters Concerning
the Coptic Versions and Thomas

The first difficulty one encounters when studying the Coptic

versions[1] is the problem of dialects. The orthographic, phonetic,

and syntactic differences found among the Coptic manuscripts make it

obvious that dialects did in fact exist, but the problems connected

with their identification, dates and places of origin, and inter-

relationships have caused wide disagreements among scholars. Never-

theless, it is generally accepted that there are six major Coptic

dialects: Sahidic, Achmimic, Subachmimic, Fayyumic, Middle-Egyptian,

and Bohairic. At least a portion of the New Testament has been trans-

lated into each of these dialects.[2]

---

[1]The use of the plural is correct, as the following discussion
will demonstrate.

[2]Only the Bohairic and Sahidic New Testaments exist in enough
fragments to be published in their complete form. This has been done
by George Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the
Northern Dialect, otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic*, 4 vols.
(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898-1905); and *idem, The Coptic Version
of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise Called Sahidic
and Thebaic*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911-24). Even so,
however, both are somewhat patchwork and have been made obsolete by
more recent manuscript discoveries. Since Horner's time, a list of
published biblical manuscripts for all Coptic dialects has been com-
piled by A. Vaschalde, "Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la
Bible. Premier groupe: textes sahidiques," *RB* 28 (1919):220-43, 513-
31; 29 (1920):91-106, 241-58; 30 (1921):237-46; 31 (1922):81-88,
234-58; "Deuxième groupe: textes bohaïriques," *Muséon* 43 (1930):409-31;
45 (1932):117-56; "Troisième groupe: textes en moyen égyptien et
quatrième groupe: textes akhmimiques," *Muséon* 46 (1933):299-313.
Vaschalde's lists have been supplemented by Walter C. Till, "Coptic
Biblical Texts Published after Vaschalde's Lists," *BJRL* 42 (1959):220-
40. (The Fayyumic texts used in this thesis are those mentioned by
Vaschalde and Till.) Since then, several more major manuscripts of
the Coptic New Testament have been published: for the Synoptic gospels,
see Rodolphe Kasser, *Papyrus Bodmer XIX. Evangile de Matthieu XIV, 28 -*

There are those, however, who might question the existence
of all six of these dialects;[1] on the other hand, others would like
to lengthen the list.[2] This disagreement stems primarily from one
phenomenon: relatively few Coptic manuscripts, biblical or non-
biblical, contain a "pure" dialect, particularly in the earliest
Coptic period.[3] In other words, a basically Sahidic document may

---

XXVIII, 20; Epître aux Romains I, 1 - II, 3 en sahidique (Cologny-
Genève: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1962); Hans Quecke, *Das Markusevan-
gelium saidisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit
den Varianten der Handschrift M 569* (Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroc-
taviana, 1972); and *idem, Das Lucasevangelium saidisch. Text der
Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181 mit den Varianten der Handschrift
M 569* (Barcelona, 1977). Also of major importance for the present
study is *Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice
expressi* (Rome, 1922), especially Tomus 4: *Codex M569. Evangelia
quattuor sahidice*. For additional information, see Bruce M. Metzger,
*The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission,
and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 108ff.

[1]The only major dialect which has been seriously disputed in
recent years is Middle-Egyptian. It was identified by Kahle,
Bala'izah, pp. 196, 220ff. and confirmed by Rodolphe Kasser, "Les dia-
lects coptes et les versions coptes bibliques," *Bib* 46 (1965):289ff.
But Peter Weigandt, "Zur Geschichte der koptischen Bibelübersetzungen,"
Bib 50 (1969):81, questions whether there is adequate evidence for
such an identification. Kasser responds in "Reflexions sur quelques
méthodes d'étude des versions coptes néotestamentaires," *Bib* 55
(1974):235.

[2]Kasser, for instance, seems to be discovering more dialects
all the time. In *Bib* 46 (1965):289ff., he identifies nine dialects.
In "Y a-t-il une généalogie des dialectes coptes?" in *Mélanges d'his-
toire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris: Presses
Universitaires de France, 1974), pp. 431-36, he mentions thirteen
different dialects. He has gone as high as fifteen: cf. M. Krause,
"Die Disziplin Koptologie," in *The Future of Coptic Studies*, ed.
R. McL. Wilson, Coptic Studies 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978), p. 5.
Kasser attempts to logically explain their relationships in "Pro-
légomenes à un essai de classification systématique des dialectes
et subdialectes coptes selon les critères de la phonétique," *Muséon*
93 (1980):53-112.

[3]Cf. the study of Kahle, *Bala'izah*, esp. pp. 193-268. In this
respect, it is interesting to observe the quandary of Quecke as he com-
pares the MS of Luke and the MS of Mark in PPalau Rib. (*Lucasevangel-
ium*, pp. 9, 75ff., 87-90). Even though both MSS are of the same date
and from the same scriptorium, there are slight dialectal and textual
differences between them, making it difficult, if not impossible, to
tell whether they were copied by one hand or two.

have some traits of the Achmimic or Subachmimic dialects (as does

Thomas), or a Middle-Egyptian document may also have Fayyumic char-

acteristics.[1] To a large extent, this is probably due to some mix-

ture taking place among the dialects;[2] also to be considered is the

partial reworking of a manuscript of one dialect to conform more

closely with another dialect when the manuscript is carried from one

region to another. Similarly, the (vernacular) dialect of a scribe

may have been different from the (literary) dialect of the manu-

script he was copying, which in turn may have led to the accidental

or intentional alteration of the original.[3] Finally, there remains

the suggestion of Husselman that "until the sixth century at least

there were no standardized literary dialects other than Sahidic."[4]

Whatever the explanation, the fact that mixture among the dialects

exists must be recognized and conclusions concerning the Coptic ver-

sions of the New Testament must be tempered accordingly.

Another problem one encounters when working with the Coptic

versions is the task of dating. For instance, no one knows for

---

[1]Cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah*, pp. 224ff.

[2]Cf. ibid., pp. 193ff.; William H. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*
(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934), pp. 63ff.; and Walter
C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik (saidischer Dialekt)* (Leipzig: Otto
Harassowitz, 1955), §8.

[3]See Nagel, in *Die Araber*, 5:2:468-69.

[4]E. M. Husselman, *The Gospel of John in Fayumic Coptic* (Ann
Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 11. Since she makes
this statement in light of Kahle's studies, it is interesting to note
that William F. Edgerton, review of *Bala'izah*, by Kahle, *JNES* 15
(1956):61, comes to a similar conclusion. The observations of Doresse
and Puech as they first worked with the Nag Hammadi materials would
also tend to confirm such a view. Cf. Jean Doresse and Togo Mina,
"Nouveaux textes gnostiques coptes découverts en Haute-Égypte. La
bibliothèque de Chenoboskion," *VigChr* 3 (1949):131-32; and H.-Ch.
Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte
(premier inventaire et essai d'identification)," in *Coptic Studies in
Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Boston: Byzantine Institute, Inc., 1950),
pp. 96-97.

certain into which Coptic dialect the New Testament was first trans-
lated. Long ago, Hyvernat suggested Bohairic,[1] while Leipoldt main-
tains that "the oldest (or let us say more cautiously: the most an-
tique) translations are the fayyumic and the achmimic."[2] The over-
whelming majority of scholars, however, view the Sahidic version as
the earliest Coptic New Testament; most date it beginning in the
second or third centuries, some as late as the fourth.[3] The origin
of the Bohairic version is somewhat later. It has been dated as
early as the second century[4] and as late as the eighth,[5] but in light
of more recent evidence, most prefer a third- or fourth-century date.[6]

---

[1] H. Hyvernat, "Étude sur les versions coptes de la Bible,"
RB 6 (1897):70.

[2] Johannes Leipoldt, "The Sahidic New Testament," *CQR* 92
(1921):50.

[3] For the second century view, cf. Horner, *Sahidic NT*, 3:398-
99; Frederic G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New
Testament*, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1912), pp.
178-79; and P. L. Hedley, "The Egyptian Texts of the Gospels and
Acts," *CQR* 118 (1934):29; third century: Georg Steindorff, "Bemerk-
ungen über die Anfange der koptischen Sprache und Literatur," in
Coptic Studies in Honor of Crum, p. 205; Kahle, *Bala'izah*, pp. 260,
265; and Arthur Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament* (Stock-
holm, 1954), pp. 222-23; fourth century: Ignazio Guidi, "Le traduzioni
dal copto," *NGWG* (6 February 1889):50; and Johannes Leipoldt, "The
New Testament in Coptic," *CQR* 62 (1906):303-304.

[4] Cf. Westcott and Hort, *New Testament*, 2:85; and Hyvernat,
RB 6 (1897):67-70.

[5] Cf. Guidi, *NGWG* (6 Feb. 1889):49-52, who dates the Bohairic
version between the sixth and eighth centuries. His study greatly
influenced Leipoldt, *CQR* 62 (1906):309ff. (ca. A.D. 700); Christof
Eberhard Nestle, "Egyptian Coptic Versions," in *NSHE*, 2:133 (in the
time of the Arabs); Hatch, in James Hardy Ropes and William P. Hatch,
"The Vulgate, Peshitto, Sahidic, and Bohairic Versions of Acts and the
Greek Manuscripts," *HThR* 21 (1928):88 (seventh century); and several
others.

[6] Cf. Kenyon, *Handbook*, p. 185, and *Our Bible*, p. 167; Paul E.
Kahle, Jr., "A Biblical Fragment of the IVth - Vth Century in Semi-
Bohairic," *Muséon* 63 (1950):149-52, and *Bala'izah*, p. 250; and Stein-
dorff, in *Studies for Crum*, pp. 205-206.

The dates of origin for the other versions are even more difficult to ascertain because of the paucity of representative manuscripts, but the Achmimic, Subachmimic, Fayyumic, and Middle-Egyptian versions have generally been given fourth- to fifth-century dates.[1] In the case of the Achmimic and Subachmimic Gospels, however, there may be evidence for an earlier date of origin.[2]

As to provenance, again there are no clear answers. If it is assumed that the versions originated and were used in the areas of their respective dialects, then the Bohairic version probably originated in the north of Egypt and spread southward.[3] The Sahidic version may have followed a similar pattern,[4] but it flourished primarily in the south. The names of the other dialects reflect their generally accepted place of origin and use, though of course there is some disagreement.[5]

It should be obvious, then, from the above brief survey that one cannot speak of "the Coptic version," for there are several

---

[1] Cf. Leipoldt, *CQR* 62 (1906):303ff.; Kenyon, *Handbook*, p. 193; and Kasser, *Bib* 46 (1965):295ff.

[2] At least this is what is implied of the Achmimic Gospels by L. Th. Lefort, "Fragments bibliques en dialecte Akhîmique," *Muséon* 66 (1953):16-17. For a similar view concerning the Subachmimic version, cf. Herbert Thompson, ed., *The Gospel of St. John According to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1924), pp. xxi, xxix.

[3] Cf. Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 67; and Kasser, *Bib* 46 (1965): 295.

[4] Cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah*, pp. 242, 247, 251-52, 256-57; and Kasser, *Bib* 46 (1965):291, but the contrary opinions cited in their discussions demonstrate that their opinion is not altogether followed.

[5] Again, for the various views see the very helpful discussions of Kahle, *Bala'izah*, pp. 198ff.; and Kasser, *Bib* 46 (1965):293-95. The historical reconstructions of both men receive some criticism from Gerd Mink, "Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments: Die sprachlichen Probleme bei ihrer Bewertung für die griechische Textgeschichte," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), pp. 179-87.

versions of the Coptic New Testament, all of which have a different background. Nevertheless, because all the versions are representatives of dialects of the same language, and since many scholars believe the dialects are closely interrelated, some type of connection among the versions cannot be ruled out.[1] But again, there are those who maintain that each version is based on a separate Greek text and is an independent witness to the New Testament.[2]

Simply put, the background of the Coptic versions of the New Testament is obscure, fragmented, and disputed.[3] This should suggest a great deal of caution to one who is attempting to compare them with a document of like background, the Gospel of Thomas. But a profitable comparison is still possible if the background of Thomas is kept in mind, with the facts carefully separated and distinguished from the unknowns.

---

[1]Usually, the closest connection is seen between the Sahidic and Achmimic versions: cf. Nestle, "Coptic Versions," pp. 132-33; Lefort, *Muséon* 66 (1953):19; and Kasser, *Bib* 46 (1965):293-94. Some scholars also see a relationship between the Sahidic version and Subachmimic, Fayyumic, and Middle-Egyptian versions: cf. Thompson, *John*, p. xxi; and Kasser, *Bib* 46 (1965):259ff., and 55 (1974):238. Normally, the Bohairic version is seen as having very little influence on the other Coptic versions: in addition to the above writers, see Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, p. 67. This, however, is disputed by Kahle, *Bala'izah*, pp. 193ff., who, in his study of the dialects, considers Achmimic, Subachmimic, Middle-Egyptian, and Fayyumic to be precursors of Bohairic, while concluding that Sahidic is a relatively independent and neutral dialect. Consequently, Kahle sees a rather close connection between the Fayyumic and Bohairic versions of the Bible (pp. 228, 250, 279ff.). Although this observation has been somewhat corroborated in Acts by Anton Joussen, *Die koptischen Versionen der Apostelgeschichte (Kritik und Wertung)* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1969), p. 128, Kahle's views as a whole have received little support in this area.

[2]Cf. Kenyon, *Handbook*, p. 193; Weigandt, *Bib* 50 (1969):95; and Mink, "Koptischen Versionen," pp. 284-89.

[3]Cf. Tito Orlandi, "The Future of Studies in Coptic Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature," in *The Future of Coptic Studies*, ed. R. McL. Wilson, pp. 143-63.

We must remember, above all, that with the Gospel of Thomas we are probably dealing with a document having varied backgrounds. It was probably first written and compiled in the latter half of the second century, perhaps in Palestine or Egypt, possibly in Syria. There is no certainty as to its original language, but the possibilities include Aramaic, Syriac, and Greek. Whatever the case, we know that it was probably circulating in a Greek edition around Oxyrhynchus in the early part of the third century.[1] From this edition, we learn that it contained not only material parallel to the Gospels, but foreign, seemingly tendentious material. We cannot know when it was translated into Coptic, but it was probably after this time and, of course, before the latter half of the fourth/early fifth century, since we have a Coptic copy of this date. Between these two periods, Thomas underwent some revision; in places it was fairly extensive. This and internal evidence would suggest that it served various purposes for different groups which made use of it. Consequently, it was probably a living, growing tradition which was used, perhaps, for catechetical purposes.

We are now in a better position to ask: Can there be any relationship[2] between this work and the Coptic versions of our

---

[1] Its circulation can be deduced to be much wider than just Egypt, since it appears to be known by Origen and Hippolytus, who lived around this period. For a collection of patristic evidence which refers to Thomas, see Puech, in *NTApo*, 1:199ff. (ET 1:278ff.).

[2] It should be kept in mind that the word "relationship" is a generic term which, when applied to literary works, excludes independence by implication, but includes various kinds of "relationships": direct dependence, connection, direct influence, indirect influence, etc. One of the shortcomings of many of the studies of Thomas is that they conclude that there is a "relationship" between Thomas and something else, but they do not *precisely identify* that relationship. It is true that specificity in an area where factual information is scarce is not always possible, but this thesis attempts to be as specific regarding "relationship" as the facts will allow.

Gospels? Most students of Thomas outrightly reject the question as
nonsensical: How can any work written in the second century in Greek,
Aramaic, or Syriac be related to a Coptic translation of the Gospels
made around the third century or later?[1] This question is made all
the more absurd if one views the entire sayings collection as inde-
pendent of the Gospels to begin with. And yet, if Thomas was a grow-
ing collection, could it be that some sayings or parts of sayings
have been added to Thomas during the third century or even later?
If so, could these have been originally influenced by the Coptic ver-
sions? An affirmative answer appears possible in both cases, but, to
be sure, it must be admitted that the initial dependence of Thomas
upon the Coptic gospels is less than likely. Is any other relation-
ship besides an initial dependence possible? Obviously, there are
some writers who think so. In fact, four different relationships
appear possible:

> 1) a direct dependence of Thomas upon the Coptic gospels,
> 2) an indirect dependence of Thomas upon the Coptic gospels,
> 3) a direct dependence of the Coptic gospels upon Thomas, and
> 4) an indirect dependence of the Coptic gospels upon Thomas.

The first, if considered from the aspect of *initial* dependence
of Thomas upon the Coptic gospels, must be considered rather unlikely,
primarily for the chronological reasons mentioned above. *Subsequent*
dependence, however, may be possible. Thomas contains much Synoptic-
type material which could have been corrected to the Coptic gospels
when Thomas was translated from Greek to Coptic. Direct dependence,
of course, implies *literary* dependence, and there is no one who would
expressly advocate this position, though, as we shall see, Schrage
leans toward such a view.

---

[1]See the apprehensiveness of A. F. J. Klijn, review of *Ver-
hältnis*, by Schrage, *NovTest* 7 (1965):330.

The second possibility may be reworded as "the influence of the Coptic gospels upon Thomas." This view may be preferred by those such as R. L. Arthur who see some type of dependence of Thomas upon the Coptic gospels as likely, but who do not think the evidence will support the theory of direct literary dependence.

The third possibility is unlikely because many, if not all of the Coptic gospel translations were probably made before Thomas itself was translated into Coptic. In addition, the self-understood basis for the Coptic versions is the New Testament, and there is little evidence to suggest that these versions were translated from any other source.

Finally, it may be considered whether the fourth possibility--that the Coptic gospels have been influenced by Thomas--is likely. In a very indirect sense, this seems to be one implication of Quispel's theory that Thomas contains parts of an independent tradition which has influenced the Western text. One might say that, since the Coptic gospels contain several Western readings, both they and Thomas share a partial dependence upon this unknown independent tradition, the former perhaps through the mediation of Thomas. This, however, is an extremely tenuous position. In order to substantiate it, one would almost have to demonstrate that one or more of the tendentious, or theologically biased, readings of Thomas have influenced the Coptic gospels, and this cannot be done. Consequently, only the first two of our possibilities have any significant import for the present discussion.

Moreover, it should be noted that if parts of Thomas can be demonstrated to be *directly* dependent upon the Coptic versions, then one could safely assume that these particular sayings are dependent upon the Gospels. Yet, if only the indirect influence of the Coptic

versions upon Thomas can be shown, then this says nothing for or against Thomas' *initial* dependence--an independent saying could have been corrected consciously or subconsciously to one or more Coptic versions, giving it the *appearance* of dependence. In the case of indirect Coptic-versional influence, then, the question of *initial* dependence upon the Synoptics would have to remain open to be proven or disproven on other grounds.

B. Previous Investigations of Thomas' Relationship to the Coptic Versions

The first scholar to suggest and investigate seriously the possible relationship between Thomas and the Coptic gospels was K. H. Kuhn.[1] As a result of his very cursory study (he uses only Horner's Sahidic version and examines only a few logia), he concludes that there is indeed a possibility that a Coptic redactor corrected the Synoptic-type passages in Thomas to a Coptic version familiar to him. If this is true, Kuhn thinks it more likely that the redactor drew from his knowledge of the Coptic text, rather than having a written copy of the Coptic gospels before him (pp. 320-21). He leaves open the possibility that successive copyists assimilated the Coptic text of Thomas to different Coptic versions (p. 321). He also does not exclude the possibility of fortuitous textual agreements; the Coptic translator of the Gospels and the Coptic translator of Thomas could have arrived at identical or very similar translations of the Greek independently (p. 320). Kuhn's article, then, is a valuable first step to the investigation into the possibility of a relationship between Thomas and the Coptic gospels, but because of its brevity,

---

[1] *Muséon* 73 (1960):317-23. On p. 321, he lists log. 26, 31, 33a, 33b, 34, 39b, 41, 45a, 73, 79a, 86, and 94 as possibly having some connection with the Sahidic version.

his thesis has had to await further verification.[1]

The next major step[2] taken in the investigation was Schrage's *Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zu den koptischen Evangelienübersetzungen: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur gnostischen Synoptikerdeutung.* Of the studies which have been made of the relationship between Thomas and the Coptic versions, this one has aroused the most interest.[3] Schrage expresses his thoughts on the history and interpretation of Thomas in his introductory chapter. Although he allows for the possibility that the writer of Thomas used an independent tradition (pp. 2, 8), he views the Synoptic parallels in Thomas as evidence that Thomas is dependent upon the canonical Gospels (pp. 3ff.).

Schrage goes about trying to prove this dependence in a variety of ways. First, he makes use of the results of literary criticism (pp. 4-5). For instance, if there are cases where Thomas exhibits special material parallel to that of Matthew or Luke where they have specifically adapted Mark, then Thomas is dependent upon Mt. or Lk.[4] The same principle applies to the unique usage that

---

[1]It is important to note that even if the dependence of Thomas upon the Coptic gospels were true, Kuhn makes no claims as to Thomas' *initial* dependence upon the Gospels.

[2]H. Quecke, in a review of the books on Thomas by Gärtner, Kasser, Schippers, and Wilson, *Muséon* 74 (1961):492-93, lists several places where Thomas and the Coptic versions agree, but gives no further comment as to the significance of this phenomenon.

[3]Cf. the reviews of M. W. Schoenberg, *CBQ* 27 (1965):292-93; H. Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):234-39; A. F. J. Klijn, *NovTest* 7 (1965): 329-30; and R. McL. Wilson, *VigChr* 20 (1966):118-23.

[4]This is identical to the argument made by McArthur, *ExpT* 71 (1960):286-87, an argument also incorporated into his article in *NT Sidelights*, pp. 57ff. The observation made is a good one, but the presupposition that "if Thomas contains any special Matthean or Lucan versions of Marcan material, then Thomas must have used Mt. or Lk." biases the investigation; with this presupposition, dependence is the only possible conclusion. See Wilson, *ExpT* 72 (1960):36-39.

Mt. or Lk. make of Q. If Thomas contains some of this material, as is often the case according to Schrage, then Thomas is dependent upon that particular Gospel.

In close connection with this, Schrage also seeks to use *re-daktionsgeschichtliche* methods to prove Thomas' dependence upon the Synoptics (pp. 5-6): if a logion includes remnants of unique Synoptic formulae or constructions, even when they have been slightly altered by Gnostic usage, then Thomas is dependent upon the Gospels.[1] While this would indeed be convincing evidence, Schrage is forced to admit the difficulty in finding any such redactional formulae in the logia of Thomas.

A third approach to Thomas is the form-critical method, a method which, according to Schrage, has been abused by various authors in its application to these new sayings (pp. 6-9). For example, there are those form critics (including Montefiore) who say that certain logia in Thomas are shorter than their parallels in the Synoptics, and Thomas' logia, therefore, are earlier. But, Schrage says, these are only isolated instances; in some cases, due to Gnostic redactors, Thomas actually expands a Synoptic saying. Therefore, the shortening is probably due to the Gnostics as well.[2] Furthermore, form criticism proves Thomas secondary as often as it proves it prior to the Synoptics; its results, consequently, cannot be used to prove

---

[1] For a critique of Schrage's use of redaction criticism, see Sieber, "Redactional Analysis," pp. 17-18.

[2] Here Schrage overlooks, as he often does, the probability that each logion has a somewhat different history; he assumes instead that every saying has undergone Gnostic redaction. This is entirely possible, but Schrage needs to demonstrate it, and then prove that the Gnostics not only expanded some sayings, but condensed others as well. As he himself admits, this is not always easily done (cf. pp. 20-21).

that Thomas is independent of the Gospels.[1] Nevertheless, form-
critical methods can be helpful in studying Thomas, and Schrage
often uses them when they serve his purpose (cf. log. 26, p. 73;
log. 45a, p. 102).

If the above methods cannot ascertain whether Thomas used
the Synoptics or not, then Schrage suggests that a verbal comparison
between the two might (pp. 11-12). The results from such a compari-
son could be combined with a fifth approach: a comparison of the text
of Thomas with the text of the Synoptics (pp. 17-18). Schrage feels
that if certain variants which Thomas shares with other witnesses (manu-
scripts) can only be explained by the influence of or the addition of
elements to the Synoptic context, then this proves Thomas' dependence
upon the Gospels.[2] This, he believes, is especially true of the par-
allel influences of one Gospel upon another; this could happen only in
the Synoptic tradition.[3] If Thomas contains such material, surely it

---

[1] "Es ist übrigens merkwürdig wie wenig formgeschichtliche
Ergebnisse dann Anklang oder Erwähnung finden, wenn sie der These
von der angeblich unabhängigen alten Tradition des Th nicht gerade
günstig sind" (p. 8). Schrage thus points out another reason why
form criticism must be used on Thomas only with great care (cf. pp.
31-33 of this thesis). More importantly, though this is not his in-
tention, Schrage's objections to form criticism here point to the dis-
tinct possibility that in places Thomas is earlier than and independ-
ent of the Synoptics, while in other places it is later and depen-
dent. Or, as Sieber, "Redactional Analysis," p. 18, advises: just
because the forms of some of Thomas' sayings are secondary, it does
not perforce prove that Thomas is based upon the Synoptics; some say-
ings could thus be *both* later and independent (cf. log. 65, for ex-
ample).

[2] This is not necessarily true, as Quispel and others would
testify. It is possible that an independent tradition could have in-
fluenced some (canonical) textual witnesses as well as Thomas. If
this were true, Thomas would not have had to have any contact with
the Synoptic tradition, but might still have a similar reading to the
several influenced (canonical) witnesses.

[3] This seems to be the most likely explanation, but it is not
the only possibility; a tradition circulating independently might
well have the appearance of parallel influence.

is dependent. These two lines of approach--verbal comparison and textual comparison--Schrage views as his most convincing means of proving that Thomas utilized our Gospels. Used in conjunction with one another, he believes he can prove that "Th nicht nur die synoptische Tradition benutzt, sondern sogar mit einer koptischen Bibelübersetzung vertraut ist" (p. 11).

Finally, Schrage appeals to the Gnostic use of Synoptic material as a means for proving Thomas dependent (pp. 19ff.). He, of course, understands Thomas, at the very least in its present form, to be Gnostic (p. 19). By demonstrating that the Synoptic-type material found in Thomas is handled in a similar way by other Gnostic works, Schrage attempts to prove that Thomas is indeed making use of the Synoptics and not just some independent tradition. Despite Schrage's efforts, however, this cannot be considered as positive proof in and of itself; there is no way of knowing whether the Gnostic works to which he refers are using the Synoptics or independent tradition. Moreover, there are inherent problems with assuming that Thomas is a Gnostic work.[1] Indeed, Schrage is himself forced to admit that often the Gnostic meaning and motivations in Thomas are difficult to discern (pp. 20-21).

These, then, are the methods by which Schrage attempts to prove the dependence of Thomas on our Gospels. But precisely what type of dependence does he advocate? Unfortunately, he is not very explicit in this regard.[2] To begin with, he admits the possibility that the present similarities between Thomas and the Gospels could merely be due to a later redactor correcting Thomas to conform with

---

[1]See pp. 10ff. above.

[2]See the critique of Wilson, *VigChr* 20 (1966):120.

the Gospels; Thomas could thus initially be independent (cf. pp. 2, 8). It is clear, however, from his discussion of such a possibility (pp. 2-4) and from his subsequent case for Thomas' dependence (pp. 4f., esp. p. 15), that he does not regard such a possibility as likely. He adopts a similar attitude toward the possibility of Thomas' dependence upon "oral tradition" (p. 9).[1] He admits, as Koester found, that in the middle of the second century the borders between oral and written tradition were still fluid. Consequently, when an Apostolic Father or Thomas makes reference to a canonical tradition, the influence of this oral tradition or the use of free memory-citation cannot be excluded. The latter, he says, must be reckoned with especially "wenn Motive für eine Änderung der Tradition nicht zu erkennen sind."[2] By implication, it would appear that Schrage basically rejects the influence of any type of oral tradition or citation from the canonical Gospels by memory, and instead prefers to think of Thomas as originally dependent upon the *written* Gospels. This suspicion is strengthened as one reads his book (see esp. p. 139). To be sure, he summarily rejects pure memory-citation because it does not adequately explain all the characteristics of Thomas (pp. 9-10). But the fact that he feels it occasionally necessary to make *specific* allowance for free citation (cf. p. 173) points again to his apparent preference for literary

---

[1]It is not exactly clear what Schrage means by "mündliche Überlieferung," but he seems to be equating (or equivocating) oral tradition with the memory-citation of the written canonical Gospels. This would not appear to be Koester's understanding of "oral tradition."

[2]Schoenberg, *CBQ* 27 (1965):292, understands Schrage to believe that Thomas is dependent "not so much on the gospels in their present form as on an underlying oral tradition." This would seem to imply dependence upon the *sources* of the Gospels, not the Gospels themselves. This, however, is *not* the view Schrage is advocating; he is presumably suggesting that Thomas could conceivably be dependent upon the canonical Gospels as they circulated *orally* (i.e., as they were cited from memory).

dependence. Schrage, however, seems well aware that literary depend-
ence cannot be proven, but such a preference appears to have influ-
enced his study throughout.

At what stage Thomas is dependent upon the Synoptics is an-
other matter. Schrage first asserts that the Coptic Thomas is "famil-
iar with" the Coptic versions of the Gospels (pp. 11-12). He neglects,
however, to delineate precisely this "familiarity" and one is never
quite sure throughout the book just what type of relationship between
Thomas and the Coptic gospels he is advocating.[1] It is not difficult,
though, to receive the impression that he is advocating literary de-
pendence, at least in some places.[2] Only in another writing does he
clearly express himself: he believes the Coptic translator of Thomas
corrected Thomas, "where he could," to conform more closely with the
written Coptic gospels as he knew them, probably from memory.[3] But
Thomas' dependence upon the Gospels, he insists, lies deeper than this.
He is of the opinion that the sayings in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri dem-
onstrate a dependence upon the Greek Gospels (p. 15).[4] He thus
traces Thomas' dependence back to an earlier stage in its transmission
and presumably, by implication, suggests a literary dependence upon
the Gospels when it was originally written (though Schrage makes no

----

[1]Horman, *NovTest* 21 (1979):328, complains about Schrage's
lack of clarity on this point.

[2]Consequently, Arthur, "Thomas," p. 92, believes that Schrage
is supporting the theory of written dependence upon the Coptic gos-
pels, something which Schrage never actually states. Cf. also pp. 32ff.
of Arthur's thesis.

[3]Schrage, in *Apophoreta*, pp. 267-68: "Ob diese Vertrautheit
des Übersetzers mit einer koptischen Evangelien-version auf eine
bereits schriftlich fixierte Form einer solchen zurückgeht, ist schwer
zu sagen; wegen der Kürze der Zitate ist es wahrscheinlicher, dass der
Übersetzer selbst diese koptische Übersetzung im Ohr bzw. im Gedächt-
nis statt in seinen Händen hatte."

[4]Cf. ibid., pp. 251-68.

attempt to prove or even to state this opinion either in his book or in his article in the Haenchen Festschrift).

There can be no doubt that Schrage has spent a lot of time and effort in trying to prove his theory. This becomes all the more evident as he discusses in detail each logion which he sees to have a Synoptic parallel. But besides the fact that he does not define his thesis clearly, there are several criticisms which might be levelled against his methodology.

First of all, although he understands that Thomas underwent a series of redactions (p. 10), he nevertheless treats the entire work as a single unit. In other words, what he feels he has demonstrated as true for one logion, he assumes to be true for the others. Thus, while conceding that the dependence of log. 62b upon Mt. cannot be proven, he proceeds on the basis that it is dependent, since other logia in Thomas are also dependent (p. 130; cf. pp. 10-11). The same rule, he asserts, is true for Thomas' dependence upon the Coptic gospels; since Thomas demonstrates obvious dependence in some logia, then in those logia where dependence upon the Coptic gospels is possible but cannot be proven, dependence is probable (pp. 11-12).[1] Schrage might feel justified in such a homogeneous interpretation of Thomas because he sees no significant changes in Thomas taking place

---

[1] The application of this rule for the dependence of the Coptic Thomas upon the Coptic gospels may be more defensible than its application for the initial dependence of Thomas upon the Gospels. From ca. A.D. 200 to 400, much change in Thomas could have taken place, increasing the possibility that both dependent and independent sayings of the Synoptic-type were incorporated into it. But if the translation of Thomas into Coptic occurred late in its history, then it may well have occurred when Thomas had a form very close to the Nag Hammadi document, with little subsequent change taking place. If at this point the translator corrected Thomas to agree with the Coptic gospels, then it is difficult to see why he would correct some logia and not others. Nevertheless, this is an area rife with "if's" and "might's" and an assumption based upon suppositions can hardly be viewed as proof.

from the time of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri until the time of the Nag

Hammadi text.[1] But in this view, he makes light of the fact that

some sweeping redaction has taken place--one saying has been placed

in a completely different context, and others have been severely al-

tered.[2] Since there is no way of knowing just how much editing and

reworking took place on Thomas, the possibility that some of the logia

have different histories from others cannot be excluded.[3] In light

of this, Schrage's assumptions are question-begging and constitute

no real proof at all.

Second, Schrage does not adequately deal with the *differences*

between Thomas and the Coptic gospels. At times, he does point out

differences and dismisses them as due to Gnostic redaction (cf. log.

8, p. 37). There are, however, many differences, some of them signif-

icant, which he makes no attempt to explain. In fact, the arrange-

ment of his printed Coptic texts sometimes tends to gloss over these

differences (cf. log. 46, p. 107; log. 107, pp. 193-94; and log. 24b,

which has a loose Synoptic parallel, but is not mentioned by Schrage).[4]

An obvious and legitimate way for proving Thomas' dependence

upon the Synoptics is to point out the verbal and literary similari-

ties between the two. Schrage's use of this method, however, has two

---

[1]Schrage, in *Apophoreta*, pp. 255-67.

[2]See pp. 5-7 above.

[3]Cf. Wilson, *VigChr* 20 (1966):120. As Kurt Rudolph, *ThR* 34
(1969):187, states: "Es ist m.E. methodisch völlig verfehlt, aus der
hypothetisch erschlossen Vorgeschichte des einzelnen Spruchs irgend-
welche Schlussfolgerungen für den Gesamtzusammenhang des Werks zu
ziehen oder etwa den einstigen Sinn und Ursprung eines Logions im
jetzigen Rahmen für massgebend anzusehen."

[4]Cf. Wilson, *VigChr* 20 (1966):121. In all fairness, however,
Schrage does mention some logia where the differences with the Coptic
versions are too great to allow a comparison (cf. log. 40, p. 95).
Yet this admission in and of itself severely damages his case for
dependence upon the Coptic versions.

fallacies. First, he casts his net too widely. In other words, he places significance upon a hodgepodge of verbal similarities, sometimes drawn from all three Synoptics, in passages not necessarily parallel, and sometimes drawn from passages outwith the Synoptics. Second, he gives no adequate explanation for how these miscellaneous verbal similarities came about, other than to assert that the similarities point to a "connection." Consequently, in log. 32 (p. 78) Schrage notes the obvious material that Thomas has in common with Mt. 5:14, but he also calls attention to some parallel wording in Mt. 7:24f. and Isa. 28:4.[1] This is surely interesting, but what does it prove? Similarly, in log. 99 (pp. 186-88) Schrage demonstrates how at times Thomas is closer to Lk., and at others closer to Mk. or Mt. While essentially ignoring the differences between Thomas and the Synoptics, he asserts that Thomas is thus dependent, but is this the only explanation?

Closely akin to this is the approach Schrage takes when he compares Thomas to the early versions of the Gospels; he has a tendency to note similarities to a wide range of witnesses, but it is unclear just what significance he attaches to these similarities.[2] For instance, although he normally sees the closest relationship between Thomas and the Sahidic or Bohairic gospels, in log. 20 (p. 64) and log. 57 (p. 125), he says at points Thomas is closest to a Fayyumic translation. Is he thus implying that the Coptic translator of Thomas also knew the Fayyumic gospels? Schrage also points out places where Thomas follows even just one of the Coptic manuscripts: in log. 99 (pp. 187-88), he thinks it is noteworthy that with the Sahidic MS 114

---

[1] Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 129, also takes note of this fact.

[2] Cf. Wilson, *VigChr* 20 (1966):122.

of Luke, Thomas shares the reading Є⳨ⲣⲉ instead of ⲉⲧⲉ ⲓ ⲣ ⲉ and
"brethren" before "mother."[1] He omits to point out, however, that
MS 114 is only one of eight Sahidic MSS for Lk. 8:21 (not to mention
the possibility of parallels in Mt. and Mk.) and that it is a
thirteenth-century MS at that.[2] What he hopes to demonstrate from
such a parallel is unclear. Nor is it discernible what he means to
show when he notes textual similarities between Thomas and the other
versions and the Diatessaron, sometimes even when there are no Coptic
parallels.[3]

All of these observations point to a major deficiency in
Schrage's study: he draws no clear conclusions from the evidence he
presents. It is his practice to make assertions or suggestions before-
hand (he does this in his introductory chapter and at the beginning of
most of his discussions of individual logia), but statements of summa-
tion are lacking, both at the end of each logion-discussion and at the
end of his book.

Finally, Schrage's theory about the influence of the Coptic
gospels on Thomas is not adequate to explain Thomas as a whole. It
does not account for the many *differences* between Thomas and the Coptic
gospels; if some words and phrases in Thomas have been corrected to

---

[1]This last reading, he suggests, may be the original, since it
is the *lectio difficilior*!

[2]Actually, there is another witness for this verse in the
Sahidic, PPalau Rib. 181, which was published after Schrage's study.
Interestingly enough, this fifth-century MS also has Є⳨ⲣⲉ for ⲉⲧⲉ ⲓ ⲣ ⲉ,
but this is probably nothing more than a variant spelling (see Quecke,
Lucasevangelium, pp. 53f.).

[3]Cf. log. 96, pp. 184-85. Sy[c] in Mt. 13:33 and a a2[*] b c ff[2] i l
q in Lk. 13:21 omit ⲟⲇⲧⲁ ⲧⲣⲓ ⲁ with Thomas and Eph Ta[v], as Schrage
mentions. But this suggests, if anything, that perhaps here the Old
Syriac version, the Old Latin version, or the Diatessaron had an influ-
ence upon log. 96 where the Coptic versions did not, thus putting into
question Schrage's theory. Of course, the influence of an independent
tradition is also possible.

agree with the Coptic gospels, why not others? More importantly, why
do some logia bear rather clear marks of being influenced by the Cop-
tic versions, while others bear scarcely any or none?[1] The influence
of the Coptic versions upon Thomas cannot be ruled out, but is it as
prevalent as Schrage suggests?

And yet despite these deficiencies, Schrage's study is not
without value. His reckoning with the possibility of development in
Thomas, his attempt to bring a variety of disciplines to bear upon
his investigation, and the thoroughness with which he goes about his
task have been noted above and are to be commended. Also noteworthy
are the cautions he suggests about too readily concluding on linguistic
grounds that Thomas has a Semitic background; some of the "Semitisms"
are just good Coptic idiom and can be found in the Coptic versions
(pp. 13-14, 18-19).[2] Finally, he rightly urges restraint from reading
Gnosticism into every line of Thomas; he freely admits that not every
divergence from the Synoptic context can be understood in a Gnostic
sense (pp. 19-21).

But the comparison of Thomas and the Coptic versions should
not, and fortunately does not, cease with Schrage. R. L. Arthur, in
his dissertation entitled "The Gospel of Thomas and the Coptic New
Testament," has pointed out some of the shortcomings of Schrage's
study, and proposes a theory which he thinks proves the influence of
the Coptic versions upon Thomas, and yet eliminates some of the diffi-
cult questions about such a theory. Basically, he suggests that the

---

[1]Cf. log. 96, p. 184, where Schrage despairs of finding any
evidence of Coptic influence.

[2]This point was earlier made by Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):320-23.
Cf. Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):238-39. For a more detailed discussion,
see pp. 126 ff. below.

Coptic translation of Thomas has been corrected to a Coptic version of the Gospels where both share parallel material. Unlike Schrage, however, Arthur believes that Thomas was originally independent of the Synoptics and is only dependent in its Coptic form (pp. 2, 42ff., 105-106).[1] But the dependence he is advocating does not seem to be as pervasive as Schrage would have it; consequently, Arthur argues for dependence upon the Coptic gospels for fewer logia.[2] He further believes that this dependence of Thomas is not upon a written document of the Coptic gospels, but rather upon the translator's memory of them (pp. 66-70). In this he believes he differs from Schrage (p. 92), but as we have seen, they are probably in agreement here.[3]

Fortunately, Arthur states his thesis not once, but several times, and he thus makes it clear that though his basic theory is not new, the specific ways in which he establishes and develops it are markedly different from anything which has been suggested heretofore. His argument is formulated in three different stages: First, Arthur asserts that when Thomas was originally translated from Greek into Coptic (pp. 37ff.), it was translated into "a type of Achmimic dialect" (p. 94).[4] Later, Thomas was translated from Achmimic into Sahidic, which is what we have in the Nag Hammadi text (p. 28). This explains the Achmimicisms of Thomas (and all of Codex II, for that matter); they

---

[1] In fact, Arthur takes the unusual position that Thomas was originally a Gnostic treatise to which canonical-type sayings were *later* added (p. 106). Cf. Wilson's statement, quoted on p. 25 above.

[2] He specifically mentions log. 20, 39b, 65, 72, 73, 89b, and 107 (pp. 54-70).

[3] See pp. 51ff. above, esp. p. 53 n. 3.

[4] One ambiguity in his thesis is the apparent lack of distinction he makes between Achmimic and its closely related dialects; he seems to use "Achmimic," "Subachmimic," and "semi-Achmimic" almost interchangeably when referring both to the original Coptic dialect of Thomas and to the New Testament translations.

are archaic vestiges of the Coptic dialect into which Thomas had been translated before it was translated into Sahidic (pp. 92ff., 104-105).

Second, Arthur believes that the Sahidic New Testament did not always exist in its present form. He feels that it was translated from a pre-Sahidic version written in the Subachmimic dialect (pp. 43-44, 108-10).[1]

The third stage of his thesis relates these two theories. The Greek original of Thomas, Arthur opines, was independent of the Synoptic gospels. When it was first translated into Coptic, the Synoptic-type material was corrected to a pre-Sahidic (Achmimic) translation of the New Testament (p. 94). Thomas was later translated into Sahidic, but without reference to the Sahidic gospels. Therefore, Thomas avoids some of the translational mistakes of the Sahidic version and thus in places preserves the original reading of the earliest Coptic version (p. 94).[2] Thomas also preserves some of the "Western"

---

[1] Whether Arthur believes this to have been proven by others, or believes this is proven from his own research on Thomas and the Sahidic New Testament, is not quite clear.

[2] One example given is log. 39b/Mt. 10:16 (pp. 80, 94). Thomas has, with the Greek, Ⲛϩⲟⲩ (οἱ ὄφεις) and Ⲛ̄Ⳝⲣⲟⲙⲧⲉ (αἱ περιστεραί). Horner's printed Sahidic text has, on the other hand, Ⲛⲉⲓϩⲟⲩ ("these serpents") and Ⲛⲉⲓⳝⲣⲟⲟⲙⲧⲉ ("these doves"). Arthur insists this is due to the mistranslating of Ⲛⲓ-, the definite article in the pre-Sahidic version, to Ⲛⲉⲓ- of the present version. Thomas, then, preserves the correct translation of this pre-Sahidic version. But Arthur neglects to mention that three out of six of Horner's MSS have the definite article (as opposed to the demonstrative article) before "serpents" and two out of six before "doves." The correct definite article is also found in PRainer 2:97 and a fragment published by R. Engelbach, *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 21 (1921):118-22. Curiously, M569 has the definite article Ⲛ̄- before "serpents" and the demonstrative article Ⲛⲉⲓ- before "doves" (cf. MS 25). Thomas undoubtedly uses the correct definite article, which could also be the earlier, perhaps original, reading of the Coptic version. But since the definite article also occurs in several extant MSS of the "standardized" Sahidic, often in the "Ⲛⲓ-" form (a dialectal spelling variation?), it can hardly be claimed as proven that Thomas here preserves the reading of a "pre-Sahidic" translation of Matthew.

textual variants which were originally in the pre-Sahidic gospels, but later were weeded out of the present Sahidic New Testament. Moreover, Thomas avoids some of the textual corrections which have been made on the present Sahidic version (pp. 28, 70ff., 106). In either case, we can expect to find in Thomas places where it preserves a Coptic reading earlier, and perhaps better, than that found in our present Coptic manuscripts (pp. 77ff., 107).[1]

It is not difficult to see the wide-ranging implications of Arthur's theory. For one thing, if he is correct, Thomas would be one of the earliest textual witnesses to the Western text which we possess, second only to the Western readings found in the papyri. But this is a text-critical matter to be reserved for a later time. Of more importance here is the profound effect which such a theory could have on our present understanding of the history of the Coptic versions. Unfortunately, the significance of Arthur's theory is largely diminished by the inherent weaknesses of his thesis.

The primary weaknesses of Arthur's work are his basic assumptions. One such Achilles' heel is the idea that at this early period (third/fourth century) there were distinct Coptic dialects with clearly

---

[1]On pp. 78-79, Arthur offers log. 30 as his first example of a place where Thomas has a better text (closer to the Greek MSS) than the Sahidic NT. Part of this saying in Thomas is parallel to Mt. 18:20:

Mt.-gr.	ἐκεῖ	εἰμι	ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν
Mt.-sa.		ϯϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ	ϧⲛ ⲧⲉⲩⲙⲏⲧⲉ
Thomas	ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ϯϣⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ		

Arthur views the reading of Mt.-sa., "I am with them in their midst," as either (1) a conflate reading or (2) a confusion of ⲙⲙⲁⲩ (=ἐκεῖ) with ⲛⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ ("with them"). Here he may be correct. But when he insists that Thomas' reading is closer to the Greek, he is stretching the facts. Thomas reads ⲛⲙⲙⲁϥ, "with *him*," which not only makes the same "mistake" of the Sahidic in misreading ⲙⲙⲁⲩ, but it is *singular* and finds no MS support whatsoever. In addition, Thomas omits ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν which is found both in the Greek and Sahidic of Mt. How in this case he can view Thomas as closer than the Sahidic to the Greek is a mystery—although, for other logia, he may be correct.

definable differences. As we have seen,[1] this is far from certain, and

a theory built upon such a questionable foundation begins building

upon shaky ground from the start.

Perhaps the worst error in Arthur's theory is the basic belief

that the Achmimic dialect is older than the Sahidic (pp. 112ff.).[2] He

admits that he is forced to agree on some points with Kahle's statement

that "again and again the fully standardised Achmimic dialect can be

demonstrated to be a rather late development from a mixture of early

Sahidic and certain local dialects,"[3] but Arthur nevertheless maintains

that Kahle and others[4] are basically wrong in dating Sahidic earlier

than Achmimic. In the process, he defensively states that

> chronological accuracy is hardly possible here. All that can
> truly be said is that both Achmimic and Subachmimic documents
> come from the earliest Coptic period; the establishment of an
> exact chronological sequence is not possible without some more
> reliable criteria than presently exist.[5]

This is quite an admission from one who builds his whole case upon

chronology![6] But Arthur, in fact, sees the Achmimicisms in Thomas as

archaic features which are remnants of an older dialect, demonstrating

that Thomas was previously in an Achmimic translation and corrected to

---

[1]Pages 38-40 of this thesis. Cf. esp. Kahle's discussion of
the various dialects in *Bala'izah*, pp. 193ff.

[2]Arthur's views are somewhat similar to those of F. Rösch,
Vorbemerkungen zu einer Grammatik der achmimische Mundart (Strassburg:
Schlesier & Schweikhardt, 1909), pp. 1ff., as cited and discussed by
Kahle, *Bala'izah*, pp. 193-94, 201-202. In light of more recent manu-
script discoveries, however, Kahle and many others have demonstrated
Rösch's view to be quite outdated.

[3]*Bala'izah*, p. 201.

[4]Cf. W. Till, "Die Stellung des Achmimischen," *Aeg* 8 (1927);
249-57.

[5]"Thomas," p. 114.

[6]It is also noteworthy that Arthur mentions that Achmimic and
Subachmimic *documents* are from the earliest Coptic period, but this does
not prove that Achmimic and Subachmimic are *older dialects* than Sahidic!

an Achmimic version of the Gospels before it was translated into Sahidic.[1]

He does recognize the possibility that these Achmimicisms could be additions to the Sahidic to give the text an archaic appearance, but he generally rejects it (cf. pp. 93-94, 110-11).[2] The author also dismisses the possibility that Achmimicisms are due to scribes reared in Achmimic-speaking areas, but not thoroughly acquainted with the Sahidic with which they were working (pp. 117-18);[3] he never considers that

---

[1]There is no problem with identifying Achmimicisms; Arthur's problem is that he assumes that all "Achmimicisms" are exclusively "Achmimic" and therefore early. For example, he notes that Achmimic has a tendency to use Fut. I or II where standardized Sahidic (as found in the NT) normally uses Fut. III (pp. 96-97). This is fair enough. Arthur, however, has a tendency to view every reading of a saying which has Fut. I or II as earlier than its parallel which uses Fut. III, assuming that the latter is a correction to conform more closely with "standardized" Sahidic. This procedure is followed for log. 65 and 73 (pp. 85-86, 87-88), where Arthur concludes that Thomas preserves the earlier reading of the pre-Sahidic NT. But Arthur's assumptions seem to be at variance with the comprehensive study of Marvin R. Wilson, *Coptic Future Tenses: Syntactical Studies in Sahidic* (Paris: Mouton, 1970), p. 107, who observes that Fut. I is quite common in the Sahidic NT, occurring more often than any other future tense. We should not, therefore, view it as an archaic tense which was in the process of being weeded out of Sahidic. Moreoever, in his discussion of the interchangeability of Fut. I and III (pp. 85-87), and indeed in his entire study, Wilson makes no mention of Fut. I being older than Fut. III. Along these lines, also cf. L.-Th. Lefort, "Ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ dans le NT Sahidique," *Muséon* 61 (1948):68-69.

[2]On pp. 110-11, speaking of early Sahidic documents, he says, "Although some biblical allusions were undoubtedly secondarily archaicized by the employment of Achmimic features, there is also a good possibility that many of them hearken back /sic/ to Achmimic or Subachmimic texts of scripture which are no longer available to us." The criteria for distinguishing between these two possibilities are not given.

[3]This possibility has been suggested for other Sahidic documents by Georg Steindorff, *Die Apokalypse des Elias*, TU 17 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1899), p. 17; and Walter Till, *Die Gnostischen Schriften des koptischen Papyrus Berolinensis 8502*, TU 60 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955), p. 21. It is suggested for Nag Hammadi Codex II by Nagel, in *Die Araber*, 5:2:468-69. Cf. also Layton, *HThR* 67 (1974):374-83, who makes statements (see pp. 378-79) along these lines regarding the *Hypostasis of the Archons* in Codex II. Layton, however, differs from his predecessors by advocating that the basic grammar of his text is Subachmimic, not Sahidic. In this he is not unlike Arthur, but he does not make the claims for the Subachmimic dialect which Arthur makes, nor does Layton advocate a two-stage translation from Greek to Subachmimic to Sahidic.

"Achmimicisms" could be inherent in the early Sahidic dialect,[1] but this latter explanation could well be the case.[2] One thing, however, remains fairly certain: the Achmimic dialect is not older than the Sahidic dialect. The only thing which may be said with any assurance in light of the known facts is that perhaps Sahidic documents which have Achmimic or Subachmimic features can be considered to be an older form of Sahidic, dating prior to its standardization around the fifth or sixth century.[3] Any theory which presumes to go significantly beyond this may be regarded as highly questionable.

Arthur holds a similar view about the Coptic versions: that is, he views the Subachmimic version as earlier than the Sahidic version (pp. 43-44, 94-95, 104ff.).[4] He thus concludes that there was a

---

[1]As proposed by Kahle, *Bala'izah*, p. 247, who, after his study of early Sahidic text, concludes: "On the basis of this evidence there would seem to be considerable justification in assuming that the majority of the specific Achmimic and Subachmimic features in Sahidic were either a later intrusion into the original Sahidic dialect, as presumably in the case of final Є for I, or were proper to the original Sahidic dialect and influenced the Achmimic or Subachmimic dialects, as in the case of final accented Є for H in e.g. T-ПЄ and perhaps double vowels." Cf. Till, *Aeg* 8 (1927):249-57, esp. p. 256.

[2]Cf. Kahle, *Bala'izah*, pp. 262-63. Martin Krause, "Die Sprache der Hypostase der Archonten," in *The Hypostasis of the Archons*, by Roger Aubrey Bullard (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970), p. 17, suggests that the language of Codex II could actually be the language the scribe spoke; perhaps he lived on the border between an Achmimic-speaking area and a Sahidic-speaking area and thus spoke a "mixed" dialect.

[3]Cf. pp. 40-42 of this thesis. Cf. also Worrell, *Coptic Sounds*, pp. 81ff.; and Nagel, in *Die Araber*, 5:2:469.

[4]Not surprisingly, this opinion sometimes gets him into trouble. For instance, on pp. 95-96 he notes the difference between Thomas, which usually uses MN ϬOM and the Conjunctive tense, and the Sahidic NT, which often uses MN (Ϣ)ϬOM and the infinitive introduced by Є- (cf. log. 32, 35, 47a, and their Synoptic parallels). He uses this as an example of how the syntax of Thomas represents an earlier version than that of the present Sahidic NT. But he reluctantly admits that in all the given parallels, the Bohairic has the same syntax as Thomas! One might well ask: How can a version which is almost unanimously dated *later* than the Sahidic version be a witness to a syntax which Arthur claims is indicative of a version *earlier* than the Sahidic?

straight-line development from a late Subachmimic version to a proto-Sahidic version to a later, revised Sahidic version to which our extant manuscripts testify (pp. 109-110). As compared with the views discussed earlier in this chapter,[1] this historical picture is highly irregular, and the author certainly does not educe enough evidence to support such a theory; indeed, he seems to make it an *a priori* assumption.

Another instance in which Arthur perhaps assumes too much is the idea that Thomas underwent at least two, maybe more, translations--from Greek to Achmimic and Achmimic to Sahidic. That Thomas has a history of transmission in the Coptic language is a possibility which has already been suggested[2] and which certainly must be left open. But it is in the area of chronology that Arthur's thesis runs into potential difficulties. It seems likely that Thomas was translated into Coptic perhaps as early as A.D. 200-225 and no later than 375-400, a period which conceivably saw the origin of the Coptic language itself, but certainly the birth of several Coptic dialects. It was also during this period that several, if not all of the Coptic versions of the New Testament were made. Chronologically, Arthur's theory, with Thomas' two-fold translation and the development of the Sahidic New Testament, fits well into this picture; the danger comes if Thomas is subsequently found to have been translated into Coptic later than 225. Arthur is proposing not a little literary activity, and the shorter the "Coptic period" of Thomas, the less likely it becomes that this apocryphal gospel was a recipient of so much attention.[3] Arthur's unfortunate

---

[1]Pages 39ff. above. [2]Cf. pp. 5ff. above.

[3]For instance, Akagi, "Literary Development," pp. 384ff., feels that Thomas was not translated into Coptic until around A.D. 400, a view which can hardly be reconciled with Arthur's. But, if the Nag Hammadi texts are dated around 350, Akagi's view is refuted.

assumptions certainly depreciate, perhaps even nullify, his conclu-

sions, but it will be very interesting to see if any of his views

are substantiated by the research of others.

Methodologically, Arthur's work seems to be on more solid

ground. He could perhaps be criticized for making too much of rela-

tively minor evidence, but a great deal of verbal and textual simi-

larity is not necessarily needed to show that in "some" cases the Cop-

tic translator of Thomas has corrected his work to the Coptic gospels

as he "remembered" them. The author, however, has a tendency to view

Thomas as corrected to only *one* Gospel at a time;[1] this would seem to

be indicative more of *literary* dependence than *oral* dependence! In

addition, his use (or abuse) of text-critical methods is likely to raise

not a few eyebrows. He is, for example, not averse to claiming that

Thomas preserves an original reading, even though there is very little

or no manuscript evidence to support his conclusion.[2]

---

[1]This can be seen in his treatment of log. 20 (pp. 81-83).
Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 63, concludes that because of ϹΟβⲕ̄ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ,
Thomas is dependent upon the Sahidic version of Mk. But, Arthur avers,
apart from this Thomas is closer to Mt. He concedes that ϩΟⲧⲁⲚ Δⲉ is
in both Mt. and Mk., but he thinks that it is not original to Mk. In-
stead of concluding that Thomas knew both Mt. and Mk. in Sahidic,
Arthur argues that the earlier reading in Mt. must have been Ϲⲟβⲕ̄
ⲡⲁⲣⲁ, not ⲈⲨⲔⲞⲨⲓ ⲦⲈ Ⲉ- ; Thomas, therefore, preserves the earlier
reading of Mt.-sa. This is quite a postulation, since there is not
one Sahidic MS of Mt. to corroborate this theory! Arthur takes a
similar position on log. 65 (pp. 60-61, 85-86). He says Thomas knew
Lk.-sa. In Lk. 20:13, however, four out of six of Horner's MSS, PPalau
Rib. 181, M569, and PRainer 3:144 read the Fut. III ⲈⲨⲈⲰⲓⲡⲈ, while
Thomas, Mt., Mk., and two MSS of Lk. have the Fut. I ϹⲈⲚⲁⲰⲓⲡⲈ.
Arthur rejects the possibility that Thomas knew Lk. *and* Mt. or Mk.,
insisting instead that Thomas and MSS 53 and 90 preserve the earlier
reading of Lk. (ϹⲈⲚⲁⲰⲓⲡⲈ), despite the likelihood that assimilation
has taken place and without considering that ⲈⲨⲈⲰⲓⲡⲈ in Lk. is the
lectio difficilior (and therefore probably the correct reading).

[2]In log. 65 (mentioned in the note directly above and on
p. 63), Arthur's assumption that an Achmimic, pre-Sahidic version
preceded the present Sahidic version has apparently clouded his ob-
jectivity. Since he observes that Achmimic is more likely to use the
Fut. I or II instead of Fut. III, he wrongly concludes that the Fut. I
ϹⲈⲚⲁⲰⲓⲡⲈ must be original to Lk. 20:13, despite the MS evidence.
Similarly, in log. 32 (pp. 72-73), Thomas reads οἰκοδομημένη/ⲈⲨⲔⲰⲧ

Nevertheless, Arthur's thesis is one of the most thorough
studies to be done on Thomas, and this in itself says something for
its value. Perhaps its most significant contribution is the identi-
fication and highlighting of the grammatical problems in Thomas, along
with the detailed comparison of various grammatical phenomena with the
Sahidic version. Throughout the investigation, Arthur demonstrates
an enviable acquaintance with Coptic grammar. The index of all the
vocabulary in Codex II, which appears at the end of his work, is also
very useful. Whatever its weaknesses, Arthur's thesis is most stimu-
lating, and any work which studies the relationship of Thomas to the
Coptic versions should take his work into account.

C. A Brief Comparison of Thomas and the Coptic Versions

Having examined the major works which deal with Thomas and
the Coptic gospels, the time has now come to investigate the problem
anew and thereby test the above theses. This investigation is part
of a chapter, of course, and can in no way be as thorough as that of
Schrage or Arthur, but it is hoped that the major points of the most
significant logia which have Synoptic parallels can be covered in or-
der to see whether there is evidence to indicate that Thomas knew the
Coptic gospels.

Before we begin, however, it seems wise to lay out a few
criteria: First, the only way to demonstrate convincingly that the
Coptic Thomas is dependent upon the Coptic gospels is (a) if Thomas
contains the same wording or grammar as the Coptic versions which
cannot be explained (or is not likely to be explained) by dependence

---

("built") as opposed to the κειμένη/ⲉϩⲱⲡ ("set") of Mt. 5:14.
Arthur believes that here Thomas preserves the original reading of the
Sahidic version, even though no Sahidic MS, indeed, no Greek MS, reads
"built" in Mt. 5:14 (which is attested only in sy[scp] Hil Geo).

upon any other source, or (b) if Thomas witnesses to a textual vari-
ant which cannot be attributed to dependence upon any other source
except the Coptic versions. In all cases, as Kuhn suggests, the con-
tingency of coincidence must be examined. The possibility that both
Thomas and the Coptic versions have been influenced by the same inde-
pendent tradition must likewise be left open. Second, if Thomas has
similarities with another source, in addition to similarities with
the Coptic versions, the possible influence of that other source upon
Thomas cannot be excluded. Also, in order to prove *literary* dependence,
either large blocks of material must be *very* similar, with all or most
of the differences being reasonably explainable, or the word order or
sentence structure should be parallel in such a way as to preclude any
other explanation. Otherwise, it must be assumed that if there is
dependence, Thomas is more likely to have been dependent upon the
Coptic gospels as a Coptic translator/redactor remembered them. More-
over, if Thomas has been corrected in one logion to agree with the
Coptic gospels, this does not perforce apply to the other logia in
Thomas. Finally, even if the Coptic Thomas can be proven to be in-
directly dependent in places upon the Coptic gospels, this does not
prove that Thomas was originally dependent upon the Synoptics; if this
is to be proven, criteria similar to these must be used for the paral-
lels between the Greek gospels and Thomas.

Logion 4b: "Because many who are first will become last, and
they will become a single one."[1] This saying is parallel to Mt. 19:30/

---

[1]The translations of Thomas are given independently, but
have been compared with the translations of others. The English may
appear awkward at times, but this has usually been done to highlight
a difference between Thomas and a Synoptic text. It should also be
noted that a full translation in this thesis is given only in the
place where the saying is first discussed in detail.

Mk. 10:31/Lk. 13:30, and could well be dependent upon the Synoptics,
especially Mt./Mk. Alternatively, the writer of Thomas could have
known this maxim independently. But in view of the close verbal sim-
ilarities between Thomas and the Sahidic version, Schrage thinks the
latter "scarcely probable."[1] He notes (i)[2] that the Sahidic version
usually translates ἔσονται with the Fut. I ⲥⲉⲛⲁ-, the Fut. II ⲉⲩⲛⲁ-,
or the Conjunctive along with ϣⲱⲡⲉ. Here, however, Mt. and Mk. read
ⲟⲩⲛ̄ . . . ⲛⲁⲣ̄.[3] Significantly, this is the reading of the Coptic
Thomas, even though other translations are possible.[4] (ii) Even
more significant is the phrase "and they will become a single one,"
which a redactor has probably added to Thomas. Here, the expected
Conjunctive form, ⲛ̄ⲥⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ, is used, but it has evidently not influ-
enced the verb of the preceding clause. In this case, then, there is
good reason to believe that a Coptic redactor of Thomas has been in-
fluenced by the Sahidic (?) version of this well-known phrase from
the Gospels, though the question of Thomas' *initial* dependence upon
the Synoptics must remain open.

Logia 5b and 6c: "For there is nothing hidden which will not
be revealed"; "For there is nothing hidden which will not be revealed
and nothing covered which will remain without being uncovered." These
logia from the Coptic Thomas are significantly expanded in the Oxy-
rhynchus Papyri.[5] Their parallels in the Synoptics may be found in

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 32.

[2]As each saying is discussed, the different variants will be
numbered for the sake of clarity: e.g., (i), (ii), (iii), etc. No
attempt will be made, however, to maintain the same number for the same
variant as it is discussed in relation to the various versional evi-
dence in the following chapters.

[3]*Verhältnis*, p. 33.

[4]Lk.-sa. 13:30 has ⲉⲩⲛⲁⲣ̄ϩⲁⲉ (except PPalau Rib. 181, which
has simply ⲛ̄ⲧⲉ- . . .ⲣ̄ϩⲁⲉ) and Mk.-bo. 10:31 has ⲉⲩⲉⲉⲣϩⲁⲉ.

[5]Fitzmyer, *Essays*, p. 381, restores the POxy parallel to

Mt. 10:26/Mk. 4:22/Lk. 12:2, but the nearest parallel is in Lk. 8:17.

(i) The closeness of the similarity between Thomas and Lk. 8:17 may

be surprising, given the number of words used by the Synoptics for

"hidden" (κρυπτόν, ἀπόκρυφον, κεκαλυμμένον, συγκεκαλυμμένον /

ϩωβϲ, ϩΗπ) and for "revealed" (ἀποκαλυφθήσεται, φανερωθῇ,

φανερόν /ϭολπ εβολ, ΟΥωΝϩ Εβολ), along with the possible combina-

tions of these words; yet, the Sahidic of the sentence "For there is

nothing hidden which will not be revealed" is identical in both Thom-

as and the Sahidic Synoptics.[1] Likewise, the Greek of the POxy say-

ings in this sentence, though lacunose, appears to be closely paral-

lel to Lk. 8:17 in Greek. This may be indicative of Thomas' de-

pendence upon the Synoptics both in Greek and in Coptic, as far as

these sayings are concerned. (ii) In the case of Coptic dependence,

the argument is further strengthened by noting that even though the

Coptic of log. 6c does not appear to translate the totally different

wording of POxy 654. 6, *it nevertheless follows the next four words*

of Lk.-sa. 8:17 verbatim,[2] after which it takes a different tack. It

---

log. 5b as: "For there is nothing hidden which will not be made mani-
fest and nothing buried which will not be raised up." His parallel
to log. 6c is: "For there is nothing hidden which will not be made
known. Happy is he who does not do these things. For all will be
manifest before the Father who is in heaven" (p. 385).

[1]The difference between Thomas' ΕϥΝΑΟΥωΝϩ and Luke's
ΕΝϥΝΑϹΥωΝϩ is not significant, the omission of the negative particle
"Ν-" being only a matter of style, or, as Arthur, "Thomas," p. 92, in-
sists, a matter of dialect. In either case, the meaning and tense of
both words is exactly the same (cf. Till, *Grammatik*, §§403ff.). As
Arthur, pp. 100-102, has noted, Thomas has a tendency to omit the Ν··
from the fuller form of negation, Ν- . . . ΑΝ, which is found in the
standard Sahidic of Luke 8:17.

[2]ΑΥω ΜΝ ΛΑΑΥ Εϥϩοβϲ --"and there is nothing covered."
Thomas does have ΜΝ and the Sahidic version has ΜΜΝ, but these are
sometimes used interchangeably (cf. Till, *Grammatik*, §287), and their
use in Horner's Mk. 4:22 and the Sahidic of PPalau Rib. 182 and M569
and the Fayyumic, as well as the variants in Lk.-sa. 8:17, attests to
this.

could be objected that the Greek sayings are largely different in content from their Synoptic counterparts--despite the similarities in this one sentence--and therefore they represent independent traditions. This is possible. It is interesting to note, however, that form critics such as Bultmann and Jeremias consider these Oxyrhynchus sayings to be secondary expansions of canonical material.[1] The differences between POxy 654 and the Synoptics do not perforce indicate the independence of the former from the latter. Moreover, it may be argued that the agreements of log. 5b/6c with Lk. 8:17, especially as they occur in Sahidic, could be entirely fortuitous and due to a Coptic redactor translating Thomas free from Synoptic influence. If this is true, one well might ask: translating from *what*? Certainly not from a Greek form of Thomas as it occurs in POxy 654. 6! Either the Coptic translator or someone who followed him did some extensive revision on log. 5 and 6, or his Greek *Vorlage* was more closely parallel to the Synoptics than POxy 654. This *Vorlage* could thus have been influenced by the Synoptics. With the evidence at hand, therefore, the probability appears good that log. 5b/6c is dependent perhaps in its Greek form, and, with a little more likelihood, in its Coptic form. In the case of the latter, we might even suggest *literary* dependence (since Thomas includes even ⲅⲁⲣ and ⲁⲩⲱ[2]), but this is in no way provable. Schrage's contention that Thomas is dependent upon the Coptic version[3] thus seems justified (for these logia, at least).

---

[1]Bultmann, *History*, p. 91; and Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, (1957), p. 16.(Jeremias does not discuss this saying in his 1964 edition, but his general evaluation does not appear to have changed). Cf. also Puech, *RHR* 147 (1955):129.

[2]On ⲁⲩⲱ, cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 35.

[3]Ibid., pp. 34-37.

Logion 9: "Jesus said: Behold, the sower went out, he filled his hand, he cast. Some fell upon the road. The birds came; they gathered them. Others fell upon the rock and did not send any root into the ground and did not send up any ear unto heaven. And others fell upon the thorns; they choked the seed, and the worm ate them. And others fell upon the good ground, and it brought forth good fruit unto heaven. It bore sixty per measure and one hundred twenty per measure." It is difficult to tell whether this version of the Parable of the Sower is dependent upon the Synoptics (Mt. 13:3ff./Mk. 4:3ff./Lk. 8:5ff.) or not.[1] (i) One point which suggests that Thomas could have had contact with the Gospels at some point is the inversion of the normal Coptic word order of subject-verb. This is done through the use of the particle Ⲛϭⲓ-, something basically foreign to the Coptic idiom, but used widely in the Coptic versions to accommodate Greek word order.[2] Thus, when Thomas reads ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ Ⲛϭⲓⲡⲉⲧⲥⲓⲧⲉ ("went out the sower") and ⲁⲩⲉⲓ Ⲛϭⲓⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ ("came the birds"), it could be due to Synoptic influence, though at what stage is not clear, nor is this the only explanation of this phenomenon. Schrage claims that log. 9 is clearly dependent upon the Sahidic version.[3] His

---

[1] Quispel, *VigChr* 11 (1957):201; ibid. 12 (1958):183, 193; and *idem*, *NTS* 5 (1959):277f., argues strongly for its independence, but his arguments are not all sound: cf. Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):250f.; Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 45; Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 44-45; Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 92; and Horman, *NovTest* 21 (1979):335-36, who gives a detailed discussion of this logion (pp. 332ff.). Nevertheless, Horman, like Quispel, concludes that Thomas and the Synoptics are dependent here upon the same source; for Quispel this source is Aramaic, while Horman considers it Greek.

[2] Cf. Gerd Mink, "Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments. Die sprachlichen Probleme bei ihrer Bewertung für die griechische Textgeschichte," in *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972), pp. 252-55; and J. Martin Plumley, "Limitations of Coptic (Sahidic) in Representing Greek," in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 144.

[3] *Verhältnis*, pp. 45-47.

primary evidence is verbal similarity. (ii) For instance, he stresses the fact that both Thomas and Mk. 4:6 use M̄ⲡⲟⲩϪⲉ Ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲉ ("they did not send forth root"). He insists that it is very unusual for Ϫⲟ, which usually translates βάλλειν, to translate ἔχειν, and it is thus significant that Thomas employs this phrase. But on the contrary, the use of Ϫⲟ here is not that unusual in Coptic, especially in this context,[1] and Schrage himself notes examples of similar readings in sy^{sc} Ta^n Clem as well as Job 5:3 of the Septuagint. Moreover, he neglects to mention that the phrase in Thomas and Mark occurs in two entirely different places. Therefore, since the remainder of Schrage's verbal similarities are primarily isolated agreements of various singular or plural forms in the various Gospels, the case for Thomas' dependence upon the Sahidic version is very weak. If log. 9 has been influenced by the Synoptics, that influence must be searched for elsewhere.

Logion 10: "Jesus said: I have cast a fire upon the world and behold, I am guarding it until it is ablaze." This saying is parallel to Lk. 12:49 and is linked verbally and contextually to log. 8 and 9 by the word ⲚⲟⲩϪⲉ, "to cast."[2] No one has convincingly demonstrated from which source Thomas obtained its material, but if it was from an independent tradition, it is surprising that this tradition has not affected the text of Luke at all, especially since this verse is "difficult." Whatever the case, Schrage insists that Thomas is familiar with the Sahidic of Luke for three reasons: (i) both have ⲕⲱϩⲧ ("fire") *after* the verb, (ii) both leave ἤδη untranslated, and (iii) ἀνήφθη is translated not with Ⲙⲟⲩϩ, but

---

[1] Cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, pp. 227b-228a, 753b.

[2] Cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 94. If the catchword ⲚⲟⲩϪⲉ was a device of a Coptic redactor, it would explain why log. 9 differs at this place from the Synoptics.

with Ⲭⲉⲣⲟ, which Schrage thinks is unusual.[1] These reasons, how-
ever, are hardly convincing since (i) it is the *normal* Coptic word
order to have the object (ⲕⲱϩⲧ) after the verb; (ii) it could be
argued that ἤδη is incorporated in the verbal prefixes ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉ-and
ⲉⲧⲣⲉ-; and (iii) it is not at all unusual for Ⲭⲉⲣⲟ to translate
ἀνήφθη,[2] not to mention that Schrage's argument here begs the case
for dependence by assuming that ἀνήφθη is the word behind Thomas'
Ⲭⲉⲣⲟ. It is not likely, then, that log. 10 is influenced by the
Coptic versions.

Logion 14b: "And if you go into any land and travel in (its)
regions, if they receive you, what they will set before you, eat;
those who are sick among them, heal them." (i) As Schrage argues
for the dependence of this saying upon the Coptic of Lk. 10:8-9,[3]
perhaps the strongest point he makes is that Thomas, the Sahidic, and
the Bohairic all have a future relative clause ⲡ(or ⲛ)ⲉⲧⲟⲩⲛⲁⲕⲁⲁϥ
("what they will set") in place of the present τὰ παρατιθέμενα.
It should be mentioned, however, that the form Thomas uses is singu-
lar, while the Lucan form is plural. Thus, while this similarity be-
tween Thomas and the Coptic versions is interesting, one may ask if
this future rendering is not a natural Coptic tendency.[4] (ii) Perhaps

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 49.

[2]Cf. Jas. 3:5; and esp. log. 33b and parallels. Since the
Syriac word ⲇⲩ can mean either "to be kindled" or "to burn fiercly,"
the testimony of sy[scp] and even the Diatessaron is of no use here.

[3]*Verhältnis*, p. 53.

[4]Cf., for instance, Mt. 15:11/Mk. 7:15/log. 14c. Mk.-sa.
renders the first Present Participle with a Future construction, the
second with a Present; Mt.-bo. and Mk.-bo. read similarly. The same
use of tenses occurs in log. 14c. Interestingly, Kasser, *Thomas*,
p. 50, restores the *Vorlage* of log. 14b with τὰ παρατιθέμενα.

more significant for Schrage's case is the Ⲛ̄ϨⲎⲦⲞⲨ, "among them," which the Sahidic and Thomas share as opposed to the ἐν αὐτῇ, "in it (the city)," of Luke.[1] This is a minor variant, but worthy of comment. (iii) Schrage also notes how both Thomas and the Bohairic have ⲚⲈⲦⲨⲱⲚⲈ ("those who are sick") before the verb, claiming that they have been influenced by Mt. 10:8.[2] But since the word order in the preceding clause of Thomas is also reversed without any apparent biblical influence, this parallel does not seem significant. One minor agreement between log. 14b and the Coptic versions (number ii), when viewed alongside the several differences,[3] thus makes a very weak case for Coptic-versional influence.

Logion 14c: "For that which will go into your mouth, it will not defile you, but that which comes out of your mouth, that is what will defile you." (i) Schrage is convinced that Thomas is at least familiar with this saying from Mt. 15:11, since both mention "mouth" which is lacking in Mk. 7:15, and it is unlikely that Thomas and Mt. independently changed the earlier tradition in the same way.[4] Never-theless, Schrage also finds similarities between Thomas and Mk. (par-ticularly the Sahidic version)--more so, in fact, than between Thomas and Mt.-sa.[5] Unfortunately, all of them are relatively minor.

(ii) Thus, Thomas, with Mk.-sa., uses ⲬⲱϨⲘ̄ for "to defile" instead

---

[1]But PPalau Rib. 181 has Ⲛ̄ϨⲎⲦⲌ̄ ("in it"), which agrees with the Greek.

[2]*Verhältnis*, p. 53.

[3]For instance, whereas Thomas uses the Greek words παρα-δέχομαι and θεραπεύω, the Coptic versions use Coptic equivalents. Also, Thomas and Luke agree *against* the addition of ⲈⲢⲞⲨⲨ ("receive you *to them*") of the Sahidic and Bohairic.

[4]*Verhältnis*, p. 55. This is debatable, however, because the addition of "mouth" seems to be a natural inference from the context and could thus have been done independently.

[5]Ibid., pp. 55-56.

of Mt.-sa. ⲥⲱⲱϥ, but either is an acceptable and equally common
translation. (iii) Thomas and Mk.-sa. introduce the Fut. I ϥⲛⲁ-
into the first clause where the Greek of the Synoptics is Present,
but the sense of the saying could be naturally interpreted as future,
and thus be a fortuitous similarity; besides, Thomas continues the
future into the second clause, but Mk.-sa. does not. (iv) Schrage
also points out that Sahidic MS 114 in Mk. 7:15 and MS 78 in Mk. 7:18
(a parallel passage) omit δύναται (as do a few other witnesses);
this is irrelevant, however, since Thomas could have omitted it be-
cause of Matthean influence or because its independent tradition did
not have it. (v) Finally, Schrage notes Thomas' interesting use of
the emphatic ⲛⲧⲟϥ ("that"), but cannot determine whether it is due
to the influence of Mk.-sa. (ⲛⲧⲟⲟⲩ --"those") or to the Greek of
Mt. (τοῦτο). (vi) Another point which might be made is that Thom-
as uses the ⲧⲁⲡⲣⲟ ("mouth") of Mt.-sa., when ρο would have done
just as well. Nonetheless, though the similarities between Thomas
and the Sahidic version are interesting, they are not significant
enough to prove the influence of the Sahidic version upon this logion.
This theory, then, must remain just one of several possibilities.

Logion 20: "The disciples said to Jesus: Tell us what the
kingdom of heaven is like. He said to them: It is like a grain of
mustard, smaller than all seeds, but when it falls upon the ground
which is tilled, it produces a great branch which becomes shelter
for birds of the sky." This Parable of the Mustard Seed is one of
the sayings regarding which both Schrage and Arthur argue strongly
for Coptic-versional influence. (i) The primary piece of evidence
is the phrase ⲥⲟⲃⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ which is found in Thomas and the Sahidic
of Mk. 4:31. Schrage notes[1] that this is the only time that ⲡⲁⲣⲁ is

---

[1]*Verhältnis,* p. 63; cf. Arthur, "Thomas," pp. 65-66.

used comparatively in the Sahidic gospels (the only other places in
the NT being 2 Cor. 11:5; 12:11).[1] Moreover, though μικρός is used
about 43 times in the NT, only once does ϲⲟⲃⲕ translate it, and that
is also here in Mk. 4:31. Schrage and Arthur think it highly sig-
nificant, and rightly so, that this double rarity occurs in log. 20.
They therefore conclude that Thomas has been influenced by this read-
ing from the Sahidic version. (ii) Schrage tries to strengthen his
case by noting that both Thomas and Mk.-sa. 4:31 omit τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
γῆς, but this could merely be due to the influence of Mt. (iii) He
also notes that Mk.-sa. translates καὶ ὅταν (Mk. 4:32) with ϩⲟⲧⲁⲛ
ⲇⲉ ⲉⲩϣⲁⲛ, which is similar to a phrase in Thomas, but these two
phrases occur in different places and are not necessarily parallel.
Yet the influence of the Synoptics upon log. 20 goes deeper than
this, according to Schrage and Arthur; Schrage, for example, feels
that Thomas uses all three Gospels and is especially close to Mt.[2]
As we have seen, Arthur takes this a precarious step further to sug-
gest that ϲⲟⲃⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ is the original reading of Mt.-sa., even though
no extant MS contains it, thus apparently concluding that Thomas has
been influenced by Mt.-sa. only.[3] This is probably going too far.
Nevertheless, the point about ϲⲟⲃⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ is a good one, though it
must be tempered by the facts that the phrase in log. 20 does occur
in a different place than in Mk., and the writer of Thomas is ap-
parently familiar enough with the comparative ⲡⲁⲣⲁ to make indepen-
dent use of it in log. 107. When viewed, moreover, in the context
of the other relatively minor agreements between this saying and the

---

[1]Cf. also log. 107. [2]*Verhältnis*, pp. 65-66.

[3]"Thomas," pp. 81-83. This seems like a contradiction of
his statements about ϲⲟⲃⲕ ⲡⲁⲣⲁ mentioned above, but cf. p. 66 of
this thesis.

Sahidic versions,[1] as well as the vast differences,[2] the influence of the Coptic versions can only remain a possibility.

Logion 26: "Jesus said: The mote which is in the eye of your brother you see, but the beam which is in your eye you do not see. When you cast the beam from your eye, then you will see to cast the mote from the eye of your brother." The saying about the mote and the beam here in Thomas, as paralleled in Mt. 7:3-5/Lk. 6:41-42, provides an interesting example of how the results of form criticism can be contradictory when applied to Thomas. For instance, one canon of form criticism suggests that as a tradition gets older, it has a tendency to become longer.[3] Another canon states that the interrogative form of a saying is usually earlier than the declarative form.[4] Hence, because Thomas' saying is shorter than the Synoptics', it is earlier, but because it is a declaration instead of a question, it is later. The picture is further complicated if we consider the *possibility* that a Coptic redactor of Thomas has shortened the saying from POxy 1. 1,[5] which is presumably earlier than Thomas, and if we consider that Thomas could conceivably be translated as a question.[6] It is no wonder that scholarship is divided on the question

---

[1]Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 63-64.

[2]For instance, mustard *seed* (ⲃⲗⲃⲓⲗⲉ) is feminine in Coptic, as the Sahidic and Bohairic versions clearly show. In Thomas, however, the verbs of which "seed" is the antecedent begin in the feminine ("it falls"--ⲉⲥϣⲁⲛⲉ), but end up in the masculine ("it produces"--ϣⲁϥⲧⲉⲅⲟ; "it becomes"--ⲛ̄ϥϣⲱⲡⲉ). Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 65, says that in Thomas the antecedent of ϣⲁϥⲧⲉⲅⲟ refers to the masculine ⲕⲁϩ --"it (the ground) produces." But, does the ground "become" a shelter (tree)?

[3]Though Bultmann, *Tradition*, p. 84, does admit that there are exceptions to this rule.

[4]Ibid., p. 93.   [5]Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 147.

[6]It is not so translated in any major publication, but a question does appear grammatically possible; see Till, *Grammatik*, ⲟⲟ430-31.

of Thomas' initial dependence here. Nonetheless, Schrage gives six

reasons why he thinks Thomas at least knew the Coptic versions:[1]

(i) Of the fourteen times ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲟⲉⲓ̄ⲛ occurs in the NT, it is

translated with six different Coptic words in the Sahidic version,

but Thomas, Mt., and Mk. all have ⲛⲁⲩ; (ii) Thomas and most Sahid-

ic MSS leave the ⲕⲁⲓ́ before ⲧⲟⲧⲉ untranslated; (iii) with Mt.-sa.,

Thomas uses the Future I ⲕ̄ⲛⲁ̄ⲛⲁⲩ, which Schrage says is unusual;

(iv) also noteworthy is the reading ⲙ̄ⲡ̄ⲥⲟⲉⲓ ("the beam") of Thomas,

which is the form of the direct object as it is attached indirectly

to the verb in its Absolute state (due to Mt.-sa.), though it could

be attached directly to the verb in its Construct state (as it is in

Lk.-sa.); (v) the Sahidic MS 55 of Mt. and the Bohairic version

have ⲛⲁⲩ ("to see") with Thomas instead of Horner's printed ϭⲱϣⲧ̄

("to look, see"); and (vi) despite the different word order of the

Greek in Mt.--"cast first from your eye the beam"--Thomas and Mt.-sa.

both have "cast (first) the beam from your eye," though this word

order is not necessary for Coptic. These observations are interest-

ing, but are mitigated by other facts: As to (i), of the fourteen

times ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲛⲟⲉⲓ̄ⲛ occurs, it is translated by ⲛⲁⲩ five times (cf.

also Rom. 4:19; Jas. 1:23, 24), a fairly high percentage, and espe-

cially when it has the obvious connotation of "to see"; moreover,

that log. 26 uses ⲛⲁⲩ should not be too surprising, since it occurs

in the context of other logia concerned with "eye" and "seeing." As

to (ii), it is true that both of Horner's MSS for Mt. 7:5 leave ⲕⲁⲓ́

untranslated, but three others, M569, PRainer 3:132, and one published

by Delaporte,[2] do translate it; Lk.-sa. is not actually relevant since

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 72.

[2]L. Delaporte, "Matthieu VII, 4-27, d'après un papyrus de la Bibliothèque nationale," *RB* 13 (1916):560-64.

καί πότε is subsumed by the verb ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲕⲛⲁⲩ. Next, it is not at all unusual for Fut. I to translate a Greek Future, and coincidence in this case is not impossible; besides, Arthur notes that Thomas has a tendency to use Fut. I,[1] so (iii) is not a strong argument for Thomas' acquaintance with the Coptic versions. Neither is (iv), for two reasons: first, it is not incorrect to attach the direct object indirectly to the verb with "ⲛ-" when using ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲛ-, as Thomas does;[2] second, since ⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ is used in its Absolute state, an "indirect" direct object must be used.[3] Thus, the translator of Thomas is not necessarily following the syntax of Mt.-sa., but quite possibly uses these forms for his own (and different) reasons.[4] The fifth reason Schrage notices is not all that conclusive, since MS 55 is only one of three of Horner's MSS, and Thomas could have used ⲛⲁⲩ quite independently, for it is a common translation of βλέπειν (occurring 61 times in the Sahidic NT). Finally, (vi) is quite weak because, as Schrage admits, both Thomas and Mt. merely have the normal Coptic order. We must conclude, then, that there is not sufficient evidence to prove the influence of the Coptic version upon log. 26.

Logion 31: "Jesus said: No prophet is acceptable in his village; a physician does not heal those who know him." (i and ii) Schrage sees as noteworthy the fact that Thomas and the Sahidic

---

[1] "Thomas," pp. 96-97.   [2] Cf. Till, *Grammatik*, §§259ff.

[3] Ibid., §258.

[4] He may have wished to keep this clause grammatically parallel with the later ⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡϫⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, again with the object ⲡϫⲏ ("the mote") following the Absolute form of the verb ⲉⲛⲟⲩϫⲉ ("to cast") with the indirect prefix ⲛ̄- (or ⲙ̄-). It is noteworthy that the Sahidic of Mt. 7:5 and Lk. 6:42b is ⲉⲛⲉϫ ⲡϫⲏ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ--the Construct form of the verb followed directly by the object, which is the opposite of what Thomas does here.

gospels (esp. Lk. 4:24) both lack the indefinite article before

ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ and the Conjunctive prefix before the Qualitative ϣⲏⲡ,[1]

but it should be pointed out that neither is mandatory in Coptic.[2]

(iii) It should not be considered too significant either that the

Sahidic gospels and Thomas all translate πατρίς with ϯⲙⲉ[3]--πατρίς

is used only eight times in the NT, and the Sahidic translates it

with ϯⲙⲉ six times, thus making it the *usual* translation (though

it is interesting that the Bohairic and Fayyumic translate it with

ⲃⲁⲕⲓ or ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ). (iv) Schrage and Arthur believe that log. 31

preserves an earlier reading of the Sahidic Synoptics, since it has

apparently avoided the subsequent assimilation to the ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ

(ἰδίᾳ) of Jn. 4:44.[4] This is to assume, however, that the Coptic

translator of Thomas knew the Sahidic gospels, which neither has con-

vincingly proven (though the possibility should remain open); it could

be that he was just faithfully translating his Greek *Vorlage* which in

turn was independent of the Gospels.

Logion 34: "Jesus said: If a blind man lead a blind man, they

fall both into a pit." This saying is also found in Mt. 15:14b/

Lk. 6:39. Schrage thinks Thomas has here been influenced by Mt.-sa.[5]

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 76.

[2]For the former case, cf. Till, *Grammatik*, §§103ff.; for the
latter, especially if understood in the present tense, cf. ibid.,
§257.

[3]Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 76.

[4]Ibid.; and "Thomas," p. 79. It is intriguing that Mk. 6:4
in PPalau Rib. 182, which Quecke dates as being from the first half
of the fifth century, does not have ⲙ̄ⲙⲓⲛ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟϥ. It is also the only
extant Sahidic MS of this saying to translate πατρίς with ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ in-
stead of ϯⲙⲉ. This could thus represent an earlier, unassimilated
reading of the Sahidic, or the ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ could be due to the influence
of Mk. 6:1, which all Sahidic MSS of Mk. translate with ⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ.

[5]*Verhältnis*, pp. 86-87.

(i) For example, he says that normally the verb would follow ⲘⲡⲉⲥⲚⲁⲩ ("both"), but in the Coptic of Thomas and Mt., it precedes the verb. This may be true, but one can make two objections: first, in the Sahidic and Bohairic of both Mt. and Lk., ⲘⲡⲉⲥⲚⲁⲩ not only follows the verb "fall," but also follows "ditch," whereas in Thomas it does not; second, "to fall" in the Sahidic of Mt. is in the Fut. I (ⲥⲉⲚⲁϩⲉ), but Thomas has the Habitude I (ⲱⲁⲅϩⲉ), as does Mt.-bo. (ii) Schrage also observes that three of eight of Horner's Sahidic MSS of Mt. omit Ⲇⲉ, as does Thomas. This minor detail, however, says very little in support of Thomas' dependence upon Mt.-sa., since a translator of Thomas could have omitted Ⲇⲉ through his independent redactory work, or, if log. 34 is influenced by Mt.-sa., Ⲇⲉ is still present in the majority of Horner's MSS, in addition to M569 and the fourth-/fifth-century PBodmer XIX. (iii) The only significant argument for the influence of Mt.-sa. is the fact that it and Thomas have the subject before the verb in the protasis (ⲟⲩⲃⲗⲗⲉ ⲉⲩⲱⲁⲚ-), though, as Schrage states, ⲉⲣⲱⲁⲚ- normally precedes the subject.[1] This is not conclusive, however, since Thomas' reading could independently be trying to reflect the unusual Greek word order that is found in the Gospels. (iv) One must also consider the different words used for "to lead"; the Coptic versions use Ⲭⲓ Ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ, but Thomas uses ⲥⲱⲕ--a verb for which Crum gives no example where it translates the ὁδηγεῖν of the Gospels,[2] though the meanings of both words are synonymous. Thus, Thomas could well be an independent translation from the Greek, but Coptic-versional influence must remain an alternative explanation.

---

[1] Cf. Till, *Grammatik*, §447, but also cf. Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):236-37.

[2] *Dictionary*, p. 327a.

Logion 35: "Jesus said: It is not possible for one to enter the house of a strong man and take it by force, unless he bind his hands; then he will plunder his house." (i) This logion is verbally closer to Mt.-sa. 12:29 than to Mk.-sa. 3:27, even though Matthew's saying is in the form of a question. Schrage, for instance, asserts that of the twenty Synoptic occurrences of ἐὰν μή, in only two other cases does the Sahidic translate it with ⲈⲒⲘⲎⲦⲒ. He thus concludes, since ⲈⲒⲘⲎⲦⲒ occurs both in Thomas and Mt.-sa., that Mt.-sa. has influenced log. 35.[1] This impressive observation loses some of its weight under closer scrutiny, however. Strictly speaking, ἐὰν μή occurs as a unified conjunction only fourteen times in the Synoptics, eight of these being in Mt. Three of these times, it is translated by the Sahidic ⲈⲒⲘⲎⲦⲒ (in Mt. 12:29; 18:3; 26:42). It is therefore not all that rare, but it is intriguing that all three Synoptic cases of ⲈⲒⲘⲎⲦⲒ for ἐὰν μή come from Mt. (ii) Schrage also notes that Thomas and Mt.-sa. leave the καί before τότε untranslated,[2] but this is irrelevant, since the καί in Mt. is probably translated by the Conjunctive ⲚϤⲦⲰⲢⲠ ("*and* he robs"). (iii) Similarly, nothing can be proven by the fact that the Sahidic MS 111 of Mt. omits Ⲛ̄ⲰⲟⲢⲠ̄ ("first") with Thomas.[3] (iv) Against Schrage's thesis, it should be noted that the word for "plunder" in the Sahidic of Mt. and Mk. is ⲦⲰⲢⲠ̄, while Thomas uses ⲦⲰⲰⲚⲈ ⲈⲂⲟⲗ; not only is this a different word, but Crum gives no example for it translating διαρπάζειν,[4] though the meanings of both words are compatible. Thus, there is very little evidence to suggest that Thomas is dependent upon the Gospels at all.

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 89.   [2]Ibid.

[3]Cf. ibid.   [4]*Dictionary*, p. 265a.

Logion 36: "Jesus said: Do not be anxious from morning to evening and from evening to morning about what you will put on." (i) Schrage seems to imply that the drastic shortening of this saying from its Greek form as found in POxy 655. 1 to conform more closely with its Synoptic parallels in Mt. 6:25a/Lk. 12:22 is proof of the Coptic translator's familiarity with the Coptic versions.[1] This, however, is to make an assumption about the Coptic translator's motive which may not be warranted.[2] (ii) Nevertheless, the fact that Thomas, as the Sahidic gospels, has ϥⲓ ⲣⲟⲟⲩϣ for μεριμνᾶν and ϯ ϩⲓ- for ἐνδύσασθαι, when several other possible translations exist is interesting; taken in conjunction with Schrage's observation, it does not provide enough evidence to *prove* dependence upon the Sahidic gospels, but it certainly is enough to keep the question open.

Logion 39b: "But you be wise as serpents and innocent as doves." Schrage discusses this saying briefly, but does not attempt to argue for dependence upon the Coptic versions of Mt. 10:16b.[3] On the other hand, Arthur does argue for such a dependence and thinks that Thomas here preserves a text earlier than the present text of Mt. in Sahidic.[4] The chances are, however, that the Coptic of log. 39b is an independent translation from Greek, especially since (i) for "wise" Thomas has ⲫⲣⲟⲛⲓⲙⲟⲥ, while the Coptic versions have ⲥⲁⲃⲉ, and since (ii) Thomas seems to emphasize the Imperative with ⲛⲧⲱⲧⲛ ("you") and the Coptic versions do not.

---

[1] *Verhältnis*, pp. 90-91.

[2] For a discussion of the redactor's motive here, cf. Marcovich, *JThS* 20 (1969):70.

[3] *Verhältnis*, p. 94.

[4] "Thomas," pp. 54, 80, 94. Cf. p. 60 n. 2 above.

Logion 41: "Jesus said: Whoever has in his hand, it will be given to him, and whoever does not have, even the little he has will be taken from him." This saying is especially close to Mk. 4:25 in Greek and Sahidic. Schrage seems to think the dependence is on both levels, but the similarities between Thomas and the Sahidic version are "clearer."[1] (i) This is his conclusion despite the omission of γάρ in Thomas, (ii) the addition of "in his hand" (which Schrage finds reminiscent of similar phrases in log. 9 and 88), and (iii) the addition of ϢΗΜ ("little"), which he suggests might be due to the influence of Lk. 12:48, but more probably is a "volkstümliche Konkretisierung." The opinion that here Thomas is dependent upon the Synoptics is probably justified, but it cannot be determined at which stage this Synoptic influence took place.

Logion 45a: "Jesus said: They do not gather grapes from thorns, neither do they gather figs from camel-thistles; they do not give fruit." (i) While cataloguing the similarities between this saying and the Coptic of Mt. 7:16/Lk. 6:44, Schrage lists what he calls the rare occurrence of συλλέγειν=ϪⲰⲰⲖⲈ, and thinks its appearance in Thomas is significant.[2] This is to make too much of the facts, however. The "gathering of grapes" does not occur in the NT often, but where it does, it is not unusual to find ϪⲰⲰⲖⲈ in the Sahidic (cf. Rev. 14:19). Besides, who is to say that Thomas could not be translating τρυγᾶν, for which ϪⲰⲰⲖⲈ is the usual equivalent? (ii) Moreover, even though the word order of Thomas and the Sahidic version is the same, contrary to the word order of the Greek gospels,[3] not too much can be said, since Thomas is following normal word order, and not necessarily that of the Sahidic version.

---

[1] *Verhältnis*, pp. 96-97.   [2] Ibid., p. 102.

[3] Cf. ibid., p. 103.

(iii) Add to this the fact that ⲥⲣ̄ϭⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ ("camel-thistle") appears

nowhere in the Sahidic NT, and the dependence of log. 45a upon the

Coptic versions becomes rather difficult to maintain.

Logion 45b: "A good man brings forth a good thing from his

treasure; an evil man brings forth evil things from his evil treas-

ure which is in his heart, and he says evil things. For from the

abundance of the heart he brings forth evil things." (i) This say-

ing is rather close to that saying found in Lk. 6:45; it is worthy of

comment that the elements of log. 45 are in the same order as Lk. 6:

45-46. (ii) In some cases, however, log. 45b is verbally closer to

Mt. 12:34-35, especially in the Sahidic version. In fact, the only

major argument Schrage gives for the influence of the Coptic version

upon this saying is the ⲡⲉⲩⲉϩⲟ ("*his* treasure") which Thomas,

Mt.-sa., and Mt.-bo. share.[1] The Greek of Mt. and Lk. lacks the

possessive pronoun, and though its addition is a common tendency in

Coptic, Schrage says it is not necessary (as its omission in Lk.-sa.

proves)[2] and therefore a significant similarity. Such a relatively

minor agreement could just as well be fortuitous, however, and hardly

makes a sound case for Coptic-versional influence, Schrage's other

minor similarities notwithstanding.

Logion 47a: "Jesus said: It is not possible for a man to

ride two horses and draw two bows, and it is not possible for a ser-

vant to serve two masters, or he will honour the one and he will in-

sult the other." (i) One indication that this saying is an expan-

sion, perhaps on the Coptic level, of Mt. 6:24/Lk. 16:13 is the

---

[1]Ibid., pp. 103-104.

[2]But Lk.-sa. omits the possessive pronoun with "treasure"
only because it adds it to "heart", i.e., "the treasure of *his*
heart" (note that this possessive pronoun is also absent in the
Greek).

repetition of M̄N̄ 6ом ("it is not possible") before the third and

canonical phrase "for a servant to serve . . . ." Such a repetition

could have been avoided by the use of the Conjunctive as it is in

the second clause--N̄ч̄Xшλк ="and (it is not possible) to draw." The

fact that M̄N̄ 6ом is found in the third clause, just as it occurs

in the Gospels, might suggest that the first two clauses are expan-

sions of the canonical saying made by a redactor. (ii) The other

major difference between log. 47a and the Synoptics--that Thomas

has only one clause beginning with "H " (either/or)--may possibly

be explained by the interesting suggestion of Schrage of scribal

parablepsis.[1] Schrage, however, prudently makes no overt attempt to

argue the dependence of this saying upon the Coptic versions, but

Arthur does make a suggestion along this line.[2] (iii) He thinks

that the oγ̄?м̄?дλ ш̄м̄ш̄є ("a servant to serve") of Thomas is depen-

dent upon a reading similar to Luke's οἰκέτης . . . δουλεύειν.

Lk.-sa., however, has N̄λδδγ є̄ρ?м̄?дλ ("anyone to serve"), except

MSS 91 and M569 which have N̄?м̄?дλ ("servant").[3] Arthur concludes,

therefore, that Thomas is a witness to the earlier, pre-Sahidic

(semi-Achmimic) reading of Lk. 16:13 which was subsequently assimi-

lated to agree with Mt.-sa. That Thomas here preserves an early

Coptic reading of Lk. is an engaging possibility, but it should be

kept in mind that Horner's other two witnesses, MSS 9 and 15, which

are several centuries older than MS 91, omit any translation of

---

[1] *Verhältnis*, p. 111. Cf. Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):251f.; and
Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 75.

[2] "Thomas," pp. 83-84.

[3] According to Horner's apparatus, it appears that MS 91 has
N̄λδδγ N̄?м̄?дλ є̄ρ?м̄?дλ, which is also found in M569. This looks
not like the earlier reading of Lk.-sa., but like a poor attempt to
correct an existing text to agree more closely with the Greek, re-
sulting in a conflate reading.

οἰκέτης , as do PRainer 3:142 and PPalau Rib. 181. For more than

one reason, Arthur's hypothesis should be viewed with caution.

Logion 54: "Jesus said: Blessed are the poor, for yours is

the kingdom of heaven." Schrage seems to be advocating for this

logion a similar position to the one held by Arthur above, i.e.

that "Th hier der einzige sah Zeuge für den lk Urtext ist."[1] He

says this because, except for "kingdom of heaven," Thomas is ex-

actly like Lk. 6:20b.[2] (i) This is significant, since Lk.-sa. has

Ⲧⲱⲟⲩ ("theirs"), contrary to the Ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ("yours") of Lk. in Greek.

The fact that Thomas avoids this "mistake" precipitates Schrage's

remark. Such a view, however, assumes that at one point the Sahidic

of Lk. 6:20b did have "yours" instead of "theirs," which cannot be

proven. There is always the possibility that Thomas is an indepen-

dent translation of the Greek of Luke (especially since (ii) Thomas

transliterates μακάριοι instead of translating it as the Coptic

versions do), or that Thomas is altogether independent of the Syn-

optics.

Logion 55: "Jesus said: He who does not hate his father and

his mother will not be able to be my disciple, and (he who does not)

hate his brothers and his sisters and take up his cross like me will

not be worthy of me" (cf. log. 101). This saying is primarily a com-

bination of elements like those found in Mt. 10:37-38/Lk. 14:26-27.[3]

Schrage notices several things which, he thinks, demonstrate that

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 119.

[2]Interestingly enough, "kingdom of heaven" is the reading of
Lk.-sa., despite the "kingdom of God" in the Greek. Nevertheless,
log. 54 is closer to the latter than to the former.

[3]J. B. Bauer, "Variantes de traduction sur l'Hébreu?" *Muséon*
74 (1961):436, believes that not only did the compiler of this say-
ing use Mt. and Lk., but also log. 101.

Thomas is familiar with the Coptic versions,[1] (i) the first of which is the repetition of the possessive article with ⲡⲉϥⲉⲓⲱⲧ ("*his* father"), etc. As Schrage has shown, this repetition is not admissible as proof for an Aramaic origin of Thomas,[2] as Quispel contends.[3] Nor, *contra* Schrage, is it evidence that a redactor of Thomas was following Lk.-sa., since the addition of the possessive article is a natural tendency for Coptic,[4] and the similarity here could thus be nothing more than coincidence; besides, as Schrage admits, this phenomenon also occurs at this place in the Syriac versions. (ii) Schrage also observes that both Thomas and Lk.-sa. translate the first ⲉῖⲛⲁⲓ with ⲣ- and the second with ϣⲱⲡⲉ, but in the latter case Thomas has "to be worthy" and Lk. "to be my disciple," and thus the parallel is not complete. (iii) The observation that clinches the argument for Schrage, however, is the parallel use of the dative ⲛⲁⲓ in Thomas and Lk.-sa.[5] The use of ⲣⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ("to be a disciple to me") is unusual enough (though he admits the Syriac is similar),[6] but the use of ⲛⲁϣⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ("worthy to me") in log. 55 is so unusual that it can only be explained by the influence of Lk.-sa. To this, it must be said in reply that the use of ⲁϣⲓⲟⲥ is rare in the Sahidic NT (occurring only two times in Acts), and it is never used in this exact way.

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 121.   [2]Ibid., p. 13.

[3]Quispel, *NTS* 5 (1959):287. Cf. Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):256-57.

[4]Cf. Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):322; and Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965): 238. Both warn against making too much of the possessive article in Coptic.

[5]Quispel, *NTS* 5 (1959):287, thinks that this is also evidence for an Aramaic original, but Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 13, disagrees.

[6]It also occurs in Lk. 14:33.

Even if the instances where ⲙ̄ⲡϣⲁ ("to be worthy") is used in the NT
were considered, the testimony is still too meagre to substantiate
conclusively Schrage's contentions for what is "usual" and "un-
usual."[1] Then, too, the alternative explanations of Syriac influence
or the slavish attempt of a redactor to maintain the parallelism
between ⲣ̄ⲙⲁⲑⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ and ⲛ̄ⲁⲝⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ cannot be overlooked. In
any event, the evidence to prove the dependence of this saying upon
the Sahidic gospels is very weak.[2]

Logion 61a: "Jesus said: Two will rest on a bed; the one
will die, the one will live." Schrage considers this saying to be
closer to the *Urtext* of Lk. 17:34 than to the Sahidic version for
two reasons:[3] (i) Thomas has the definite article ⲡ̄ before ⲟⲩⲁ
("one") each time; and (ii) Thomas is closer to the Greek word
order than the Sahidic.[4] These similarities with the Greek of Luke
would make one suspect that log. 61a has been independently trans-
lated from Greek. Nevertheless, Schrage thinks that the Sahidic of
Lk. has exercised an influence here. (iii) He notices that both
leave καί untranslated (which is untrue for Lk.-sa.—it is contained
in the Conjunctive ⲛ̄-), and (iv) both use the Fut. I (which is
not terribly significant). (v) But the main reason he sees Sahidic-
versional influence is that both Thomas and Lk.-sa. translate ὁ εἷς
. . . ὁ ἕτερος ("the one, the other") with (ⲡ)ⲟⲩⲁ . . . (ⲡ)ⲟⲩⲁ
("the one, the one"). In light of Lk. 18:10; 23:39f. and log. 47
where both use ⲡⲟⲩⲁ . . . ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ("the one, the other"), Schrage

---

[1]Cf. Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):237-38.

[2]Cf. ibid.   [3]*Verhältnis*, pp. 126-27.

[4]This should not be surprising, since Lk.-sa. follows the
normal procedure for translating the passive of the Greek, i.e.,
ⲥⲉⲛⲁϫⲓ ⲟⲩⲁ ("they will take one" = "one will be taken"). What
should be pointed out is the *difference* between Thomas and Luke--
Thomas is active while Lk.-sa. correctly preserves the passive.

feels that both works are departing from their norm here and this is due to more than coincidence. Nonetheless, since in Mt. 6:24/Lk. 16:13; Lk. 7:41; and Lk. 17:35, (ⲟ̀) ⲉⲓ̃ⲥ . . . (ⲟ̀) ⲉ̃ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲥ is translated (ⲡ)ⲟⲩⲁ . . . (ⲡ)ⲟⲩⲁ, this rendering cannot be said to be unusual for Coptic, and thus the similarity here could be fortuitous. Moreover, as Schrage mentions in passing, similar readings can be found in sy[sc] c d l Ta[p], and thus another influence upon log. 61a besides that of the Coptic versions cannot be excluded.

Logion 64. This Parable of the Great Supper seems to be a later development of the parable as it is found in Lk. 14:15-24,[1] but there are also some similarities with Mt. 22:1-14.[2] Although the probability is high that this saying is independent of the Gospels,[3] Schrage's feelings are to the contrary; he seems to be at a loss, however, to prove any dependence upon the Coptic versions.[4] Nevertheless, there are cases where Thomas uses a word found in the Sahidic version when other Coptic words would have sufficed.

(i) For example, for "dinner," Thomas uses ⲇⲓⲡⲛⲟⲛ with Lk.-sa. when it could have used ⲟ̨ⲟⲡ ; (ii) for "to invite," Thomas and Lk.-sa read ⲧⲱϩⲙ̄ when ⲙⲟⲩⲧⲉ would have done nicely; and (iii) Thomas could have used ⲙⲟⲉⲓⲧ or ϩⲟⲟⲩⲧⲛ for "road," but instead reads ϩⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ, one of the words used by Lk.-sa. This evidence is by no means conclusive, but it could suggest a slight possibility that the Coptic gospels may have influenced this saying in the latter stages

---

[1]Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 100-101. J. D. McCaughey, "Two Synoptic Parables in the Gospel of Thomas," *ABR* 8 (1960):27f.; and Kaestli, *EThR* 54 (1979):387, on the other hand, think it more ancient than either Mt. or Lk.

[2]Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 133-34.

[3]Cf. the works mentioned in n. 1 above.

[4]*Verhältnis*, pp. 134-36.

of Thomas' development. (iv) On the other hand, there is at least one point where, if log. 64 has undergone Coptic-versional influence, one would expect closer agreement, but this agreement is absent. Thus, according to the information given by Plumley,[1] it is intriguing to note that Thomas has the words ⲁϥⲉⲓ ⲛϭⲓ ⲡϩⲙϩⲁⲗ ⲁϥⲭⲟⲟⲥ (lit., "he came, i.e. the servant, he said"), which is precisely how one would expect the Coptic to translate the Greek of Lk. 14:21a: παρα-γενόμενος ὁ δοῦλος ἀπήγγειλεν.[2] Yet, the Sahidic uses an alternative, but equally acceptable, formulation: ⲁ ⲡϩⲙ ϩⲁⲗ ⲉⲓ ⲁϥⲭⲱ ("the servant came, he said"). This would indicate that the influence of the Sahidic version is unlikely and that the influence of Luke is possible. Notwithstanding, the independence of log. 64 remains more probable.

Logion 65. This saying, known as the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (cf. Mt. 21:33ff./Mk. 12:1ff./Lk. 20:9ff.), offers some of the most convincing verbal evidence that Thomas here is dependent upon the Gospels, though perhaps only in their Coptic form. As Schrage presents the case for Thomas' dependence,[3] he claims that not only is log. 65 close to Mk., but it betrays an awareness of the redactional activity of Lk. and Mt. (i) The most striking similarity may be between Thomas and Lk., where the latter uses ἴσως in 20:13 which is a NT *hapax legomenon*. Significantly, it appears in its Coptic form ⲙⲉϣⲁⲕ not once, but twice in log. 65.[4] (ii) In

---

[1] "Limitations," in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 151.

[2] For the Coptic use of ⲛϭⲓ-, see ibid., p. 144; and Mink, "Koptischen Versionen," pp. 252-55. For a more detailed study, see Siegfried Morenz, "Die ⲛϭⲓ-Konstruktion als sprachliche und stilistische Erscheinung des Koptischen," *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypt* 52 (1952):1-15.

[3] *Verhältnis*, pp. 138ff.

[4] Cf. Arthur, "Thomas," pp. 60-61; and p. 66 nn. 1, 2 above.

addition, both Thomas and Lk. 20:10 have the same purpose clause

(ἵνα δώσουσιν αὐτῷ). (iii) With Mt., Thomas mentions the kill-

ing of a servant in the first sending, and omits the third sending

of servants. This may not be conclusive proof for Thomas' depend-

ence (as Schrage admits), but the inclusion of Luke's ἴσως is dif-

ficult to explain otherwise. Add to this the fact that log. 66

(parallel to Ps. 118:22) follows this parable, just as it does in

the Synoptics,[1] and one is further inclined to admit Thomas' de-

pendence, at least at some stage.[2] (iv) As to the influence of

the Coptic gospels, Schrage[3] notes that with Mk.-sa. 12:3, Thomas

translates λαβεῖν through ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ. Since this occurs only twice

in the Sahidic NT, it would indicate the influence of Mk.-sa. upon

Thomas. But against this, it might be pointed out that (a) we

cannot be sure that Thomas is translating λαβεῖν, and (b) ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ

also translates ἐπιλαβέσθαι 15 times in the Sahidic NT where it

has the meaning of "to seize, catch, arrest"; ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ translating

a form of λαβεῖν is, therefore, not too unusual. Moreover, why

does Thomas use the verb ϭⲱⲡⲉ, which is not used by any Gospel

parallel, in the place where Mk. uses ⲁⲙⲁϩⲧⲉ in 12:8? (v) An-

other similarity mentioned by Schrage is the ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ which Thomas

and Lk.-sa. 20:11 share in the place of κἀκεῖνος.[4] Usually,

κἀκεῖνος is translated in the Sahidic NT by ⲁⲩⲱ (ⲡ)ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ, and

it would seem, to Schrage, that Thomas is here influenced by Lk.-sa.,

---

[1] Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 143.

[2] But cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 102, who suggests that the as-
sociation of this parable and OT quotation could be pre-Marcan, and
thus no proof that Thomas is dependent here.

[3] *Verhältnis*, pp. 141-43.

[4] Instead of ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ, M569 has ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ.

even though he concedes that MS 73 of Mk. 12:4 has ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ instead of the printed ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲓⲕⲉⲧ.[1] Unfortunately, Schrage's argument is not as conclusive as he thinks, since a Sahidic translation of κἀκεῖνος similar to that found in Thomas/Lk.-sa. 20:11 (ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ) can be found in Mt. 23:23/Lk. 11:42 (where κἀκεῖνος ∼ καὶ ἄλλος, as it is in the present parable). Also, the influence of Mk.-sa. cannot be ruled out so easily; neither can the possibility of independent translation be excluded, perhaps with the influence of ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ in log. 64. Nonetheless, Schrage lists further connections with the Coptic gospels, especially with Mk.-sa.:[2] (vi) e.g., both Thomas and Mk.-sa. have the singular ⲕⲁⲣⲡⲟⲥ, despite the Greek plural in Mk. 12:2; and (vii) both omit ⲡⲁⲗⲓⲛ, despite its presence in Mk. 12:4. In each case, however, Thomas could have been influenced by Lk.-sa., or, again, be an independent translation. Schrage's arguments, then, are not particularly persuasive, but they do raise some noteworthy points. So also do the verbal agreements between Thomas and the Sahidic version when other words are possible: (viii) for "vineyard" both have ⲙⲁ ⲛ̅ⲉⲗⲟⲟⲗⲉ, when Thomas instead could have used ⲱⲛⲏ or ϭⲱⲙ; (ix) both have ϫⲟⲟⲩ throughout for "to send," though Thomas had the alternatives of ⲧⲛ̅ⲛⲟⲟⲩ, ⲧⲁ(ⲟ)ⲩⲟ (cf. Mt.-bo. 21:36), ϩⲱⲃ, ϫⲛⲁ (cf. PPalau Rib. 181 and PRainer 3:144 for Lk. 20:10), and ϫⲟ from which to choose. Therefore, as the evidence is totalled, an increasingly strong case for the influence of the Sahidic version upon log. 65

---

[1] ⲡⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲧⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲩ is also the reading of PPalau Rib. 182.

[2] It is interesting to note that Schrage seems to favour the influence of Mk.-sa., and Arthur, "Thomas," pp. 85-86 (cf. p. 66 above), seems to favour the influence of Lk.-sa.

begins to form, but the case is not strong enough to eliminate the possibility of an independent translation from the Greek.[1]

Logion 66: "Jesus said: Teach me concerning this stone which the builders have rejected; it is the corner-stone." (i) Schrage does not specifically state that his saying has been influenced by the Coptic versions, but he seems to imply this when he notes that Thomas, MSS 111 and PMorgan (M569) in Mt. 21:42, and the Bohairic follow the Greek word order more closely than the printed Sahidic of Mt. 21:42/Mk. 12:10/Lk. 20:17 when they read ⲚⲦⲀⲨⲤⲦⲞⲨ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲚϬ ⲚⲉⲦⲕⲱⲦ ("which they have rejected, the builders").[2] But on the other hand, if Thomas did not know this variant of Mt.-sa., it could be an independent translation.[3] (ii) This alternative is enhanced

---

[1]Whether the Greek *Vorlage* represents a tradition dependent upon or independent of the Gospels remains an open question. According to C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 100, the original form of this parable probably only had two sendings of servants before the sending of the son, thus giving "a climactic series of three." Significantly, this is what we find in log. 65, which may indicate that it represents an older tradition than that found in the Synoptics. Cf. McCaughey, *ABR* 8 (1960):24ff.; Wilson, *Studies*, p. 101; Montefiore, *NTS* 7 (1961):236-37; and J. D. Crossan, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," *JBL* 90 (1971):451-65. On the other hand, Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus*, trans. S. H. Hooker, 2nd rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), pp. 71-72, though agreeing that the Synoptic writers have expanded this saying, seems content to accept the three-fold sending of the servants as original. In this case, Grant and Freedman, *Secret Sayings*, p. 162, may be correct when they say that log. 65 is a condensed version of the Synoptic account. Cf. also Schoedel, *CThM* 43 (1972):557-60; and K. R. Snodgrass, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen: Is the Gospel of Thomas Version the Original?" *NTS* 20 (1974-75):142-44.

[2]*Verhältnis*, p. 146. This reading is also found in Mt. 21:42 in PBodmer XIX and probably MS m (printed in Kahle, *Bala'izah*, p. 338).

[3]Cf. the discussion of the ⲚϬⲒ- formulation (which Thomas seems to prefer) for the end of log. 64 on p. 92 above.

when one sees that Thomas translates "corner-stone" differently than the Coptic versions. Therefore, the possibility of Coptic-versional influence upon this saying seems remote. Nevertheless, the chances are good that this logion has been influenced by the Synoptics at some point, despite the addition of "Teach me,"[1] especially since what may otherwise be an independent saying has been attached to the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen just as in the canonical Gospels.[2] If log. 65 has been influenced by the Sahidic version and log. 66 has not, this could indicate that the two sayings were combined some-time after their initial translation into Coptic.

Logion 69b: "Blessed are those who hunger, for (ϣιΝα) the belly of him who desires will be filled." This saying, which is paralleled in Mt. 5:6/Lk. 6:21a, may be closer to the Gospels than it first appears. (i) As Schrage points out,[3] in Lk. 15:16 the variant γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ , "to fill his belly" (Koine A Θ pm lat sy^{sp} bo), stands against χορτάσθηναι, "to be filled, satisfied" (p^{75} B ℵ D L Φ al e f sy$^{c?}$ sa). What this means is that in Coptic, as in other languages, the two phrases are basically syn-onymous. The apparent strangeness of Thomas' wording, then, could, but does not perforce, indicate an independent tradition. (ii) What does, however, decrease the probability of Thomas' being influenced

---

[1] Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 146, suggests that this word ΜΑΤCεβοει could be due to the influence of Lk.-sa. 20:24, par-ticularly because it is the only place that this form occurs in the Sahidic NT. This is possible, but his conjecture is open to ques-tion since he has to admit that the reading is merely a variant and he can only list three relatively late MSS (90 91 114) which read ΜΑΤCαβοι, as opposed to five (9 (15) 41 53 PRainer 3:144) which have ΜΑΤογοει, "show to me." But his case is strengthened some-what by the evidence of PPalau Rib. 181 and M569 which both have ΜΑΤCαβοι.

[2] But, again, cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 102.

[3] *Verhältnis*, p. 150.

by the Coptic versions, is that the latter unanimously utilize ⲥⲉⲓ
(χορτάσθηναι/"to be filled") in Mt. 5:6/Lk. 6:21a, while Thomas

uses the Causative ⲧⲥⲓⲟ ("to make satisfied, sate"). (iii) In

addition, where log. 69b has ΜΑΚΑΡΙΟⲤ, the Coptic versions trans-

late the Greek with ΝΑⲓⲀⲦ⸗ ; (iv) where Thomas has ϣⲓⲛⲁ, the Cop-

tic versions have ⲆⲈ . Consequently, it is not surprising that

Schrage does not explicitly argue for Thomas' dependence upon the

Coptic versions here, since there is very little evidence for it.

Logion 72: "/A man said/ to him: Speak to my brothers that

they may divide my father's possessions with me. He said to him:

O man, who made me a divider? He turned to his disciples, he said

to them: I am not a divider, am I?" (i) Both Schrage and Arthur

argue for the dependence of this saying upon the Sahidic of Lk. 12:

13-14, primarily on the basis that each has "divider" (μεριστής)

only.[1] Schrage attributes the addition of "judge and" to be a later

development in the textual tradition, and "Allerdings ist ein Teil

von sa nachträglich aufgefüllt worden."[2] But to say that only "a

part" of the Sahidic includes the fuller rendition is grossly to

understate the facts: six of seven Sahidic MSS have "judge and divi-

der," including PPalau Rib. 181 (V century),[3] the bilingual δ (VIII

century), and the papyrus fragment k (presumably earlier than δ);

only MS 9 (VII) has "divider." The case for Coptic-versional influ-

ence is not helped when one notes the difference in the two terms

used for "divider": in Thomas it is ⲣⲉϥⲡⲱⲱϫⲉ and in Lk.-sa. it is

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 152; and "Thomas," pp. 61-63.

[2]*Verhältnis*, p. 152.

[3]This MS was unavailable to Schrage.

ρεϥπορⲭ.[1] Schrage, following the lead of Gärtner,[2] tries to at-
tribute the divergence of Thomas from Lk.-sa. to the redactor's de-
sire to maintain the parallelism with the ⲡⲱϣ used earlier in the
saying. This is a possibility worth entertaining, but not entirely
convincing.[3] Schrage's case is better assisted by the testimony of
PPalau Rib. 181 which has, with Thomas, ρεϥπⲱϣ. If this fifth-
century MS represents the original Sahidic version of Lk., then
Thomas might possibly have some connection with Lk.-sa.[4] (ii and
iii) And yet, there are at least two cases where Thomas and the
Greek of Luke agree *against* the Sahidic version: For one thing,
Thomas includes αὐτῷ/ⲛⲁϥ when Lk.-sa. 12:14 probably omits it,[5]
and for another it has ⲛⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲉⲓ ("with me") instead of the ⲉⲭⲱⲛ ("be-
tween us") in Lk.-sa.[6] Thus, we are dealing with mixed evidence.

---

[1]This is clearly read only in MS 9. According to Horner's
apparatus, MSS 89 and 91 apparently have ρεϥⲡⲟⲣⲱ̅, a possible mis-
reading of ρεϥⲡⲟⲣⲭ̅ (cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 271b).

[2]*Theology*, p. 175.

[3]For one thing, this penchant for parallelism cannot neces-
sarily be claimed as a trademark of Thomas as a whole (cf. the three
different words utilized for "evil" in log. 45b as opposed to the
parallel in Lk.-sa. 6:45). This apparent occasional inconsistency
may be a possible indication of the work of various redactors upon
Thomas. It may also reflect the different histories of these two
logia.

[4]Nevertheless, PPalau Rib. 181 still has "judge and divider"
vs. Thomas.

[5]ⲛⲁϥ does occur in PPalau Rib. 181 and MSS 91 129, but it
is omitted in (k) (9?) ⲋ 89 and the Bohairic. Since Coptic has a
tendency to favour the use of the pronoun, its omission (the *lectio
difficilior*) is probably the original reading (with Horner).

[6]Arthur, "Thomas," p. 63, would like to relegate these dif-
ferences to "chance," but this is not likely. Surprisingly enough,
he admits that even Thomas' agreement with Sahidic MS 9 could be due
to chance. Arthur also thinks (pp. 86-87) that the ⲡⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁ ⲟ̣ⲁⲁⲧ
("the one who made me") of Thomas is the earlier reading of ⲡⲉⲛⲧⲁϥ-
ⲕⲁⲑⲓⲥⲧⲁ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ in Lk.-sa., because log. 72 uses the indefinite per-
fect relative particle ⲛ̅ⲧⲁ ⲟ̣-, which is indicative of Achmimic and
a sign of early, pre-standardized Sahidic readings (cf. pp. 97-100).
If this is true, it may be difficult to explain why in Thomas ⲛⲧⲁ ⲟ̣-

But while it is interesting that Thomas agrees with the "divider" of MS 9 and the ρϵϥⲡⲱⲏ of PPalau Rib. 181, making the influence of the Sahidic version conceivable, the differences between Thomas and Lk.-sa. make the dependence of the former upon the latter less than likely.[1]

Logion 73: "Jesus said: The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few; but beseech the Lord that he may send labourers into the harvest." This saying is so close to its Synoptic parallels (Mt. 9:37-38/Lk. 10:2) that it seems likely that it has had some contact with its canonical counterpart, but it is difficult to say upon what level. (i) Perhaps the most persuasive argument for Coptic-versional influence is the fact that Thomas uses the relatively rare ⲥⲟⲃⲕ̄ ("few").[2] This word occurs only seven times in the Sahidic NT; of the 41 times that ὀλιγος is used in the NT, it is translated by ⲥⲟⲃⲕ̄ only twice--in this saying in Mt. and Lk. Therefore, that Thomas uses this word instead of another (such as ⲩϩⲙ or ⲕⲟⲩⲓ), speaks strongly for Sahidic-versional influence. (ii) It is also noteworthy that Thomas, Lk.-sa., and three of six MSS of Mt.-sa. share Δⲉ against nearly all other authorities.[3] Of course, it must be admitted that in Thomas Δⲉ precedes ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ

---

is attached to ⲁⲁ= (the pronominal form of ⲉⲓⲣⲉ), which is a form that Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 83a, assigns exclusively to Sahidic.

[1] Cf. the excellent article by Tjitze Baarda, "Luke 12, 13-14: Text and Transmission from Marcion to Augustine," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Graeco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith*, Part One: *New Testament*, ed. J. Neusner, Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 12 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975), pp. 107-62--regarding the Gospel of Thomas, pp. 121ff., and especially the relationship of log. 72 to the Coptic versions, pp. 121, 143.

[2] Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 153; and Arthur, "Thomas," pp. 63-65.

[3] Cf. ibid.

("the Lord") and in the Sahidic version Ⲇⲉ follows it; it is also

possible that in both cases the Ⲇⲉ has evolved transcriptionally

from an original ⳹ⲉ (as its presence in three Mt.-sa. MSS and M569

could indicate). There are, to be sure, other differences between

Thomas and the Sahidic version: (iii) Thomas has ⳡⲓⲛⲁ where the

Sahidic has ⲝⲉ/ⲝⲉⲕⲁⲥ, and (iv) Thomas uses the Fut. II ⲉⳡⲛⲁⲛⲉⲝ

("he may send," lit. "throw") where the Sahidic uses the Fut. III

ⲉⳡⲉⲛⲉⲝ.[1] Nevertheless, the evidence of verbal possibilities weighs

in favour of at least some Coptic-versional influence; not only are

the odds against Thomas using ⲧⲟⲃ̄ⲕ̄ independently, but (v) it also

uses ⲛⲁⳡⳡ= ("great") in harmony with the Sahidic version, when al-

ternatives such as ʾⲁⁱ, ⲛⲁⲁ=, ⲣ ⲛⲟ⳹, or perhaps some form of ⲙⲏⲏⳡⲉ

or ʾⲟⲅⲟ, or even some other word could have been selected. There

does, then, seem to be a relatively high probability that the trans-

lator/redactor of log. 73 has been influenced by the Sahidic version.

Logion 76a: "Jesus said: The kingdom of the Father is like

a man, a merchant, who possessed a load (of goods). Having found a

pearl, that merchant was wise; he sold the load (of goods); he bought

the one pearl for himself." It is not the verbal similarities of

this saying which offer potential connections with the Coptic versions;

---

[1] In the latter case, Arthur, "Thomas," pp. 87-88, considers
this evidence that Lk.-sa. originally used ⲉⳡⲛⲁⲛⲉⲝ instead of the
ⲉⳡⲉⲛⲉⲝ in the present MSS, since the Fut. II in place of the Fut.
III is the supposed mark of an earlier, pre-Sahidic reading (cf. log.
65 and pp. 63 n. 1 and 66 n. 2 of this thesis). His assumption is
not necessarily true, however, since a verb constructed with ⲛⲁ⁻
is a not infrequent means by which the Sahidic translates the Greek
aorist subjunctive: cf. Plumley, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 149.
Moreover, the Sahidic version here is almost obligated to use the
Fut. III, since the verb indicates a wish and occurs in a final
clause introduced by ⲝⲉ/ⲝⲉⲕⲁⲥ: cf. Till, *Grammatik*, §§308, 361-62;
Lefort, *Muséon* 61 (1948):65-73; and Wilson, *Future Tenses*, p. 105:
"Of at least seven different ways employed by the Copts to express
final clauses, the use of *jeka(a)s* or *je* with *efesōtm* /Future III/
is most common, accounting for about 80 percent of all examples of
Future III in the New Testament."

it is the textual similarities. Schrage outlines three of interest:[1]
(i) the Sahidic and Bohairic of Mt. 13:46, as well as Thomas, follow
"he bought" with ℵⲁϥ ("for himself"), which is not in the Greek
of Mt.; (ii) the Sahidic, Bohairic, Fayyumic, and Thomas all omit
ἔνα (but Thomas does include ⲟ⳨ⲱⲧ at the end of the saying); and
(iii) all four of these witnesses have O⳨ⲣⲱⲙⲉ Ⲛ̄ⲉϣⲱⲧ ("a man, a
merchant"), whereas the best Greek witnesses have merely "a merchant,"
and as the second occurrence of ⲡⲉϣⲱⲧ in log. 76a indicates, the
fuller form is not necessary for Coptic. Taken by itself, this is
rather convincing evidence. It must also be noted, however, that in
each of the above cases, the variant mentioned also occurs else-
where: (i) sy^{sc}; (ii) D Θ pc it sy^c; and (iii) C Koine D W Θ
λ Φ pl lat sy Or Cyr. The possibility of other influences upon Thom-
as, especially the Syriac tradition, cannot be overlooked. Whatever
the case, the facts that Thomas' meaning is difficult to discern
without reference to Mt., and that, like Mt., Thomas connects this
saying with a saying about treasure,[2] are good indications that log.
76 has had Synoptic contact at some time.[3]

Logion 78: "Jesus said: Why did you come out to the field?
To see a reed shaken by the wind? And to see a man dressed in soft
clothes? /Behold, your_/ kings and your great men are they who are
dressed in soft /_clothes_/, and they /_will_/ not be able to know the
truth." Here is a clear example where Thomas and the Coptic versions

_____

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 157.

[2]Cf. ibid., pp. 156-57; and Gärtner, *Theology*, p. 38.

[3]Of course, in the case of the latter argument, one may
ask: Why then is log. 76a (Mt. 13:45-46) not attached to log. 109
(Mt. 13:44)? Cf. Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):259-61, who thinks this
logion is probably from an independent parable collection.

disagree.[1] (i) On the one hand, Thomas has interpreted the Greek τι of Mt. 11:7-8/Lk. 7:24-25 to mean "Why," ending the question before "to see"; the Coptic versions, on the other hand, take τι to mean "What" and end the question after "to see." This would most likely mean that the Coptic Thomas was translated from a written Greek *Vorlage* in very much the same form as, if not identical to, our Gospels.[2] (ii) In addition, Thomas is closer to the Greek than the Coptic gospels (with the exception of Lk.-bo.) because it translates κάλαμον ὑπὸ ἀνέμου σαλευόμενον with a Coptic passive form ("a reed shaken by the wind"), not with a Coptic active form ("a reed which the wind shakes"). This might suggest that log. 78 and the Coptic versions are independent translations from the same or similar Greek texts. Schrage denies this, proposing instead that the Coptic of Thomas has been revised to conform to a Greek text.[3] (iii) To support his view of dependence upon the Coptic versions, he cites the common definite article before "wind" which Thomas, the Sahidic, and Mt.-bo. share against the Greek; (iv) and, he notes that Thomas includes "clothes" with the Coptic versions, even though the Greek of Mt. omits it.[4] Yet, the first argument can hardly be considered "significant,"[5] and Thomas could have borrowed the word "clothes" from the Greek of Lk. (not to mention that Thomas uses ϣⲧⲏⲛ while the Coptic versions use ϩⲃⲥⲱ/ϩⲃⲟⲟⲥ). Consequently, the influence of the Coptic gospels on log. 78 is very unlikely. Nevertheless, the underlying Greek of both was quite similar and the influence of the Synoptics upon the Greek of log. 78 is not impossible.

---

[1] Cf. Arthur, "Thomas," p. 69.   [2] Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 64.

[3] *Verhältnis*, p. 161.   [4] Ibid., p. 162.

[5] Coptic is frequently inconsistent when translating a word with or without an article. Cf. Plumley, "Limitations," p. 148; and Mink, "Koptischen Versionen," pp. 216-17.

Logion 79a,b: "A woman from the crowd said to him: Blessed is the womb which bore you and the breasts which nourished you. He said to /her/: Blessed are those who have heard the word of the Father; they have kept it in truth. For there will be days when you will say: Blessed is the womb which has not conceived and those breasts which have not given milk." (i) As Schrage has observed, Thomas in log. 79 seems to have taken two sayings found elsewhere only in Lk. (11:27-28; 23:29) and connected them with the phrase μακαρία ἡ κοιλία .[1] He also avers that (ii) the ϧⲛ ⲟⲩⲙⲉ ("in truth") is a secondary addition (cf. log. 69a); (iii) that the omission of "the barren" (Lk. 23:29) is to emphasize not un-fruitfulness, but that voluntary abstinence is to be considered blessed; and finally, (iv) that Thomas renders the αἱ κοιλίαι of Lk. 23:29 in the singular perhaps to retain the parallelism with log. 79a. As far as outside influences are concerned, Schrage concedes that there are no similarities of significance between log. 79 and the Coptic versions.[2] On the contrary, at least several key words are different--(v) in log. 79a Thomas uses ⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ where the Coptic versions use ϣⲁϫⲉ; (vi) in log. 79b it uses ⲱⲱ ("to conceive") instead of the ⲙⲓⲥⲉ of the Sahidic/Bohairic,[3] and (vii) ϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ("to give milk") instead of ⲧⲥⲛ̄ⲕⲥ (Sahidic--"to give suck") or ⲥⲁⲁⲛϣ/ϣⲁⲛϣ (Bohairic--"to nourish"). (viii) Also, the Sahidic version renders μαστοί οὓς ἐθήλασας (Lk. 11:27) with ⲛ̄ⲉⲕⲓⲃⲉ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲧⲁⲕⲗⲓ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲟⲩ (literally, "the breasts, these which you received them"), while log. 79a (and the Bohairic) use ⲛ̄ⲕⲓⲃⲉ ⲉⲛⲧⲁϩ

---

[1] *Verhältnis*, p. 165.   [2] Ibid., p. 166.

[3] Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 518a, does not give γεννάω as an equivalent to ⲱⲱ, but the basic meaning of both words is the same, and thus this does not eliminate the possibility that Thomas' *Vorlage* had γεννάω.

ⲥⲁ�?ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲕ ("the breasts which nourished you"). It therefore seems that little influence of the Coptic versions upon Thomas can be claimed. (ix) Nevertheless, after saying all this, it is intriguing to note that for "blessed" Thomas reads ⲛⲉⲉⲓⲁⲧ= (with the Coptic versions) instead of its customary ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ. In fact, this is the only logion in which Thomas translates μακάριος into a Coptic word, a procedure which the Coptic versions practise regularly. Thus, this could be due to Coptic-versional influence. But if we conclude that Thomas is a translation independent of the Coptic versions, as is more likely, are we here dealing with a saying which has a different history from the rest of Thomas' "beatitudes"?

Logion 86: "Jesus said: /The foxes have_7 the/ir holes_7 and the birds have /their_7 nest, but the Son of Man has no place to lay his head and rest." (i) The fact that this is the only place in Thomas where ⲡⲩⲏⲣⲉ ⲙ̄ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ("the Son of Man") occurs lends considerable weight to the argument that log. 86 is dependent upon Mt. 8:20/Lk. 9:58.[1] There is, however, a dearth of evidence for its dependence upon the Coptic versions. (ii) Schrage[2] does note that of the 47 times ποῦ is used in the NT, it is translated with ⲙⲁ only four times in the Sahidic version, and two of them are here.[3] That Thomas uses ⲙⲁ is therefore telling evidence for dependence. But what Schrage does not mention is that there are only four places in the Synoptic gospels where ποῦ functions not like an interrogative, but more like a relative pronoun; in every one of these cases, the Sahidic version translates ποῦ with ⲙⲁ. Since this is its function in Thomas, ⲙⲁ cannot be counted as too unusual. (iii) In addition, not much force can be assigned to Schrage's arguments about

---

[1] Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 169.   [2] Ibid.

[3] The other two places are Mk. 15:47 and Lk. 12:17.

the possessive articles with "holes," "nest," and "head" which Thomas and the Coptic versions have in common, because, as we have seen before, the addition of possessive articles is a natural tendency for the Coptic language.[1] (iv) Similarly, though the repetition of the verb ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲩ after "birds" in both Thomas and the Sahidic version[2] is interesting, it could also be due to the Coptic tendency to supply a "missing" verb.[3] In view of the lack of positive proof, then, as well as the small differences between Thomas and the Coptic versions, the dependence of the former upon the latter seems unlikely for this logion.

Logion 89: "Jesus said: Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not understand that he who made the inside is also he who made the outside?" There are several things which tell against any influence of the Coptic of Mt. 23:25/Lk. 11:39-40 here:
(i) While the Coptic versions have ⲧⲃ̄ⲃⲟ for "to cleanse," Thomas utilizes ⲉⲓⲱ ("to wash"), a word which the Sahidic NT never uses to translate καθαρίζειν. (ii) The Coptic versions translate ποτή-ριον, but Thomas transliterates it. (iii) The Coptic versions of Lk. 11:40 begin the question with ⲙⲏ, which Thomas does not.
(iv) But perhaps the evidence most damaging to the case of Coptic-versional influence is the fact that the versions follow the order of "outside . . . inside" while Thomas reverses this order. And yet,

---

[1]Cf. Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):238-39. Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963):214, who believes that log. 86 has been influenced by a Syrian text, suggests that the Sahidic version, too, has been influenced by some Syrian text.

[2]For Lk.-sa., Horner prints a text identical to Mt.-sa., but PPalau Rib. 181, M569, and MS 91 have ⲟⲩⲛⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲁϣⲟⲣ . . . ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ϩⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲡⲉ. The verb is thus repeated *before* the subject.

[3]Cf. log. 33, 91b, 100, and their Coptic-versional parallels.

despite these differences, Schrage and Arthur make out a rather

plausible case for Thomas' dependence upon these versions.[1]

(v)   They note that of the 223 times that ποιεῖν occurs in the

Synoptics, the Sahidic version translates it with ΤΑΜιο only six

other times;[2] because this is the word log. 89 uses, Thomas must

have borrowed it from the Sahidic.   Of course, it should be recog-

nized that ΤΑΜιο is a favourite Coptic word for "to create," and

it is often used thus in contexts where ποιεῖν has this connota-

tion (cf. Mt. 19:4/Mk. 10:6), but even this slight objection cannot

completely nullify this argument.   (vi)   Schrage and Arthur further

claim that the N̄Τοϥ which Thomas and the Coptic versions share is

superfluous to the Coptic, and the addition of the word is too un-

usual to be attributed to chance.   (vii)   Schrage also notes that

Thomas and Lk.-bo. 11:40 translate καί with ON, but this is not

unusual, and a translator could have used this word independently.[3]

Thus, the case for dependence upon the Sahidic version is strong;

but we have also seen that independence is a viable possibility.   It

is therefore difficult, if not impossible, to come to a final conclu-

sion for log. 89 at this point.

   Logion 91b: "He said to them: You test the face of the

heaven and the earth, and him who is before you you have not known,

and this moment you do not know to test."   This saying, with paral-

lels in Mt. 16:3b/Lk. 12:56, is one of the most interesting in

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, p. 171; and "Thomas," pp. 55-56.

[2]Mt. 17:4/Mk. 9:5/Lk. 9:33; Mt. 19:4/Mk. 10:6; and Lk. 12:33.

[3]Arthur, "Thomas," pp. 55, 80, suggests that Thomas' ON is
the earlier and correct reading of the Sahidic negative particle ΑN
in Lk. 11:40.   This is a useful, though unprovable suggestion which
may help explain the seemingly "difficult" ΑN in this verse.   It
should, however, be remembered that this "difficult" ΑN is not only
present in the Bohairic version (though in a different place), but
also present in the same verse as ON.

Thomas when compared with the NT MS evidence. As far as the Coptic

versions are concerned, it is noteworthy that this saying is omitted

completely from the Sahidic of Mt. Nonetheless, Schrage notes sev-

eral similarities with the Coptic of Lk.[1] (i) For one thing,

Thomas, Lk.-sa., and Lk.-bo. have "the heaven and the earth" (with

$p^{45,75}$ $\aleph^c$ D K L Π 28 33 157 1241 pm it vg sy^{sc} arm eth Mcion), an

order which is against the majority of printed Greek texts. (ii) In

addition, against the Greek majority, all three read ΤΕΤ͞ΝⲤⲟⲟ⳨Ν

("you know") in the last clause (with p^{75} $\aleph$ B L O 33 pc (sy^{sc})

Mcion). This is evidence of major importance. Minor agreements

given by Schrage, insignificant in and of themselves, are (iii) the

omission by Thomas of Δ∈ with Sahidic MS 91 of Lk. (as well as sy^{sc}

L Ta^{ap}), and (iv) the omission of ⲡ⳽ⲱⲤ with Bohairic MSS B 96 and

Sahidic MS 89 (also D 1241 1573 sy^{sc} it Mcion). (v) Two other

pieces of evidence which Schrage offers seem totally incoherent:

He first notes that, at the beginning of the saying, Thomas and Lk.-

sa. have the objects at the end of the sentence (conversely, Lk.-bo.

has "the face of the heaven and the earth you know to test"). He

then observes that at the end of the saying Thomas and Lk.-bo. have

the object at the beginning of the sentence (against Lk.-sa.: "you

do not know to test this moment"). Schrage thus seems to imply that

log. 91b has been influenced by the Sahidic word order in one part

of the saying and by Bohairic word order in another part. It would

appear more reasonable, however, to suggest that the Sahidic is fol-

lowing natural Coptic word order, the Bohairic is making an attempt

to follow the Greek literally, and Thomas is going its own way. But

one must admit, despite the relatively minor agreements and disagree-

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, pp. 175-76.

ments,[1] that the textual similarities between log. 91b and the Coptic versions are striking and could well indicate that it has been influenced by them. And yet each textual variant also has several other witnesses besides the Coptic versions, and the possible influence of these witnesses (some of which will be discussed in subsequent chapters) cannot be excluded.

Logion 93: "Do not give what is holy to the dogs, lest they cast them on the dung-heap; do not cast the pearls to the swine, lest they make it $\underline{/}$. . .$\underline{/}$." (i) It is difficult for even Schrage to determine whether this saying was initially dependent upon Mt. 7:6 or not,[2] but one thing that arouses the suspicion that the differences of Thomas are secondary additions is the grammatical inconsistency of this saying. For instance, Thomas agrees with Mt. in number everywhere they are parallel, but as soon as Thomas departs from Mt., the number of the pronouns differs from their antecedents. In other words, ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ("what is holy") is singular, but ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲟϫⲟⲩ ("they (the dogs) cast *them*") is plural; ⲛ̅ⲙ̅ⲙⲁⲣⲅⲁⲣⲓⲧⲏⲥ ("pearls") is plural, but ⲛⲥⲩⲁⲁⲩ ("they (the swine) make *it*") is singular.[3] (ii) Moreover, the "lest" paralleled in Mt. is ⲱⲓⲛⲁ ϫⲉ in Thomas, but the earlier "lest" in Thomas is the synonymous, but different, ϫⲉⲕⲁⲥ. This could indicate that log. 93 started in a form very close to Mt., but subsequently underwent careless redaction. To connect this saying with the Coptic versions, however, is

---

[1]Two disagreements not so minor are the different words used for "to test" (Thomas--ⲣ̅ⲡⲓⲣⲁⲍⲉ; Coptic versions--ⲇⲟⲕⲓⲙⲁⲍⲉ) and for "moment/time" (Thomas-- ⲕⲁⲓⲣⲟⲥ; Coptic versions-- ⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲱ/ⲥⲏⲟⲩ).

[2]*Verhältnis*, p. 179.

[3]Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 107, suggests that the redactor has thus created an "inversion of opposite elements" (chiasmus of terms).

a slightly different matter. (iii) Schrage[1] affirms such a connection largely on the basis that Thomas and the Coptic versions omit the article (found in the Greek) before ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ("what is holy"). He suggests that the "ⲡ" is not the normal definite article, since ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ is one of those substantive relatives which had become so common that the definite article was assimilated.[2] Quecke says that this is possible, but not necessarily so in every case;[3] it is therefore not unassailable proof for Thomas' dependence upon the Coptic gospels.[4] (iv) Another argument put forth by Schrage is that Thomas replaces ἔμπροσθεν with the simple dative, just as the Sahidic has probably done,[5] and therefore was most likely under Sahidic-versional influence. Even if this were true, however, one must still explain why Thomas uses the simple dative ⲛ̄- instead of the Sahidic version's ϧⲁⲣⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̄-.[6] (v) Schrage also mentions that

---

[1]*Verhältnis*, pp. 179-80.

[2]In support of his argument he cites Till, *Grammatik*, §481. According to this line of reasoning, the word with the definite article would be ⲡⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ.

[3]Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):237.

[4]Two other differences from Mt.-sa. should be noted here: (1) Thomas introduces the object ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ directly, and Mt.-sa. indirectly (cf. Till, *Grammatik*, §§258ff.); and (2) MSS (108), M569, PRainer 3:132, and a fragment published by Delaporte, *RB* 13 (1916): 560-64, all have ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲛ̄ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ("*your* holy things").

[5]Schrage enlists support from Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 289a, who says of ϧⲁⲣⲱ⸗ that it "mostly = Gr. dat." But ϧⲁⲣⲱ⸗ literally means "under mouth of" and is analogous to ⲙⲧⲟ, the usual translation of ἔμπροσθεν, which means "in face of." It does seem possible, therefore, especially in light of the previous "ⲛ̄-" before "dogs," that the Sahidic version intends to convey a little more than merely being "eine Umschreibung des Dativs."

[6]Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 179, attributes this to Thomas' desire to maintain the parallel with ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲩϧⲟⲟⲣ ("to the dogs"), yet this would seem to interfere with his argument that Thomas uses the simple dative before "swine" because the *Sahidic version* does. Cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):186, who thinks that because log. 93 uses the simple dative here, as well as omitting ὑμῶν, it is based upon independent tradition.

Thomas omits ὑμῶν with the Bohairic MS N, but it is difficult to see how this has any great significance. We must conclude, therefore, that there is no substantial proof that log. 93 has been influenced by the Coptic versions.

Logion 94: "Jesus /said/: He who seeks will find /and he who knocks/, to him it will be opened." (i) The most striking similarity between Thomas and the Sahidic of Mt. 7:8/Lk. 11:10 is the rendering "he *will* find," which is against the Present εὑρίσκει of the Greek.[1] This type of harmonization should not be considered too surprising, however, because the Greek ἀνοιγήσεται in the third clause of the saying is Future. But what makes this saying in Coptic all the more unusual is that in other traditions where apparent harmonizing has taken place, ἀνοιγήσεται has been changed to *Present* instead of changing εὑρίσκει to *Future*. The Sahidic version is the only major witness to render unanimously εὑρίσκει in the Future (some others being 99 f l Aug in Mt., d aur f r[1] in Lk., and Ta[pn]). Thus, while it is possible that Thomas has made this change on its own, a more probable explanation seems to be the influence of the Sahidic version, though a possible Diatessaric connection cannot be overlooked.[2] (ii) The other Coptic peculiarity in this saying, the addition of Nⲁ4 ("to him"), should not be considered too significant, since this addition of the pronoun when translating a Greek dative participle is a tendency of the language.[3] (iii) Schrage also thinks it unusual that ϭⲓⲛⲉ is used here in Thomas for "to find" when Ϩⲉ is normally the favourite word of

---

[1]Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 182.

[2]See the discussion of log. 94 in the next chapter.

[3]Cf. Mt. 5:42; but also cf. sy[sc] arm for Lk. 11:10.

Thomas.[1] In fact, in the logia where we find εὑρίσκειν in the Synoptic parallel (log. 64, 76, 90, 107, and reconstructed 109), Thomas and the Sahidic version have ϨⲈ nearly every time. As far as we can tell, it is only log. 92 and 94 where a possible εὑρίσκει is translated by ϬⲒⲚⲈ. Interestingly enough, this just happens to be two of the 23 occasions where the Sahidic NT also translates εὑρίσκει with ϬⲒⲚⲈ.[2] Thus, it is just possible that Thomas is taking its ϬⲒⲚⲈ here from the Coptic versions, but its independent use of it cannot be totally ruled out. In fact, Haenchen very plausibly suggests that when "to find" is rendered by Thomas with ϬⲒⲚⲈ instead of ϨⲈ, it is due to the word-play with ⲰⲒⲚⲈ, "to seek" (cf. log. 2, 92, and 94).[3] Nevertheless, log. 94 and especially Lk.-sa. are very close. (iv) The only difference is Thomas' addition of ⲈϨⲞⲨⲚ, a practically untranslatable adverb attached to ⲠⲈⲦⲦⲞϨⲘ̄ ("he who knocks").[4] Its presence in this saying is difficult to explain, but it is very interesting to note that it also occurs in a parallel saying in Pistis Sophia 184. 11f.[5] In fact,

_____

[1]According to Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 182, ϨⲈ is used in log. 1, 8, 27, 28 (twice), 38, 49, 56, 58, 64, 76 (twice), 77, 80 (twice), 90, 97, 107, 109, and 111; ϬⲒⲚⲈ is used only in log. 2 (twice), 92, and 94. ϨⲈ is also used 149 times in the Sahidic NT for εὑρίσκειν, ϬⲒⲚⲈ 23 times.

[2]Actually, Horner's printed edition has ϥⲚⲀϬⲒⲚⲈ in Lk. 11: 10 without variants, but he prints ϥⲚⲀϨⲈ in Mt. 7:8, following four of his five witnesses. But Horner's MS 126, PRainer 3:134, and Delaporte, *RB* 13 (1916):560-64, all have ϥⲚⲀϬⲒⲚⲈ. Arthur, "Thomas," pp. 88-89, suggests that this could be the earlier reading of Mt.-sa., but since ϥⲚⲀϨⲈ is in Horner's earliest MSS and in M569, and since it is the *lectio difficilior*, this does not appear likely.

[3]Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 12. [4]Cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 195.

[5]The relevant part of this saying is as follows: ⲞⲨⲞⲚ ⲄⲀⲢ ⲚⲒⲘ ⲈⲦⲰⲒⲚⲈ ϥⲚⲀϬⲒⲚⲈ· ⲀⲨⲰ ⲞⲨⲞⲚ ⲚⲒⲘ ⲈⲦⲦⲰϨⲘ̄ ⲈϨⲞⲨⲚ· ⲤⲈⲚⲀⲞⲨⲰⲚ ⲚⲀϥ. The other parallel in PS 347. 15f. does not include ⲈϨⲞⲨⲚ: ⲞⲨⲞⲚ ⲄⲀⲢ ⲚⲒⲘ' ⲈⲦⲰⲒⲚⲈ ϨⲚ̄ ⲞⲨⲀⲖⲎⲐⲒⲀ ϥⲚⲀϬⲒⲚⲈ ⲀⲨⲰ ⲠⲈⲦⲦⲰϨⲘ̄ ⲤⲈⲚⲀⲞⲨⲰⲚ ⲚⲀϥ. Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 182.

the readings of PS also utilize the Future "he will find" and express it with ϭⲓⲛⲉ, while also including only the last two clauses of the Synoptic saying, just like log. 94.[1] This may indicate a connection between the two (see pp. 311-12 below). But as far as Thomas and the Sahidic version are concerned, all things considered, a connection between them in this saying seems fairly likely.[2]

Logion 99: "The disciples said to him: Your brothers and your mother are standing outside. He said to them: Those here who do the will of my father, these are my brothers and my mother. They are the ones who will enter the kingdom of my father." Schrage suggests several places where this saying agrees with the Sahidic of Mt. 12:47f./Mk. 3:32f./Lk. 8:20f. (especially Lk.),[3] but they seem rather minor and insignificant. (i) For instance, he notes that Thomas and Lk.-sa. join "brothers" and "mother" with ⲙⲛ̄,[4] whereas Mt.-sa. and Mk.-sa. use ⲁⲩⲱ. But not only does this apply just to the latter part of the saying (in the earlier part, Mk.-sa. 3:32 also reads ⲙⲛ̄), but it is common practice in Coptic to connect two nouns with ⲙⲛ̄ (cf. log. 55/101, 88). (ii) He also points out that for "outside" Thomas uses ϩⲓ ⲡⲥⲁ ⲛ̄ⲃⲟⲗ with Sahidic MSS 73 91 114 b[1] of

---

[1]But there are differences between them, as a close comparison will quickly reveal. It should also be noted again that the use of ϭⲓⲛⲉ could be due to a word-play with ϣⲓⲛⲉ.

[2]Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 181-82, thinks that the dependence of Thomas in log. 94 upon the Coptic versions proves its dependence in log. 92: "Seek and you will find . . . ." This is possible, but the vast difference between the remainder of log. 92 and the Synoptics, as well as the small amount of material with which to work (three words), calls this assumption into question. What is more, it is conceivable that these two sayings were put into near proximity only after they were translated into Coptic, with log. 94 being influenced by the Coptic versions and log. 92 being translated (or composed) independently.

[3]Ibid., pp. 187-88.

[4]PPalau Rib. 181 has the synonymous ⲛⲙ, a characteristic spelling of this MS (Quecke, *Lucasevangelium*, p. 63).

Lk. and with Mk.-sa.[1] Since, however, the evidence is far from unan-

imous (the earlier MSS often disagreeing with Thomas), and since ϩⲓ

ⲧⲥⲁ ⲛⲃⲟⲗ is quite common for translating ἔξω, its occurrence in

Thomas is not all that conclusive. (iii) Another bit of evidence

which Schrage **educes** is the fact that Thomas and Sahidic MS 114

of Lk. both read ⲉⲧⲣⲉ instead of ⲉⲧⲉⲓⲣⲉ ("one who does"), but this

seems to be nothing more than a variant spelling of the same word.[2]

(iv) Also with MS 114 of Lk. 8:20 (along with MS b of Lk. 8:21),[3]

Thomas shares the inverted reading of "brothers" before "mother."

Both Schrage and Arthur suggest that in this case Thomas could be

following the original reading of the Sahidic of Lk., especially

since the reading of Thomas is the *lectio difficilior*.[4] While this

is possible, the testimony for such a reading is scant and late

(XIII century), and chance agreement cannot be ruled out.[5] It is

thus obvious that such minor evidence merely invites quibbling and

that no convincing proof can be raised to connect log. 99 with the

Sahidic version.

Logion 107: "Jesus said: The kingdom is like a shepherd who

had a hundred sheep. One of them went astray, which was the biggest.

He left ninety-nine; he sought for the one until he found it. Having

made himself weary, he said to the sheep: I love you more than ninety-

nine." This saying differs from the Synoptic saying in Mt. 18:12f./

---

[1] For Lk.-sa., PPalau Rib. 181 also has ϩⲓ ⲧⲥⲁ ⲃⲃⲟⲗ (=ⲛⲃⲥⲗ, cf. Quecke, *Lucasevangelium*, p. 56), but MSS 8 17 23[1] have ⲙ̄ⲧⲥⲁ ⲛⲃⲟⲗ; for Mk.-sa., M569 and PPalau Rib. 182 have merely ϩⲓ ⲃⲟⲗ.

[2] See p. 57 above.

[3] The latter reference is given by Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 187-88, but cannot be confirmed by Horner's edition.

[4] Ibid., and "Thomas," pp. 89-90. Cf. p. 57 above.

[5] As Arthur, "Thomas," pp. 89-90, is forced to admit.

Lk. 15:4f. in several ways, the most obvious being (i) the addition

of "which was the biggest" and (ii) the alteration of the saying

after "he found it." These might indicate independence, or they could

be tendentious expansions of canonical material.[1] Whatever the case,

where log. 107 parallels the Coptic gospels, there are really no

major differences, but the similarities are not too striking, either.

Perhaps the most significant material which the two renditions of the

saying share is the ⲁ(or ⲛ̅)ϥϣⲓⲛⲉ ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ ϣⲁⲛⲧⲉϥϩⲉ ⲉⲣⲟϥ

("he sought for the one until he found it") of Lk.-sa. This parallel

is so significant that, in essence, both Schrage and Arthur are con-

vinced that Thomas is dependent upon Lk.-sa. on the basis of its

testimony alone.[2] (iii) It is unusual enough that the Coptic ver-

sions introduce ϣⲓⲛⲉ ("to seek") into Lk. 15:4, but this could easily

be attributed to the parallel influence of Mt., and it is possible

that Thomas has its ϣⲓⲛⲉ from Mt. also. (iv) It is, however, highly

unusual that Lk.-sa should translate ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός with ⲛ̅ⲥⲁ

ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲁ ("for the one"); that this occurs in Thomas is so significant

that Schrage and Arthur believe that it can hardly be explained by

anything else except the influence of Lk.-sa. Indeed, Arthur attri-

butes its presence in both cases to a mistranslation of the Achmimic

ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲉⲩ ("the one which is lost"), which he presumes was the *Vorlage*

---

[1] William L. Peterson, "The Parable of the Lost Sheep in the Gospel of Thomas and the Synoptics," *NovTest* 23 (1981):128-47, believes that this logion is independent of and more primitive than the Synoptics. Conversely, Schoedel, *CThM* 43 (1972):555-57, leans toward the latter view mentioned above, a view also espoused by Franz Schnider, "Das Gleichnis vom verlorenen Schaf und seine Redaktoren," *Kairos* 19 (1977):146-54; and Andreas Lindemann, "Zur Gleichnisinterpretation im Thomas-Evangelium," *ZNW* 71 (1980):239. Indeed, Schnider and Lindemann think it likely that log. 107 has a direct literary dependence upon the Synoptics.

[2] Cf. *Verhältnis*, pp. 194-95; and "Thomas," pp. 57-60, 107. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 205, denies the influence of the Coptic versions upon this logion.

of both Thomas and the standardized Lk.-sa. This could be true, but
Arthur's assumptions make his case difficult to believe.[1] Could
there be another explanation? Perhaps a look at the context would
help. Here we see that in both the Coptic versions and in Thomas
the sheep that "went astray" is referred to initially as "one (ογλ)
of them." Because this "one" forms the natural antecedent for "the
lost (one)," it is not difficult to see how this apparently natural
inference was drawn, especially in light of the important role the
numbers play in the saying. Hence, instead of "the lost (one),"
Lk.-sa. simply reads "the one" (as opposed to the ninety-nine).[2]
How this phrase happens to appear in Thomas is a slightly different
matter. A redactor could have borrowed it from Lk.-sa. He could,
however, have independently translated "the lost (one)" in his Greek
Vorlage as "the one," or arrived at "the one" completely without
knowledge of the Synoptic form of the saying (it is, after all, a
natural inference).[3] The coincidence of its agreeing with Lk.-sa.
would be only a little less than amazing, but in light of the dif-
ferences between Thomas and the Coptic versions, the influence of
the latter upon the former cannot be taken for granted, and inde-
pendence must remain at least a slight possibility.

---

[1] See pp. 61ff. above.

[2] This is also the most probable explanation for "the one" in
the Persian Diatessaron.

[3] The modification of this saying could well have occurred
on the Coptic, or at least the Greek, level since log. 107 misses
the Semitic word-play between *hadh* ("one") and *hedhwa* ("joy"): cf.
Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, 3rd
ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 184.

D. Conclusions

At the end of this brief study of Thomas and the Coptic ver-

sions, it may be beneficial to pause momentarily to sum up what we

have done. First of all, we have taken every saying which appears

to have reasonable claims to a connection with the Coptic versions

and we have examined it in some detail, paying particular attention

to the places where the saying has a clear Synoptic parallel, and

where it and the Coptic versions agree exactly or obviously conflict.

A similar procedure has also been followed for the sayings where

Schrage or Arthur argue strongly for Coptic-versional influence,

even though upon closer investigation such claims have been found

to be unsubstantiated. Not all of the sayings with close Synoptic

parallels were covered, however, because it was deemed probable that

no Coptic-versional influence existed and that any Gospel influence

must be searched for in another source; most of these sayings will

consequently be discussed later in this thesis.

So, is there any evidence that Thomas has been influenced

by the Coptic versions? From the outset, it must be admitted that

neither an affirmative nor a negative answer to this question can be

proven to the satisfaction of all; we are dealing here primarily with

probability. Thus, we can only assign various degrees of probability

to each logion as to whether or not it has been influenced by the

Coptic versions. If we make three broad categories--"probable" in-

fluence, "possible" influence, and influence "not likely"--and assign

each saying to one of them,[1] then according to the results of this

study we might say that those sayings with "probable" influence of

the Coptic versions are log. 4b, 5b/6c, 65, 73, and 94. Those with

"possible" influence include log. 14b, 14c, 20, 31, 34, 36, 41, 61a,

---

[1]See the Appendix for an overall view.

76a, 89, 91b, and 107. Very often in the case of this group there is also the possibility of influence from another source. Except for those sayings mentioned above, it seems that the influence of the Coptic versions upon Thomas is "not likely," or, at least, there is not enough evidence to prove influence. Of course, such categorization is bound to be somewhat subjective, no matter how objective one tries to be. Moreover, it should be recognized that the evaluation of each saying could easily be altered in the light of further evidence. Nevertheless, these crude categories do serve to give some estimation of the evidence for and against the Coptic-versional influence upon each saying.

But just what type of "influence" are we talking about? Throughout this chapter, the two alternatives in view have been "literary dependence" and "indirect dependence," which would most likely take the form of the influence of the Coptic versions through the memory of a translator/redactor as he worked upon a certain saying. The criteria for establishing literary dependence were set high, but not inordinately so. It was found that in no saying could literary dependence upon the Coptic versions be proven. In fact, the only logia for which the argument could be seriously considered are log. 5b/6c and 65. We must therefore conclude that if a saying is dependent upon the Coptic versions, it is dependent "indirectly."[1]

This brings us to the problem of why some sayings exhibit signs of Coptic-versional influence while others do not. This problem is aptly illustrated by log. 65 and 66. According to our study, the influence upon log. 65 is "probable," but the influence upon log. 66 is "not likely." And yet, it seems that these two sayings have

---

[1]This is not to say, however, that the saying was *initially* dependent upon the Gospels; that is an entirely different question which is basically outwith the scope of this chapter.

been connected under some type of Synoptic influence (see pp. 92-96).

How can the influence of the Coptic versions upon one but not the

other be explained? To answer this, it must be kept in mind that it

is the contention of this thesis that each logion has a separate his-

tory. The phenomenon of log. 65 and 66, as well as similar cases,

seems to support this theory. Thus, it could be that some logia

were translated by one redactor in one place, while others were

translated by someone else, or perhaps even composed in Coptic.

These sayings could have been later collected and ordered in such a

way as to give a "patchwork" appearance as far as Coptic-versional

influence is concerned. Of course, this is only a possibility, but

it is one worth pondering.[1]

Perhaps a simpler explanation for this phenomenon is the hap-

hazard working of a Coptic translator/redactor's memory. It is not

difficult to envisage a scribe, who perhaps had copied the Sahidic

---

[1]Also along these lines, it may be observed that some logia
with "possible" influence tend to be concentrated into loosely formed
blocks. For instance, in log. 1-6, 4b, 5b, and 6c have "probable"
Coptic-versional influence; in log. 89-94, 89, 91b, and 94 have "pos-
sible" or "probable" Coptic-versional influence; but in log. 44-60,
such influence is "not likely" (see the Appendix at the end of this
thesis). Naturally, there are exceptions to this tendency, and per-
haps no convincing conclusions can be drawn from this evidence, but
it may provide a clue as to the history of the growth of the Thomas
collection.

It is in this connection that Munck's thesis offers a pos-
sibility. In *StTh* 14 (1960):133-34, he suggests that POxy 1, 654,
and 655 could represent separate sayings collections which were later
incorporated into Thomas. Interestingly enough, POxy 654 (log. 1-6)
has a high concentration of Coptic-versional influence (log. 4b, 5b,
and 6c), but POxy 1 (log. 26-33) and POxy 655 (log. 36-39) have rela-
tively low concentrations (only log. 31 and 36 have "possible" Coptic-
versional influence). Earlier, the likelihood of Munck's theory was
questioned (p. 5 n. 3 above); but if it is correct, could it be that
POxy 654 was translated by one scribe who was influenced by the Cop-
tic versions and POxy 1 and 655 were translated by scribes who were
not (thus making the Synoptic influence upon log. 31 and 36 other
than Coptic), and then that all three were collected together by a
later redactor? Such questions are easier to ask than to answer,
but at present this supposed situation still appears to be a less
than likely historical reconstruction.

New Testament for the greater part of his life, sitting down to
translate from Greek a work which was somewhat new and strange, but
which in places had wording familiar to him. This scribe could have
been working independently of any specific writing, but when trans-
lating words or phrases parallel to the NT could have instinctively
drawn upon the Coptic words and phrases most familiar to him--those
of the Coptic NT. Such a procedure would go far in explaining why
some sayings bear the marks of Coptic-versional influence while
others do not; indeed, why some *parts* of sayings bear this influence
and other parts do not. But again, this imaginary situation can only
be viewed as a hypothesis. It is important to see, however, that
this "random" influence of the Coptic versions is not impossible to
explain.

Another question which might be asked concerns the identifi-
cation of the Coptic version which has occasionally influenced
Thomas. It is difficult, under the circumstances, to be dogmatic,
but in nearly every case where the influence of the Coptic gospels
appears "probable" or "possible" Thomas is closer to the Sahidic
version than to any other version, even when taking the inherent dia-
lectal differences into consideration. Of course, there are cases
where an exception to this rule could be cited.[1] In such cases it
may be concluded that a scribe well-acquainted with the pre-
standardized Sahidic Bible and being affected by his memory of it,
could easily borrow an occasional word or phrase from another dialect,

---

[1]In some cases, Thomas is generally closer to the Sahidic,
but in specific places it is closer to the Bohairic: e.g., in log.
34 Thomas, with Mt.-bo., has ϣⲁⲩϩⲉ, not the ⲥⲉⲛⲁϩⲉ of Mt.-sa.;
in log. 89, Thomas and Lk.-bo. have ⲟⲛ while Lk.-sa. has ⲁⲛ. In
other sayings, Thomas is nearly as close to the Bohairic as to the
Sahidic: e.g., log. 36, 76a, and 91b; in log. 76a this is also true
of Thomas and the Fayyumic version.

particularly if, as it seems, there were no clear dialectal lines
drawn in this period.[1] It is also possible that various Coptic
scribes worked on Thomas and were each influenced by different ver-
sions. Or, again, some agreement could be fortuitous. Thus, Arthur's
argument that Thomas was influenced by a very early Achmimic version,
while extremely stimulating, cannot really be convincingly substanti-
ated from the evidence at hand. As we have seen, many of his "Ach-
mimicisms" can simply be explained as inherent to the Sahidic dia-
lect.

Finally, and in a similar vein, we might consider whether
Thomas could contain an early reading of the Sahidic gospels which
is now rarely attested or even extinct. When we remember that in
the Synoptic tradition the assimilation of one Gospel to another
frequently occurred, and that Thomas lies outside of this tradition
and dates as early or earlier than any of our present Coptic MSS,
this possibility is certainly conceivable. The problem is *proving*
that a reading of Thomas is the original reading when working with
such meagre or questionable evidence. For instance, when Arthur
contends that ϵⲩⲛⲁⲛⲉⲭ in log. 73 is the original reading of Lk.-sa.
10:2, he does so on the basis of his faulty assumptions and not sound
text-critical criteria. Or, in log. 99 where he insists ⲛⲉⲕⲥⲛⲏⲩ
ⲙⲛ̄ ⲧⲉⲕⲙⲁⲁⲩ ("your brothers and your mother") is the original

---

[1]Cf. pp. 39-40 above. For example, PPalau Rib. 181, which,
although a Sahidic document, is sometimes closer to the Bohairic ver-
sion than to the Sahidic version: e.g., ⲣⲉⲩⲡⲱϣ (Lk.-bo. ⲣⲉⲩ ϥⲱϣ)
in Lk. 12:14 (log. 72) as opposed to the usual Lk.-sa. ⲣⲉⲩⲡⲟⲣⲭ
("divider"). Also cf. the Sahidic M569, which, in Mt. 23:25/Lk. 11:39
(log. 89), has ⲁⲡⲟⲧ ("cup"), a basically Bohairic word, as opposed
to the normal Sahidic synonym ⲭⲱ. In Mt. 13:25, M569 has, with
Mt.-bo., (and Mt.-fay) ϧⲉⲛⲉⲛⲧⲏϭ ("weeds") instead of the ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲏϭ
("weed") in Mt.-sa.

reading of Lk.-sa. 8:20, he has only the testimony of MS 114 of the XIII century, when MSS 8 17 73 85 86 91 23^1 b^1 (VII-XIV) witness to the reading as printed in Horner. Nevertheless, the reading of ⲟⲛ in log. 89, for example, does commend itself as possibly the correct reading in place of ⲁⲛ in Lk.-sa. 11:40. But unfortunately, Thomas does not appear to many text critics to be a dependable textual witness.

We must therefore conclude that, to a certain extent, Schrage and Arthur are justified in claiming Coptic-versional influence upon Thomas. This influence does not, however, appear to be as pervasive as Schrage avers. Time and again, where he sees dependence there is not enough evidence to uphold his claim. Even the few sayings advocated by Arthur for dependence do not always appear worthy of this appellation. But the contrary evidence notwithstanding, there are sayings where the influence of the Coptic versions upon Thomas is a definite possibility.

III. THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND

THE DIATESSARON

As the logia in the previous chapter were examined, it soon

became apparent that in many of the sayings where there is the pos-

sibility of dependence upon the Synoptic gospels, the Coptic versions

are an unlikely source of influence. We must then ask: could there

be an alternate source? The clear implications of the previous

chapter would suggest that there may be, for at several points Thom-

as seems closer to the Diatessaron or the Old Syriac gospels than to

the Coptic gospels. Hence, a possible relationship between Thomas

and these texts should be investigated. Ideally, because the prob-

lems of the Diatessaron and Old Syriac gospels are so closely con-

nected, this discussion should fall under one chapter. Unfortunate-

ly, the mass of material prohibits this and, for the sake of conveni-

ence, the relationship between Thomas and the Old Syriac gospels

will be reserved for the following chapter.

One might well ask, however, how a document discovered in

Egypt and written in Coptic, with a probable Greek predecessor, can

possibly be compared with the *Syriac* Gospel tradition. The answer

is that, as we shall see, there is strong evidence which indicates

that Thomas might have had a Syrian origin.[1] Moreover, the date

given to Thomas' genesis is between A.D. 140 and 190, and Tatian

presumably completed the Diatessaron in this period (ca. A.D. 170).

Thus, a connection between the two could well be possible. There-

----

[1]The first writer to argue for a Syrian origin was Puech,
CRAI (1957):156.

fore, the first course of action will be the examination of the evidence for Thomas' Syrian origin, after which a course similar to that of the previous chapter will be pursued.

A. Evidence for the Syrian Origin of Thomas

There are basically three arguments for Thomas' Syrian origin:[1] (1) since these "secret words" were written by "Didymos Judas Thomas," there must be a connection with the "Judas Thomas" tradition of Syria; (2) the Semitisms in Thomas point to a Syrian origin; and (3) many passages of Thomas have close affinities with Syrian writings, especially the Diatessaron. The last argument, of course, is the subject of this chapter; but the fact that it is sometimes given as a proof of Thomas' Syrian provenance seems to be dangerously close to circular reasoning, or at least begging the question. The first two, however, deserve further comment before we proceed to the third.

The Coptic Gospel of Thomas begins, "These are the secret words which the living Jesus spoke and Didymos Judas Thomas wrote." The purported author of this work is thus explicitly stated. But who is this Didymos Judas Thomas supposed to be? One possibility is the apostle Thomas, who, according to tradition, was the first to evangelize India, but who also is said to have had dealings with the

---

[1]Cf. Cullmann, *ThLZ* 85 (1960):327; Koester, "GNOMAI DIA-PHOROI," pp. 127-28; Quispel, "Gnosis and the New Sayings of Jesus," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 38 (1969):261ff.; and Klijn, *NovTest* 14 (1972):70, 77. Other scholars who favour a Syrian provenance for Thomas include Doresse, Guillaumont, van Unnik, Schippers, Baarda, Montefiore, Haenchen, Strobel, Stead, Schrage, Baker, Akagi, Ménard, J. D. Thomas, Vielhauer, and Kaestli. Cf. the bibliographical note in Lincoln, *NovTest* 19 (1977):65; and p. 22 n. 3 above. Many of these scholars go further to specify the exact location in Syria--the city of Edessa, but this may be going too far: in addition to Ehlers, *NovTest* 12 (1970):284-317, cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 76. Also relevant is the discussion of Kurt Rudolph, "Gnosis und Gnostizismus, ein Forschungsbericht," *ThR* 37 (1972):347ff.

earliest church in Syria.[1] The other possibility is Judas, the

brother of Jesus, whom some traditions claim to be Jesus' "twin"

("Thomas"--Aramaic חְאֹמָה, Syriacܬܐܘܡܐ; "Didymos"--Greek δίδυμος).[2]

Nowhere, however, does the New Testament associate the two charac-

ters, although in Jn. 11:16 and 20:24, the apostle is called Θωμᾶς

ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος. Perhaps the earliest known combination of

the two names occurs in Jn. 14:22 of sy[c] where, for "Judas, not the

Iscariot," this manuscript has "Judas Thomas" (ܬܐܘܡܐ ܝܗܘܕܐ).[3]

Precisely what prompted this coalescence of the two names and charac-

ters is unclear. Fitzmyer seems to suggest that the confusion of the

two different "twins" (חְאֹמָה, δίδυμος) was the cause.[4] Gunther

thinks the Encratites confused Judas Thaddaeus (brother of Jesus and

apostle of Syria) and Didymos Thomas (who was alleged to be the

spiritual twin of the Lord and the apostle of Parthia).[5] Koester,

on the other hand, asserts that "The identity of Judas, brother of

---

[1]Cf. Günther Bornkamm, "The Acts of Thomas," in *NTApo*, 2:298f.
(ET 2:427f.). Cf. also *NTApo* 1:205ff. (ET 1:286f.), 2:29f. (ET 2:59f.);
and W. Bauer, "The Abgar Legend," in *NTApo*, 1:325ff. (ET 1:437ff.).
For rather thorough discussions of the early beginnings of Christi-
anity in Edessa, see Walter Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest
Christianity*, 2nd ed. with appendices by Georg Strecker, trans. by a
team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, ed. R. A.
Kraft and G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 1ff.;
and J. B. Segal, *Edessa, 'The Blessed City'* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
1970), pp. 62ff.; Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 4-10, covers the mate-
rial more succinctly. Cf. also H. J. W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs
at Edessa*, EPRO 82 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), esp. pp. 194-96.

[2]Cf. A. F. J. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas*, NovTest Suppl. 5
(Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962), p. 37; and *idem*, *NovTest* 14 (1972):76.
Also useful are Klijn's notes in his "John xiv 22 and the Name Judas
Thomas," in *Studies in John Presented to J. N. Sevenster*, NovTest
Suppl. 24 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 88.

[3]Sy[s] reads "Thomas."   [4]*Essays*, p. 369.

[5]John J. Gunther, "The Meaning and Origin of the Name << Judas
Thomas>>," *Muséon* 93 (1980):113-48.

the Lord, with Thomas, is more likely a primitive tradition than a later confusion."[1] Whatever the case, a "Judas Thomas" tradition can be traced through several Syrian writings.[2] The fact that *only in Syria* is there an apostle spoken of as "Judas Thomas" is significant--since a similar name is found in the prologue of the Gospel of Thomas, this could reflect a Syrian origin for the work.[3]

Moreover, the character Thomas in the Gospel of Thomas is the recipient of special, secret revelations from Jesus; we need only to note the prologue and log. 13:

> Jesus said to his disciples: Make a comparison to me, and tell me whom I am like. Simon Peter said to him: You are like a righteous angel. Matthew said to him: You are like a wise man of understanding. Thomas said to him: Master, my mouth will not be at all able to say whom you are like. Jesus said: I am not your master, since you have drunk, you have become drunk from the bubbling spring which I have measured out. And he took him and withdrew. He spoke to him three words. Now when Thomas came to his companions, they asked him: What did Jesus say to you? Thomas said to them: If I tell you one of the words which he said to me, you will take stones and throw at me, and fire will come from the stones and burn you up.

A similar privileged position is occupied by the Judas Thomas of Syrian tradition. This is particularly evident in the Acts of Thomas, especially chapter 39:

---

[1]"GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," p. 134. Cf. Klijn, "John xiv 22," p. 96.

[2]Cf. Puech, *CRAI* (1957):154, who lists the writings of Tatian, Ephraem, Doctrine of the Apostles, and Acts of Thomas. He also mentions that the "Judas Thomas" tradition occurs in some Syrian documents quoted by Eusebius, *H.E.* 1. 13. 11. Cf. Puech also in *NTApo*, 1:205ff. (ET 1:286f.). The work "Thomas the Contender" may also be added to the list: see John D. Turner, "A New Link in the Syrian Judas Thomas Tradition," in *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhlig*, ed. M. Krause, NHS 3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 109-19.

[3]So W. C. van Unnik, *Openbaringen uit Egyptisch Zand* (The Hague: Uitgeverijvan Keulen N.V., 1958; ET: *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1960), p. 49 (ET); Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," pp. 127-28; and others.

And the mouth of the colt was opened, and it spake like a
man by the power of our Lord, and said to him /Judas/: Twin
of the Messiah, and Apostle of the Most High, and sharer in
the hidden word of the Life-giver, and receiver of the se-
cret mysteries of the Son of God; freeborn, who didst become
a slave, to bring many to freedom by thy obedience; son of
a great family, who became bereaved, that by the power of
thy Lord thou mightest deprive the enemy of many, so that
thou mightest become the cause of life to the country of
the Indians; (thou) who didst come against thy will to men
who were straying from God, and, lo, by the sight of thee
and by thy godly words they are turned unto life; mount (and)
ride me, and rest until thou enterest the city.[1]

Here, then, is additional evidence that the Gospel of Thomas is in

some way connected to and influenced by this apparently early Judas

Thomas tradition in Syria, thus convincing many scholars of its

Syrian origin.

But there is more. The Semitisms detected in Thomas by

many scholars tend to confirm the above arguments. A possible

Aramaic or Syrian background to Thomas had been intimated by Puech

and Quispel,[2] and Garitte had made note of a couple possible Semit-

isms,[3] but it was not until Guillaumont[4] that the investigation of

---

[1]From the translation of the Syriac given by W. Wright,
*Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, Edited from Syriac Manuscripts in
the British Museum and Other Libraries* (London: Williams and Nor-
gate, 1871), 2:180. Wright's translation is also available in
Klijn, *Acts of Thomas*. The Greek version is given in Max Bonnet,
Acta Thomae (Lipsiae: Mendelssohn, 1883). Cf. the translation of
Bornkamm, in *NTApo*, 2:309ff. (ET 2:442ff.), which takes both ver-
sions into account. The special place of Thomas can also be seen in
chapters 10, 47, and 78 of the Acts. Puech, in *NTApo*, 1:207 (ET
1:287), notices several other similarities between the Gospel of
Thomas and the Acts of Thomas and concludes that the latter is de-
pendent upon the former.

[2]Cf. Puech, *CRAI* (1957):146ff., esp. 165, 167; and Quispel,
VigChr 11 (1957):189ff.

[3]*Muséon* 70 (1957):65-66. Garitte notices the use of a pos-
sibly Semitic reflexive ("soul") in log. 25, and the proleptic use
of the pronoun in log. 98 (which he misreads here) and 102, some-
thing he avows is used rather often in Aramaic and sometimes in
Syriac.

[4]Antoine Guillaumont, "Sémitismes dans les logia de Jésus
retrouvés à Nag-Hamâdi," *JA* 246 (1958):113-23.

Semitic linguistic influence began in earnest. Since then, several

writers have expanded the theme, perhaps the most enthusiastic be-

ing Quispel[1] and Ménard.[2] Time and space prohibit a thorough dis-

cussion of this material,[3] but a few examples can be cited with

benefit:

In log. 14, we find the phrase "to your spirits" where a

reflexive pronoun might be expected. It is pointed out that in

Syriac, not only is the Hebrew/Aramaic נַפֵשׁ ("soul") used for the

reflexive, but also רוּחַ ("spirit").[4]

Similarly, in log. 25, Thomas reads "Love your brother *as

your soul*." This, too, could reflect Aramaic or Syriac influence

(cf. the Old Syriac of Mt. 19:19; 22:39; Mk. 12:31; Lk. 10:27).[5]

In log. 80, Guillaumont finds difficulty in reconciling "to

find the body" with the Gnostic ascetic thought he finds prevalent

---

[1]Quispel's studies are almost in a league by themselves; he
sometimes seems more intent on proving his theory--that the Gospel
of Thomas contains parts of a Jewish-Christian gospel tradition
originally written in Aramaic--than on objectively studying Thomas
to determine its origin. Consequently, he is apt to find "Aramaisms"
where the evidence is quite slight: cf. the criticisms and warnings
of Baarda, "Luke 12, 13-14," pp. 124-27. Nevertheless, some of his
findings are quite interesting and helpful: cf., for example, his
article in *NTS* 5 (1959):276ff. On p. 279, he notes (without support-
ing evidence), that "to honour" and "to offend" in log. 47 could be
independent translations from the Aramaic words אֲחַד and שְׁבָא; on
p. 280, he suggests that the "to take by force" of log. 35 is an
alternate translation of the Aramaic *anas* (Mark has "to plunder").
His works are filled with such suggestions, some of them more help-
ful than others: cf. *VigChr* 13 (1959):114-15.

[2]Cf. *Thomas*, pp. 9ff.; and *StPatr*, pp. 212ff. See also
Frend, *JThS* 18 (1967):13-26.

[3]For a discussion and critique of many of these "Semitisms,"
see Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 120ff.

[4]Cf. Guillaumont, *JA* 246 (1958):117; and Ménard, *Thomas*,
p. 11.

[5]Cf. Garitte, *Muséon* 70 (1957):65-66; and Ménard, *Thomas*,
p. 11.

in the rest of Thomas.[1] But, he conjectures, if "to find" goes back

to the word אצמ, this apparent inconsistency can be explained.

The word אָצָ֯מ in Hebrew means "to find" but the Aramaic אָצְ֯מ/Syriac

ܡܨܐ can mean "to master." This saying, which originally meant "to

master the body," could have thus been incorrectly translated in the

Thomas tradition.

The doublet of log. 80 is log. 56, but here, instead of

"body" (ⲤⲰⲘⲀ), we find "corpse" (ⲠⲦⲰⲘⲀ). Guillaumont suggests

that this confusion could be due to the word רֶגֶ֯פ which in Hebrew

means "corpse," but in Aramaic/Syriac means "body";[2] he is forced

to admit, however, that this reading could also be due to scribal

error.

Guillaumont also suggests that the "I love you" (ϯⲟⲩⲱϣⲕ)

in log. 107 might go back to the Aramaic אבצ, which means not only

"to want, wish" (the basic meaning of the Coptic), but also "to take

pleasure in." In the latter sense, it is similar to the Greek εὐ-

δοκεῖν (cf. Mt.-sa. 12:18), which may be an intermediary between

the Aramaic and Coptic. The χαίρειν of the Synoptics, then,

could go back to the same primitive tradition, representing "une

traduction, mois bonne peut-etre, mais suffisamment exacte."[3]

The last example has to do more with *milieu* than linguistics.

Guillaumont sees a striking similarity between log. 30: "Jesus said:

Where there are three gods, they are gods; where there are two or

one, I am with him," and Pirkē Aboth 3. 7:

---

[1] *JA* 246 (1958):116; cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 10.

[2] *JA* 246 (1958):117; cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 10: "Il semble
que l'auteur de ces deux logia comprenait mieux l'hébreu que l'ara-
méen." It would be interesting to ask either of these men why this
"confusion" does not exist in log. 80!

[3] Guillaumont, *JA* 246 (1958):120; cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 11.

R. Halaphta ben Dosa, of Chephar Hananjah, said: When ten
sit together and are occupied with the Torah the Shechinah
rests among them, as it is said (Ps. LXXXII. 1): 'God stand-
eth in the congregation of judges.' And when is it proved
for even five? As it is said (Amos IX. 6): 'He hath founded
his troop upon the earth.' And whence even three? As it
is said (Ps. LXXXII. 1): 'He judgeth among the gods.' And
whence even two? As it is said (Mal. III. 16): 'Then they
that feared the Lord spake one to another and the Lord
hearkened and heard.' And whence even one? As it is said
(Exod. XX. 24): 'In every place where I record my name I
will come to thee and bless thee.'[1]

Logion 30, he maintains, does not teach polytheism or any such thing,

but reflects Semitic influence and therefore a probable Semitic

origin.[2]

Thus the case for Semitisms in Thomas is made, thereby lend-

ing weight to the argument for Syrian origin. But though the evi-

dence is impressive, several objections must be raised. First, re-

garding the name Didymos Judas Thomas, at least two points should be

emphasized: (a) the name in the prologue of the Oxyrhynchus fragment

is different from that in the Coptic version, and (b) the name in

the Coptic Gospel of Thomas is *not* exactly the same as that found in

the Acts of Thomas. In POxy 654. 1, the name is $\lceil$Ἰούδας $\underline{\delta}\rfloor$ καὶ

Θωμᾶ⟨ς⟩ , and even then the "Judas" is a conjectural emendation

based upon the Coptic. It is only in the Coptic version of the work

that the fuller title "Didymos Judas Thomas" (ⲆⲓⲆⲩⲙⲟⲥ ⲓ̈ⲟⲩⲆⲁⲥ Ⲑⲱⲙⲁⲥ)

is found. This fact, however, is glossed over by Puech[3] and others

who, in their haste to identify the two works, sometimes neglect to

_____

[1]Translation by R. Travers Herford, *Pirkê Aboth* (New York:
The Jewish Institute Press, 1925), p. 71. Cf. Ex. 21:6; 22:7-8.

[2]Guillaumont, *JA* 246 (1958):114-16; cf. Ménard, *Thomas*,
p. 10; and Benedict Englezakis, "Thomas, Logion 30," *NTS* 25 (1979):
262-72. For other interpretations of this saying, cf. the discus-
sion of Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings*[2], pp. 107-10.

[3]Cf. Puech, in *NTApo* 1:285 (ET), who says that the Coptic
prologue of Thomas "coincides exactly with the first five lines of
the famous Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654."

point out the differences between them.[1] Since the growth of this
name in the Gospel of Thomas most likely took place in Egypt (per-
haps when Thomas was translated into Coptic), it is just possible
that there were those in Egypt who were also familiar with the Judas
Thomas tradition and thus expanded the name they found in the pro-
logue of their *Vorlage*. It could be, then, that the Judas Thomas
tradition was not unique to Syria. Along these lines, it is inter-
esting to note that the name Didymos Judas Thomas was probably al-
ready in Egypt during the period (III - V centuries) when the slight-
ly different appellation 'Ιούδας Θωμᾶς ὁ καὶ Δίδυμος was intro-
duced into the Acts of Thomas.[2] If the Judas Thomas tradition arose
in Syria, it certainly was known at least in Egypt at a relatively
early time, thus raising the *possibility* that Thomas was written in
a place other than Syria (or Edessa).

A second problem with putting Thomas originally in Syria is
the difficulty one may have in placing the thought of this apocry-
phal writing in a Syrian milieu. Perhaps no one has expended more
energy in this area than Klijn. But even he, after comparing the
Odes of Solomon, the Gospel of Thomas, and the Acts of Thomas (all
supposedly of Syrian origin[3]), and after noting their similarities,
is forced to admit that several differences exist between these
writings.[4] He minimizes the objections of Dr. Ehlers (now Aland) to

---

[1]Akagi, "Literary Development," pp. 43ff., esp. 68, does,
however, correctly point out this fact.

[2]Note that this name occurs only in the Greek (!) version of
the Acts of Thomas, and not in the Syriac. The difference between
the names is again overlooked by Puech, *NTApo*, 1:205-206 (ET 1:286);
and Klijn, *Edessa*, p. 67, and *NovTest* 14 (1972):76-77. Cf. the dis-
cussion of Ehlers, *NovTest* 12 (1970):304-307.

[3]But for the dissenting view, cf. the discussion of Rudolph,
ThR 34 (1969):214ff.

[4]Klijn, *VigChr* 15 (1961):146ff.; cf. *idem*, *Acts*, pp. 46ff.
Cf. also Bornkamm, in *NTApo*, 2:298 (ET 2:426-27), who says that Judas

an Edessene origin for Thomas,[1] and prefers instead to explain the

differences between Thomas and other Syrian writings as due to the

great diversity of thought which existed in the province of Osrhoene

during this period.[2] Nevertheless, there are in Thomas certain say-

ings which appear dangerously close to contradicting even the most

general and basic picture of early Christianity in Edessa as painted

by Klijn. He, for instance, stresses that the beginnings of Christi-

anity in Syria were entirely Jewish-Christian[3] and that the Syrian

church was "eine Kirche, die sich nie von ihrem jüdischen Ursprung

gelöst hat."[4] And yet, there are logia in Thomas (6, 14, 43, 53,

etc.) which could be considered *anti*-Jewish.[5] Klijn and others also

---

Thomas has a somewhat different, more developed role in the Acts of
Thomas than in the Gospel of Thomas.

[1]Cf. Ehlers, *NovTest* 12 (1970):284-317; and Klijn, *NovTest*
14 (1972):70-77.

[2]Cf. Klijn, *VigChr* 15 (1961):148ff.

[3]Klijn, *Edessa*, pp. 29ff.

[4]Ibid., p. 147. Cf. L. W. Barnard, "The Origins and Emer-
gence of the Church in Edessa during the First Two Centuries A.D.,"
VigChr 22 (1968):162ff.; and Drijvers, *VigChr* 24 (1970):4-33.

[5]Cf. p. 13 n. 1 of this thesis. This situation in Thomas is
similar to that seen by some in Matthew. The First Gospel has long
been considered by most scholars to be of Jewish-Christian author-
ship (but cf., among others, Kenneth W. Clark, "The Gentile Bias in
Matthew," *JBL* 66 /1947/:165-72). And yet, despite this Jewish-
Christian background, there appear to be in Matthew several *anti*-
Jewish tendencies. This has led Abel, among others, to suggest that
Matthew was originally compiled by a Jewish-Christian redactor, but
was later reworked by a Gentile Christian to give Matthew its present
form; hence, the pro- and anti-Jewish tension: see Ernest L. Abel,
"Who Wrote Matthew?" *NTS* 17 (1970):138-52. Although this reconstruc-
tion of Matthew's literary history is not generally accepted (for an
overview of the problem, cf. Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to
the New Testament*, rev. ed., trans. Howard Clark Kee /Nashville:
Abingdon Press, 1975/, pp. 112ff.), it nevertheless provides an in-
viting explanation of this apparent tension in the Gospel of Thomas.
Again, this view is entirely consistent with the idea of a growing
sayings collection which was used by a variety of groups for a num-
ber of purposes.

stress the influence which Tatian had on the early Syrian church;
he was a primary reason that this church was largely ascetic.[1] But
there are places in Thomas which could be interpreted as *anti-
ascetic.*[2] So, even though it is fairly easy to fit Thomas into a
culture about which we know little, we must exercise caution, lest
our hypothesis become a fact too soon. In light of these things,
therefore, we must reckon with the possibility that at least *some* of
Thomas did not originate in Syria (or that some material has been
altered in such a way as to make it unrecognizable to its original
authors).

There is also the question of whether a special position
was attributed to the apostle Thomas outwith Syrian circles. One
example which may be given is chapter 42 of Pistis Sophia, where the
apostle Thomas may be found in an inner select circle with Philip
and Matthew.[3] If such a tradition can be traced to Egypt in the
third century independently of the Gospel of Thomas, then it must
be asked if it could be found outwith Syria even earlier. It if can,
the evidence for a Syrian origin for Thomas would be further miti-
gated.[4]

---

[1]Cf. Klijn, *Edessa*, pp. 94ff., 138. Barnard, *VigChr* 22
(1968):162ff., does not disparage Tatian's influence, but he does
trace Edessene asceticism even further back to Jewish-Christian in-
fluence.

[2]Klijn, *Edessa*, p. 100, himself concedes that the omission
of Luke's "unfruitful" or "barren" in log. 79 and in the Dutch and
Persian Diatessara could reflect an anti-ascetic tendency in Thomas
as well as in Tatian. He dismisses this, though not entirely con-
vincingly, by suggesting that some of these anti-ascetic readings
could have already been in the texts (or traditions) which Tatian
used.

[3]PS 71. 18ff.

[4]Cf. Ehlers, *NovTest* 12 (1970):305-308; and B. Dehandschut-
ter, "Le lieu d'origine de l'Evangile selon Thomas," *OLoP* 6 (1975):
126, 127-28.

A fourth objection can be directed toward the evidence of "Semitisms." Without quibbling specifically, let it suffice to say that Kuhn rightly objects that some of these "Semitisms" are found in the Coptic New Testament and are thus inherent to the Coptic language, and not necessarily a reflection of a Syrian background.[1] Furthermore, some "Semitisms" could actually be biblicisms--words so ingrained into Christian tradition that they transcend specific languages (e.g., "soul" in log. 25).[2] Moreover, it must be recognized that the material with which we are dealing--the sayings of Jesus--will innately contain a number of Semitisms since Jesus probably spoke Aramaic.[3] Therefore, even if we do admit the presence of Semitisms[4] in Thomas, we must take care in the conclusions we draw. As Haenchen says: "Einzelne Aramaismen im Text--wenn es solche sind--besagen noch nicht, dass der gesamte Text aus dem Aramäischen übersetzt ist."[5] The same could be said about Syriacisms and Syriac.

One more point may be examined briefly. It should be observed that even if Thomas was originally written in Syria or Edessa, this does not demand a Semitic language for the original work. It is well known that Edessa and all of Syria were bilingual.[6] Several

---

[1] Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):322f. Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 120ff.; Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 13-14, 18-19; Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):238-39; and Dehandschutter, *OLoP* 6 (1975):129-30.

[2] Cf. Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):322f.; Haenchen, *ThR* 27 (1961): 161; and Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 62.

[3] Cf. Black, *Aramaic Approach*.

[4] It is safest to speak only of Semitisms, for, as Cullmann, *ThLZ* 85 (1960):333, observes, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between an Aramaism and a Syriacism. Cf. Higgins, *NovTest* 4 (1960):294.

[5] Haenchen, *ThR* 27 (1961):161.

[6] Cf. Klijn, *NovTest* 14 (1972):73. Segal, *Edessa*, pp. 30-31,

Syrian writings from this period were originally written in Greek.[1]
It is thus not inconsistent to say that Thomas came from Syria, but
was composed in Greek--a position which some scholars hold.[2]

Nevertheless, after saying all of this, it must be admitted
that there is strong, if not totally convincing,[3] evidence to indi-
cate that the origins of at least some of Thomas' sayings lie in
Syria. One is thus fully justified in comparing Thomas to Syrian
writings of the same period--providing that the conclusions from
such a comparison are carefully drawn. Our task in this chapter is
to compare Thomas to the Diatessaron of Tatian. Before we do, how-
ever, perhaps a brief history of the Diatessaron would be beneficial.

B. A Brief Look at the Diatessaron

The only thing that can be said about the Diatessaron with
any confidence is that it was compiled by Tatian during the period
around A.D. 170-180;[4] its provenance, its original language, and

---

100, seems to intimate, however, that the knowledge of Greek culture
was not too widespread among the lower classes of Edessa.

[1]These would include the Odes of Solomon (cf. Klijn, *Edessa*,
pp. 45-46) and possibly the Diatessaron (as we shall see shortly).

[2]Cf. Haenchen, *ThR* 27 (1961):157, 161; and Schrage, in
Apophoreta, pp. 252-53.

[3]Many scholars remain unpersuaded that Thomas originated in
Syria and suggest Egypt as a possibility: cf. Cerfaux, *Muséon* 70
(1957):319, 322; Piper, *PSB* 53 (1959):22-23; Wilson, *ExpT* 72 (1960):
39; Turner, in *Thomas*, pp. 12-13; and Grobel, *NTS* 8 (1962):373.
This position has been most recently affirmed by Dehandschutter,
"Les paraboles de l'Évangile selon Thomas. La parabole du trésor
caché," *EThL* 47 (1971):203-209, and *OLoP* 6 (1975):125-31.

[4]But even then, F. C. Burkitt, "Tatian's Diatessaron and the
Dutch Harmonies," *JThS* 25 (1924):128-30; and *idem*, "The Dura Fragment
of Tatian," *JThS* 36 (1935):257-58, suggests that Tatian did not
originally compile the Harmony, but that he found a Greek transla-
tion of an early Latin Harmony made by an unknown Roman, which Tatian
carried back to Syria with him and revised and translated into Syriac.

its relationship to the Old Syriac gospels are all enthusiastically disputed subjects. The picture is further complicated by the fact that no copy of the original Diatessaron is known to exist--with the possible exception of a minute Greek fragment (see below); all that is known of Tatian's work must be gleaned from secondary and tertiary witnesses.

Provenance and original language are closely related. On the one hand, there are those such as Harnack, Burkitt, von Soden, Vogels, Preuschen, Jülicher, Lagrange, Pott, Lake, and Kraeling who feel that Tatian originally wrote his Diatessaron in Greek.[1] Alternatively, there are those such as Zahn, Baethgen, Fuller, Duval, Harris, Bewer, Hjelt, Bardenhewer, Leclercq, Plooij, Baumstark, Peters, Kahle, and Vööbus who believe the Diatessaron was first written in Syriac.[2] Generally, the writers who advocate Greek also advocate a Roman provenance, while the others prefer Syria, though, interestingly enough, there seems to be a marked tendency of some to postulate a Syriac original in Rome.[3] The arguments for both positions are summarized well by Metzger:

---

[1] The bibliographical information for these writers may be found in Carl H. Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura*, Stud. and Doc. 3 (London: Christophers, 1935), p. 15; and Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 30. To these writers may be added Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 52.

[2] See Kraeling, *Greek Fragment*, p. 15; and Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 31. Also cf. Baarda, in Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 154-55; and Klijn, *VigChr* 15 (1961):147.

[3] Cf. D. Plooij, *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1925), pp. 73f.; A. Baumstark, "Die Evangelienzitate Novatians und das Diatessaron," *OC*, 3rd ser., 5 (1930):1-14; Curt Peters, *Das Diatessaron Tatians*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 123 (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1939), pp. 211-13; and Arthur Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, CSCO 128, Subsidia 3 (Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1951), pp. 11, 13. On the other hand, Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," pp. 141f., seems to imply that Tatian's Harmony was written in Greek in Syria (Edessa).

In support of a Greek origin is (a) its Greek title, by
which it was known even in Syriac; (b) the silence of Euse-
bius, who, though mentioning the Diatessaron, says nothing
of its composition in Syriac; and (c) the circumstance of
the very considerable influence that it exerted on the text
of the Gospels in the West. In support of its origin in
Syriac is (a) the silence of many church fathers (e.g.
Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and
Jerome) who refer to Tatian or to his *Oration to the Greeks*,
but who never mention his Diatessaron; (b) the widespread
dissemination of the Diatessaron in Syria; and (c) the pres-
ence in the West, as well as in the East, of versions of the
Diatessaron that show themselves, directly or indirectly, to
rest upon a Syriac *Vorlage*.[1]

It is obvious when reading such arguments that the evidence on either

side is very scant, leading to a great deal of inference and assump-

tion. Consequently, one side has not been able to prevail, and the

precise origins of the Diatessaron remain moot.

One would think that with a title like "Diatessaron," the

sources of the work would be self-evident: the four Gospels ($\delta\iota\grave{\alpha}$

$\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$ --"through four"). This simple conclusion is obfuscated,

however, by two facts. The first is the comment by Victor of Capua

(VI century) that Tatian compiled a *diapente*,[2] which could be inter-

preted as a clear inference that Tatian used a fifth source.[3] Just

---

[1]Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 31-32.

[2]In the preface of Codex Fuldensis, Victor states: "Tatianus
uir eruditissimus et orator illius temporis clarus· unum ex quattuor
conpaginauerit euangelium cui titulum diapente conposuit," according
to the edition of E. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum Latine
interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani* (Marburg and
Leipzig: Elwerti Bibliopolae Academici, 1868), p. 1.

[3]Some scholars, however, regard "diapente" as a mere *lapsus
calami*: cf. Theodor Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutesta-
mentliche Kanons und der altkirchenlichen Literatur*, I. Theil: *Ta-
tian's Diatessaron* (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1881), pp. 2-3); and
J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark,
1894), p. 17. Others have proposed that *diapente* should be understood
as a musical term; it was first proposed by Isaac Casaubon, *De rebus
sacris et ecclesiasticis exercitationes XVI ad Cardinalis Baronii*
(London, 1614), p. 236, who, while discussing the word *diapente* in
Victor's preface, states: "Videtur scribendum *Dia panton*. quod con-
sentit cum Eusebio. Alioquin scimus & *Dia pente* concentus nomen esse
apud Musicos, ut *Dia tessaron* & *Dia pason*: quas appellationes &
Latini retinuerunt, ut Vitruvius." Cf. the discussion by Franco

what this additional material might have been is unclear. Messina has nominated the Protoevangelium of James,[1] but the most frequent suggestion is the Gospel of the Hebrews.[2] Even the Gospel of Thomas has been postulated as the missing source.[3] Moreover, some scholars believe that Tatian used other sources in addition to a fifth, apocryphal gospel; Harris thinks one of these sources may be the "Testimony Book."[4]

Such suggestions are prompted by a second fact: not all the material in the Diatessaron appears in the canonical Gospels. This has led to the opinion that "the Syriac Diatessaron may have contained or been influenced by an apocryphal Gospel which had come to

---

Bolgiani, *Vittore di Capua e il 'Diatessaron,'* Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, ser. 4ᵃ, no. 2 (Turin: Accademia delle Scienze, 1962), esp. pp. 22ff.

[1]Giuseppe Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano: I. Introduzione, II. Testo e traduzione* (Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1951), pp. xxxixff.

[2]Cf. Epiphanius, *Panarion haer.* 46. 1. 9, who says that some people of his day called the Diatessaron the Gospel 'according to the Hebrews': λέγεται δὲ τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι, ὅπερ κατὰ ʽΕβραίους τινὲς καλοῦσι (GCS ed.). Among the earliest proponents of the theory that Tatian used the Gospel of the Hebrews were H. Grotius (1641), R. Simon (1689), and J. Mill (1707) (cf. Zahn, *Forschungen*, 1:2). More recent advocates include Plooij, *Further Study*, pp. 84-85; A. Baumstark, "Die syrische Uebersetzung des Titus von Bostra und das 'Diatessaron,'" *Bib* 16 (1935):288ff.; Curt Peters, "Nachhall ausserkanonischer Evangelien-Überlieferung in Tatians Diatessaron," *AcOr* 16 (1938): 258-94; and Quispel, *VigChr* 11 (1957):192ff., "L'Évangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron," *VigChr* 13 (1959):106ff., and *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975). Klijn, *NovTest* 3 (1959):166ff., at first was clearly sceptical of this view, but his more recent statements make his position unclear: cf. *Acts of Thomas*, pp. 32-33; and *Edessa*, pp. 69-70. For a further adherent to the theory, cf. also Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 53.

[3]Cf. Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," pp. 141f.

[4]J. Rendel Harris, "The Mentality of Tatian," *Bulletin of the Bezan Club* 9 (1931):8-10.

be associated with heresy."[1] This theory, however, does not neces-
sarily mean that Tatian consistently used a fifth source,[2] and many
scholars thus reject such an imaginary source, but do not rule out
the possibility of extraneous apocryphal influence.[3]

If, then, Tatian relied primarily upon our four Gospels,
one must next ask in what form he found them. This question is es-
pecially significant if he wrote in Syria (but it has relevance even
if he did not). In other words, when Tatian came to Syria, did the
four separate Gospels already exist in Syriac, or was Tatian's work
the first form the Syriac gospels took? Scholars are once again
fairly evenly divided on this issue. Baethgen, Zahn, Nestle, Bur-
kitt, Turner, Vogels, Baumstark, Dobschütz, Lagrange, Vööbus, and
Black[4] argue that the Diatessaron was the earliest Syriac version
of the Gospels, and that the Old Syriac gospels are in part depen-
dent upon it.[5] Conversely, Wright, Stenning, Brockelmann, Hjelt,

---

[1]Black, *Aramaic Approach*, p. 267.

[2]Cf. O. C. Edwards, Jr., "Diatessaron or Diatessara?" *BibR*
18 (1973):44-56, esp. 53.

[3]Cf. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, p. 269; and Metzger, *Early Ver-
sions*, p. 36.

[4]For the bibliographical information, see Metzger, *Early Ver-
sions*, p. 45. Metzger includes William Wright, *A Short History of
Syriac Literature* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1894), p. 8, in
this list, but it appears that Wright holds the opposite view. An-
other scholar who holds to the priority of Tatian is Otto Klein,
*Syrisch-griechisches Wörterbuch zu den vier kanonischen Evangelien,
nebst einleitenden Untersuchungen*, BZAW 28 (Geissen: Alfred Töpel-
mann, 1916), p. 16.

[5]Cf. Matthew Black, "The Syriac Versional Tradition," in *Die
alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments*, ed. Aland, p. 127: "It is
perhaps true to say that the authors of the Separate Gospels derived
a great amount of their material—the stones, so to speak, with which
they built—from Tatian's Harmony, but this does not alter the fact
that, even though many of the stones were old stones, it was a new
building which they erected."

Lewis, Harris, Mingana, Torrey,[1] Meinertz,[2] and Gibson[3] propose that

the Old Syriac version as represented by the Sinaitic and Curetonian

manuscripts antedates the Diatessaron.[4] The first group arrive at

their conclusion primarily on the basis of textual arguments; they

see "Tatianisms" in the Old Syriac and thus deduce the dependence of

the latter upon the Diatessaron.[5] Or, they notice the overwhelming

influence of the Diatessaron upon early Syrian Christian literature

to the exclusion of the Old Syriac.[6] To a large extent, the second

group base their opinion upon historical arguments. They avow that

Christianity was in Syria (even Edessa) long before Tatian came and

that there must have been some form of the Gospels present; indeed,

it is inconceivable that no Syriac version of the Gospels existed

before A.D. 170.[7]

Argue as one may, there is no conclusive proof for either

case. It is not surprising, then, to find a few scholars holding

intermediate positions. Perhaps the most interesting is that of

Gressmann, who sees sy^{sc} as definitely post-Tatianic, but nevertheless

---

[1]Again, see Metzger, *Early Versions*, 46.

[2]Max Meinertz, *Neuere Funde zum Text des neuen Testaments; eine akademische Rede*, Schriften der Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Westfälischen Landes-Universität zu Münster 23 (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1949).

[3]J. C. L. Gibson, "From Qumran to Edessa," *The Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society* 5 (1963-1965):24-39.

[4]Also cf. F. H. Chase, *The Old Syriac Elements in the Text of Codex Bezae* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1893), esp. pp. 150-51, whose study confirms this view.

[5]Cf. Theodor Zahn, *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons* (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1888-92), 1:405-406; and Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," pp. 124ff.

[6]Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 1:389ff.

[7]Cf. Charles Cutler Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), pp. 271ff.

postulates that a Syriac tetraevangelium existed prior to Tatian.[1]

Haase modifies this theory somewhat. He proposes that the first

canonical Gospel in Syriac was neither the Old Syriac version nor

the Diatessaron, but a translation made and circulated privately

for missionary purposes.[2] This position, he feels, is not only

probable, but it best fits the facts and consequently satisfies the

arguments of both sides. Klijn, on the other hand, does not reject

the possibility that the Syrians (Edessenes) knew of the separate

Gospels before Tatian, but if they did, it was only as they occurred

in oral form. Tatian's, then, was the first written Gospel in Syriac.[3]

A final, but not altogether insurmountable problem is the

fact that no copy of the original Diatessaron exists. A small Greek

fragment of the Diatessaron, dating no later than A.D. 257, was dis-

covered at Dura in 1933,[4] and several scholars, especially those who

prefer to think of a Greek original, feel that this fragment is in-

deed from a copy of the original.[5] The possible presence of Syri-

acisms indicated by other writers has, however, cast a shadow of

---

[1]Hugo Gressmann, "Studien zum syrischen Tetraevangelium,"
ZNW 6 (1905):135-52, esp. 150-51. A pre-Tatianic Gospel harmony in
Syriac has also recently been suggested by Edwards, *BibR* 18 (1973):
52ff.

[2]Felix Haase, "Zur ältesten syrischen Evangelienübersetzung,"
ThQ 101 (1920):262-72, esp. 270-71. He suggests that this is the
Syriac version which survives in the writings of Ephraem and Aphraates,
and in the Acts of Thomas. Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 17, views Haase's
theory as "not impossible." Cf. Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963):211-24,
who apparently believes that some Syriac gospel preceded Tatian, but
he does not specify it (but the Old Syriac is not clearly excluded).

[3]Cf. Klijn, *Edessa*, pp. 94ff.; and *idem, NovTest* 14 (1972):
74: "It is plausible that the Diatessaron has been accepted /sic/
because in this writing the Edessenes met well known traditions,
but now in a conveniently arranged 'Life of Jesus'."

[4]Edited by Kraeling, *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron
from Dura* (1935). For an English translation, see Metzger, *Early
Versions*, p. 11.

[5]Cf. Kraeling, *Greek Fragment*, pp. 15ff.

doubt upon this conclusion.[1] On the whole, therefore, we are left

with a variety of witnesses, some of them far removed from Tatian

in locality and date, and which, consequently, give us testimony of

varying value.[2]

The witnesses are commonly divided into two groups: the

Eastern and the Western. Not only does this indicate the geographi-

cal distribution, but it reflects the two main text types; the East-

ern witnesses are generally deemed to go back to a Syriac *Vorlage*,

while the Western group seem to have an Old Latin original with a

somewhat different text. The Eastern group, briefly, is as follows:[3]

(a) The Arabic Diatessaron (Ta[a])[4] exists in five main MSS, the

earliest of which, MS A, was written about the XII-XIII centuries.[5]

---

[1] Cf. A. Baumstark, "Das griechische 'Diatessaron' Fragment von Dura-Europos," *OC* 32 (1935):244-52; Burkitt, *JThS* 36 (1935): 258f.; and Paul E. Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), p. 295.

[2] Edwards, *BibR* 18 (1973):44-56, is of the opinion that the diversity of order and readings among the various Diatessaric witnesses raises the question of whether all of these harmonies are traceable to Tatian's original. Edwards suggests that the diversity may be due to the influence of a *pre*-Tatianic harmony; the only certain witnesses to Tatian's original work are the Dura fragment and Ephraem's commentary.

[3] Burkitt, *JThS* 36 (1935):257, says that the Dura fragment is "definitely Eastern."

[4] The first, and still useful, edition is that of P. Augustinus Ciasca, *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice* (Rome, 1888). His text is based on MSS A and B. He also gives a Latin translation which Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 15, criticizes for being unduly assimi- lated to the Vulgate. An edition based on the text of MS E has been published by A.-S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatien. Texte arabe établi, traduit en francais, collationné avec les anciennes versions syriaques...* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1935). Marmardji's French translation has also come under some rather severe criticism: cf. the reviews by A. Baumstark, *OC* 3rd ser. 11 (1936):235-44; and by D. S. Margoliouth, *JThS* 38 (1937):76-79. A helpful English transla- tion of the Arabic Diatessaron is available in Hope W. Hogg, *The Dia- tessaron of Tatian*, ANCL, add. vol., ed. Allan Menzies, pp. 33-138; cf. also the translation of J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*.

[5] Kahle, *Cairo Geniza*, p. 298, however, dates it a little later—in the XIII-XIV centuries.

The five MSS fall into two textual groups with MS A on one side and MSS B, E, O, and 1020 on the other. It is difficult to tell which group represents the best or earliest form of the Arabic text,[1] although Higgins thinks it is the latter group.[2] Whatever the case, it is clear from all the MSS that the Arabic Diatessaron has either been translated from a Syriac original which was assimilated to the text of the Peshitta version, or the Arabic text itself has been assimilated.[3] Consequently, as Metzger says, "From the point of view of the textual critic who wishes to ascertain whether a given reading stood originally in Tatian's Diatessaron, most scholars have considered the Arabic Diatessaron to be worthless."[4] It has thus been the practice of many writers to give serious consideration as original only those readings of the Arabic which differ from the Peshitta version.[5] Metzger, however, thinks this evaluation of the witness is too severe:

> It is likely that the policy of approving as genuinely Tatianic only those readings in the Arabic Diatessaron which differ from the Peshitta has been unwarrantably rigorous, for even where the Arabic Diatessaron agrees with the Peshitta, if the Old Syriac also agrees, such readings are proved to be more ancient than the Peshitta and may therefore be Tatianic. Such a possibility becomes a probability with overwhelming compulsion when

---

[1]Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 15-16. Both Metzger and Kahle, *Cairo Geniza*, pp. 297-301, have good descriptions of the texts.

[2]A. J. B. Higgins, "The Arabic Version of Tatian's Diatessaron," *JThS* 45 (1944):187-99, esp. 193, 196. He would date the origin of Ta^a around A.D. 850, but most prefer an XI century date.

[3]Cf. F. C. Burkitt, "Arabic Versions," in *DB(H)*, 1:136, and *idem, Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1904), 2:4, 200; and John F. Stenning, "Diatessaron," in *DB(H)*, extra vol., p. 458.

[4]*Early Versions*, p. 16. Cf. Burkitt and Stenning above. Higgins, *JThS* 45 (1944):194ff., strongly contests this view, and enlists Zahn, Sellin, Lagrange, and Baumstark in support.

[5]Cf. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, p. 287.

Ephraem and other witnesses unrelated to the Peshitta add
their support.[1]

We must conclude, therefore, that while the Arabic Harmony does
have value as a Tatianic witness, we must use it with care.

(b) The Persian Diatessaron (Ta^p) is preserved in a single,
almost complete MS which has been published by Messina.[2] A colophon
states that the MS itself was copied in 1547 from another MS prob-
ably dating from the XIII century. This parent MS was most likely
translated from a Syriac original, an original which Messina would
like to trace back to Tatian himself.[3] Upon closer investigation,
however, it becomes clear, as Metzger points out, that the structure
of the Persian Harmony "has no discernible connection with Tatian's
Diatessaron,"[4] and follows a completely different order from the Ara-
bic and Latin Harmonies, which are judged to be fairly close to Ta-
tian's original order. Moreover, the wording of the Persian Harmony,
too, has been influenced by the Peshitta.[5] Nevertheless, Metzger
elsewhere states that "the Persian Harmony, though its structure and
several other features bear no discernible connection with Tatian's
Diatessaron, is still of great interest to the textual critic of the

---

[1]Bruce M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament
Textual Criticism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), p. 102. Cf. A. J. B.
Higgins, "The Persian and Arabic Gospel Harmonies," in *StEv* 1, ed.
K. Aland et al. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959), p. 799, and *idem*,
"Tatian's Diatessaron and the Arabic and Persian Harmonies," in *Stud-
ies in New Testament Language and Text: Essays in Honour of G. D.
Kilpatrick*, ed. J. K. Elliott, NovTest Suppl. 44 (Leiden: E. J. Brill,
1976), pp. 246-61.

[2]G. Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano* (1951). Cf. the discussion
of the Persian Harmony in Metzger, *Chapters*, pp. 103-20.

[3]Cf. Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano*, pp. xxif.; and Metzger's
summary and refutation in *Chapters*, pp. 107-108.

[4]*Chapters*, p. 108.

[5]Cf. Higgins, in *NT Language*, p. 246; he finds, in this study,
that Ta^a is closer to the Peshitta than Ta^p (p. 259).

New Testament in view of the presence of many readings that are of undoubted Tatianic ancestry."[1]

The remainder of the witnesses for the Eastern group are primarily Syriac writings from which Tatianic readings must be gleaned:

(c) Ephraem's Commentary (Ta^e) is far and away one of the best witnesses to the Diatessaron. Throughout his work, Ephraem (d. 373) quotes portions of an early Syriac version of the Gospels which has been identified as the Diatessaron.[2] His commentary is preserved in its entirety in two Armenian MSS ($Ta^{e^{arm}}$) which are both dated 1195.[3] One of them (MS A) has readings closer to the Old Armenian type of text and the other (MS B) has readings which have been conformed to the Armenian vulgate.[4] About three-fifths of the *opus* has been preserved in its original Syriac in Chester Beatty MS 709 ($Ta^{e^{syr}}$).[5] Although there are some differences between the

---

[1]*Early Versions*, p. 19. Cf. Higgins, in *StEv*, 1:793-94.

[2]Though many think Ephraem was influenced by the four separate Gospels as well; cf. Wright, *Syriac Literature*, pp. 10-11; Julius A. Bewer, *The History of the New Testament Canon in the Syrian Church* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900), pp. 48-50 (also published in the *American Journal of Theology* 4 (1900):64-98, 343-63, and *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 16 (1900): 110-24); Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:189f.; Peters, *Diatessaron*, pp. 94-95; and Vööbus, *Studies*, pp. 38-39, 171.

[3]Most recently edited with a Latin translation by Louis Leloir, *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version arménienne*, CSCO 137, 145 Scriptores Armeniaci 1, 2 (Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1953, 1964). Leloir suggests that the Armenian translation was originally made from the Syriac in the V century (p. ii).

[4]Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 12-13.

[5]Edited with Latin translation by Louis Leloir, *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque* (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709), Chester Beatty Mono. 8 (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., Ltd., 1963). Leloir has also made a French translation of both versions: *Éphrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant ou Diatessaron, traduit du syriaque et de l'arménien*, Sources chrétiennes 121 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1966). Hill, *Earliest Life*, pp. 333ff., gives an English translation based on the Armenian version only.

two versions,[1] on the whole, the Armenian appears to have faithfully translated the Syriac. If it is assumed that Ephraem carefully quoted the text before him (and this has been questioned[2]), then these are invaluable witnesses to a very early form of the Diatessaron.[3] Ephraem's other works are also useful Tatianic witnesses.[4]

(d) Aphraates (Aphr) is a Syrian church father from the IV century (though he was most likely born in Persia, and is thus called "the Persian Sage"). One of his writings, known as *Homilies* (or, *Demonstrations*), is preserved in three Syriac MSS from the V and VI centuries and in an Armenian translation.[5] The Gospel text he often quotes is thought to be the Diatessaron.[6]

---

[1] Cf. Louis Leloir, "Divergences entre l'original syriaque et la version arménienne du commentaire d'Éphrem sur la Diatessaron," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II, 1, Studi e Testi 232 (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1964), pp. 303-31, esp. 311ff.

[2] Cf. Arthur Hjelt, *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron besonders in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis*, in Zahn's *Forschungen* VII (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1903), p. 55.

[3] Cf. Louis Leloir, *Le témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron*, CSCO 227, Subsidia 19 (Louvain: Sécretariat du CSCO, 1962), esp. pp. 232ff.

[4] Cf. F. C. Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, Texts and Studies 7, 2 (Cambridge: University Press, 1901); and *idem*, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:112ff.

[5] The Syriac text and a Latin translation is given by Ioannes Parisot, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae: Demonstrationes*, Patrologia Syriaca, I:1, 2 (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Socii, 1894, 1907); the Armenian with a Latin translation is in the process of being produced by Guy Lafontaine, *La Version arménienne des oevres d'Aphraate le syrien*, CSCO 382, 383, 423, 424, Scriptores Armeniaci 7, 8, 11, 12 (Louvain: Sécretariat du CSCO, 1977, 1980).

[6] Cf. Zahn, *Geschichte*, 1:397ff.; Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:109ff., 180ff.; Owen Ellis Evans, "Syriac New Testament Quotations in the Works of Aphraates and Contemporary Sources" (M.A. thesis, University of Leeds, 1951), pp. 26-27, 70ff.; and Aelred Baker, "The Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron," *JThS* 16 (1965):452. But Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 10; and Bewer, *NT Canon*, pp. 17, 28-48, think that Aphraates also knew the four separate Gospels in Syriac. Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 42, carries this view further: he says Aphraates did not use the Diatessaron at all, but a Tetraevangelium of the Old Syriac type.

(e) The *Liber Graduum* (LG)[1] is also a valuable Eastern witness to the Diatessaron, since in this fourth-century work of unknown authorship the Diatessaron is apparently quoted at times.[2]

(f) Other Eastern witnesses as listed by Metzger[3] include the writings of Rabbula, Agathangelos, etc.; the Acts of the Persian Martyrs; the Old Armenian and Old Georgian versions of the Gospels;[4] several Arabic MSS of the Gospels;[5] and Gospel citations in Manichaean texts.[6]

The main representatives of the Western group of witnesses to the Diatessaron appear briefly below:

(a) The Latin Harmony (Ta[1]) is principally represented by Codex Fuldensis (Ta[f]).[7] It was written between 541 and 546 by Victor of Capua who used a copy of the Old Latin Diatessaron. Consequently, the MS preserves a very early witness to the structure of Tatian's original Harmony. Unfortunately, most of the text has been accommodated to the Vulgate,[8] so that about only 600 Old Latin readings

---

[1]The Syriac text has been edited with a Latin translation by Michael Kmosko, *Liber Graduum*, Patrologia Syriaca, I:3 (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Socii, 1926).

[2]Cf. ibid., pp. clxii-clxiii; A. Rücker, "Die Zitate aus Matthäusevangelium im syrischen 'Buche der Stufen,'" *Biblische Zeitschrift* 20 (1932):342-54; Evans, "Syriac Quotations," pp. 28, 70ff.; Klijn, *NovTest* 3 (1959):167; Baker, *JThS* 16 (1965):452, and *idem*, "'The Gospel of Thomas' and the Syriac 'Liber Graduum,'" *NTS* 12 (1965):49-55; and Fiona Joy Parsons, "The Nature of the Gospel Quotations in the Syriac Liber Graduum" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1968), esp. pp. 178ff.

[3]See *Early Versions*, pp. 19-20, for further information.

[4]Cf. Peters, *Diatessaron*, pp. 63ff.

[5]Cf. ibid., pp. 50ff.   [6]Cf. ibid., pp. 125ff.

[7]Edited by E. Ranke, *Codex Fuldensis* (1858). Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 21, mentions two other Latin harmonies.

[8]Zahn, *Forschungen*, 1:308, calls Codex Fuldensis a poorly planned and poorly executed revision ("planlose und ungeschickte Umarbeitung") of the Diatessaron in the language of the Vulgate.

survive,[1] causing Black to lament that "the consequence of these well-intentioned efforts of the Church Fathers to produce a uniform ecclesiastical text has been the loss to us of almost everything in the Old Latin Harmony which was originally and distinctively Tatian."[2] Fortunately, there are other European witnesses which can supplement the testimony of Codex Fuldensis to the Old Latin Diatessaron.

(b) One of the foremost of these is the Flemish, or Middle Dutch harmonies (Ta^n)[3] which are best represented by the Liège Diatessaron (Ta^L).[4] This is just one of nine Dutch MSS from the XIII-XV centuries, but Metzger assesses it as "the oldest and most markedly Tatianic of the Dutch harmonies."[5] In fact, it contains several variants which are only found elsewhere in the Syrian textual tradition; the probability is therefore high that such readings go back to Tatian.[6]

(c) The XIII-XIV-century Old Italian Diatessaron (Ta^i) is preserved in two different dialects--the Tuscan (Ta^t) in twenty-four

---

[1] Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 21.

[2] Black, *Aramaic Approach*, p. 288. Cf. Zahn, *Forschungen*, 1:308ff.; and Hjelt, *Evangelienübersetzung*, p. 58.

[3] Curt Peters, "Die Bedeutung der altitalienischen Evangelienharmonien im venezianischen und toskanischen Dialect," *RomF* 56 (1942): 181-92, suggests that at least some of the Dutch harmonies are only indirect witnesses to the Old Latin Diatessaron, being translated from Old *Italian* harmonies which themselves were ultimately dependent upon the Old Latin.

[4] Perhaps the best edition is *The Liège Diatessaron*, edited with a textual apparatus by D. Plooij, with the assistance of C. A. Phillips; English trans. of the Dutch text by A. J. Barnouw (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1929-70). For its significance, cf. Plooij, *Further Study*.

[5] *Early Versions*, p. 23. On pp. 23-25, Metzger discusses the other Dutch witnesses.

[6] Cf. Black, *Aramaic Approach*, pp. 289-91.

MSS and the Venetian (Ta^V) in one MS.[1] The texts of these harmonies

have been variously assessed. Vaccari thinks that the Tuscan Dia-

tessaron goes directly back to Codex Fuldensis,[2] while Peters be-

lieves that the relationship is much more loose.[3] Both of these

writers, however, agree that the Venetian Harmony preserves remnants

of an even older text, which is sometimes Syrian in form,[4] a view

which Quispel holds for both forms of the Italian Diatessaron.[5]

(d) The Middle English Diatessaron is preserved in a manu-

script written about 1400 and known as the Pepysian Gospel Harmony

(Ta^{pep}).[6] It has most likely been translated from a French harmony

which itself was based upon a Latin model containing apparent Ta-

tianisms.[7]

---

[1]Both are published in Venanzio Todesco, P. Alberto Vaccari,
and Marco Vattasso, *Il Diatessaron in volgare italiano*, Studi e Testi
81 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938).

[2]Vaccari, *Il Diatessaron*, p. iii.

[3]Peters, *RomF* 56 (1942):182, 184, 187.

[4]Vaccari, *Il Diatessaron*, p. iii; and Peters, *RomF* 56 (1942):
191-92. Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 24-25.

[5]Cf. *Tatian*, pp. 51ff.

[6]Margery Goates, *The Pepysian Gospel Harmony*, Early English
Text Society 157 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922).

[7]Cf. ibid., pp. xv-xviii; and J. Neville Birdsall, "The
Sources of the Pepysian Harmony and Its Links with the Diatessaron,"
NTS 22 (1976):215-23. Birdsall concludes his study (p. 222) with a
sensible caution:
"The examination of these examples suggests that a greater
reserve ought to be exercised in interpreting evidence from PH as
well as other Western harmonies as evidence for the Diatessaric re-
lationship of readings, since in many cases either patristic sources
influential in the Middle Ages, or scholastic collections based on
these, attest readings which may have been the immediate source of
the harmonists. A possibility of ultimate origin would be that there
were far more ancient exegetical traditions and commonplaces shared
by Eastern and Western exegesis than have been traced till now."
Also along these lines, cf. Bonifatius Fischer, "Das Neue Testament
in lateinischer Sprache. Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung
und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte," in *Alten
Übersetzungen*, ed. K. Aland, pp. 48-49.

(e) Several medieval German harmonies are known, but the oldest is the Old High German (East Frankish) bilingual manuscript, Codex Sangallensis (Ta^S), which dates from the second half of the IX century.[1] The Latin of this MS presumably goes back to the Latin of Codex Fuldensis,[2] but Quispel believes that the German translation also betrays a knowledge of an even older copy of the Latin Diatessaron.[3]

(f) Another Tatianic witness in the German language is the Old Saxon (Old Low German) *Heliand* (Hel), a poem written in the IX century.[4] Since it is from the same general milieu as the Old High German Harmony, it is not surprising to find connections between the two works,[5] and consequently similarities to Tatian;[6] but because the *Heliand* is a poem in which various artistic liberties have been

---

[1]Edited by Eduard Sievers, *Tatian. Lateinisch und altdeutsch mit ausführlichem Glossar*, 2nd ed., Bibliothek der ältesten deutscher Literatur-Denkmäler 5 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1892; reprint ed., 1966).

[2]Cf. Fischer, "NT in lateinischer Sprache," pp. 47-48. For more information on the German harmonies, see Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 21-22.

[3]Cf. *Tatian*, pp. 24, 69ff., 108ff.

[4]Among the various editions, cf. Eduard Sievers, *Heliand* (Halle: Der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1878). One modern German translation is that of Felix Genzmer, *Heliand und die Bruchstücke der Genesis aus dem Altsächsischen und Angelsächsischen übertragen* (Stuttgart: Philip Reclam, 1956); an English translation has been made available by Mariana Scott, *The Heliand. Translated from the Old Saxon*, Univ. of N. Carolina Stud. in the Germ. Lang. and Lit. 52 (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1966).

[5]Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 22.

[6]Cf. G. Quispel, "Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium," *VigChr* 16 (1962):121-51; *idem, Tatian*, pp. 26-77; and Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):250. Quispel is of the opinion that the *Heliand* is based on an Old Latin Diatessaron which ultimately goes back to the Manicheans; it therefore, in places, preserves a better Diatessaric text than even Ephraem (!). Some of Quispel's conclusions have been questioned by Willy Krogmann (see p. 156 n. 4 below).

taken,[1] a great deal of discretion must be exercised in the use of
its Diatessaric testimony.

(g) Zacharias Chrysopolitanus (Zach), around 1150, wrote a
commentary on a harmonized version of the Gospels[2] which also has
some affinity to Tatian's Diatessaron.[3]

It is from witnesses such as these that the evidence con-
cerning Tatian's Diatessaron must be gathered. It is no wonder,
then, that the Tatianic problem is considered to be so thorny and
that very little about the first Diatessaron is known for certain.
Hence, when we attempt to compare the Gospel of Thomas and the Dia-
tessaron, we are facing a problem similar to that of our previous
comparison with the Coptic versions: a dearth of verifiable, factu-
al evidence. Nevertheless, enough is known of Tatian's Harmony to
compare it with Thomas beneficially. Hopefully, such an exercise
will lead to insights as to the origin of some of Thomas' Synoptic-
type material. We must, however, as before, proceed with appropri-
ate circumspection and set our standards high. As we shall see
from the following survey of previous work in this area, this has
not always been the case.

---

[1]Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 460; and Genzmer, *Heli-
and*, p. 11: "Unser Uberblick zeigte uns, dass der *Stil* des Heli-
ands ausgesprochen *episch*, verbreiternd, ist. Dazu dienten die
überschweren Versfüllungen, die langen und wortreichen Sätze, die
häufigen Beiwörter und die vielfachen Abwandelungen."

[2]Zacharias Chrysopolitanus, *In unum ex quatuor sive de
concordia evangelistarum libri quatuor*, Migne Patr. Lat. 186,
cols. 11-620.

[3]See J. Rendel Harris, "Some Notes on the Gospel-Harmony
of Zacharias Chrysopolitanus," *JBL* 43 (1924):32-45.

C. Previous Investigations of Thomas' Relationship

to the Diatessaron

Hints of a possible relationship between the material found

in the Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron had been intimated even

before the Nag Hammadi discovery,[1] but it was Gilles Quispel who

first advocated the relationship[2] and who, since 1957, has provided

detailed material with which to substantiate his suggestion.[3] Quispel

first notices that Thomas has been influenced by a non-canonical

Aramaic gospel tradition from a Jewish-Christian milieu (probably

in Syria), the Gospel of the Hebrews.[4] He then suggests that the

Diatessaron has made use of this same tradition.[5] Both are thus

---

[1]For example, Peters, *AcOr* 16 (1938):284-85, 294, suggests a possible connection between POxy 1. 7 (log. 32) and the Diatessaron: namely, mutual dependence upon the Gospel of the Hebrews (cf. Quispel, below).

[2]*VigChr* 11 (1957):191ff.

[3]Most of his major articles are reprinted in his *Gnostic Studies*, II (1975). Cf. also his *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle*, NovTest Suppl. 15 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967); and *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron* (1975). Quispel's contention that a connection exists between Thomas and the Diatessaron is supported--at least for log. 89--by Baker, *JThS* 16 (1965):449-54.

[4]Cf. *VigChr* 11 (1957):189-207; and *NTS* 12 (1966):371-82. To be perfectly fair and precise, in his writings since 1966, Quispel has shown a reluctance to call this tradition "the Gospel of the Hebrews," preferring instead the more general and ambiguous term "Jewish-Christian Gospel tradition." It is thus unclear whether he has backed off from the conclusions of his *NTS* article or whether he is mitigating these conclusions, or merely employing alternative terminology to express the same, constant views. One is led to suspect the latter possibility when, in an article published in 1971 (*Eranos-Jahrbuch* 38 (1969):276, 278) and in *Tatian* (1975), pp. 93-94, he postulates behind Thomas and the Diatessaron the Gospel of the Nazarenes, which, apparently, he equates with the Gospel of the Hebrews (cf. *NTS* 12 (1966):373ff.; and Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:118 (ET)), but again this is unclear.

[5]cf. *VigChr* 11 (1957):191ff.; and *VigChr* 13 (1959):106ff.

dependent upon a common source: the Gospel of the Hebrews. He is thus able to say that:

> Puisqu'il est généralement admis que Tatian ait utilisé l'Évangile selon Hebreux, et que cet écrit figure sans doute parmi les sources de l'Évangile selon Thomas, il nous semble probable que les Dits qui ont des rapports avec l'oeuvre tatianique ont été empruntés à cet apocryphe.[1]

Quispel claims that over 100 such cases have been noted,[2] and he himself has discussed many of them.[3] He admits that not all the shared variants are of the same value, and some of them could be due to coincidence or accident; the majority, however, stand and clearly justify his thesis--that the Diatessaron and Thomas share the same non-canonical Jewish-Christian tradition.[4]

From this starting point, Quispel begins spinning a tangled web. He traces echoes of this Jewish-Christian tradition throughout **every** major Diatessaric witness, though he concerns himself chiefly with the Western witnesses.[5] Here, he is adamant that these witnesses do *not* rest upon the Vulgatized Codex Fuldensis, but upon a very ancient Old Latin text of Tatian's Harmony, which was obviously coloured by a Jewish-Christian gospel tradition.[6] In each case, the Western witnesses can be found to have similarities to the

---

[1]*VigChr* 13 (1959):117.

[2]"The Latin Tatian or the Gospel of Thomas in Limburg," *JBL* 88 (1969):327.

[3]Cf. his lists in *VigChr* 13 (1959):89ff.; "The Gospel of Thomas and the Western Text: A Reappraisal," in *Gnostic Studies, II*, pp. 58ff.; or in *Tatian*, pp. 174-90.

[4]*VigChr* 13 (1959):96.

[5]Cf. ibid., pp. 87ff.; *VigChr* 16 (1962):121-51; *JBL* 88 (1969):321-30; "Some Remarks on the Diatessaron Haarense," *VigChr* 25 (1971):131-39; and *Tatian*.

[6]Cf. *VigChr* 13 (1959):96-97; *VigChr* 16 (1962):121-51; *JBL* 88 (1969):321-30; and *Tatian*, pp. 26ff.

same tradition in the Gospel of Thomas; indeed, it would be surprising if such were not the case.[1] Moreover, this same tradition has also exerted much influence among other Syrian works, including the Pseudo-Clementine writings.[2] In fact, some of the Jewish-Christian gospel tradition found in the Acts of Thomas, Macarius, and the *Liber Graduum* goes directly back to the Gospel of Thomas itself.[3]

So Quispel argues in many different places, sometimes with great persuasiveness and indubitable veracity. His conclusions have such far-reaching scope that they cannot all be addressed here, but a few observations must be made, especially with regard to his basic premises.[4] It is clear, first of all, that much, if not all of his case is built upon his understanding of the Gospel of the Hebrews and its wide-ranging influence. It must be questioned, however, whether this much can be said about this non-canonical gospel.[5] That such a writing existed, there can be no doubt--we have fragmentary quotations preserved in the Fathers.[6]

---

[1] Cf. *VigChr* 16 (1962):139.

[2] *VigChr* 12 (1958):181-96, but for a contrary opinion, see Georg Strecker, *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen*, TU 70 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958), esp. p. 136. (The Pseudo-Clementines are discussed in more detail in Chapter V below.) Furthermore, Quispel, *VigChr* 13 (1959):87, questions whether the Gospel quotations of the Syriac fathers are always the Diatessaron (implying that they could be from the Gospel of the Hebrews?).

[3] "The Syrian Thomas and the Syrian Macarius," *VigChr* 18 (1964):226-35; *NTS* 12 (1966):374-77; and *JBL* 88 (1969):327. He is questioned on this point by Aelred Baker, "Early Syriac Asceticism," *Downside Review* 88 (1970):393-409, esp. pp. 402, 403.

[4] Cf. the critique by Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 136-41. Also cf. the excellent summary and critique of Quispel's works and views by Dehandschutter, *EThL* 47 (1971):202-204.

[5] Cf. Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:75ff. (ET 1:117ff.).

[6] Karl August Credner, *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*, 2 vols. (Halle: Waisenhaus, 1832-38), 1:414, is probably incorrect when he says that no writing called the Gospel of the Hebrews ever existed as such, but that it was a written or oral

But was there only *one* "Gospel of the Hebrews"? This question is legitimate in light of the numerous "Hebrew" gospels identified. Epiphanius, for example, identifies a gospel "according to the Hebrews" with the Gospel of the Ebionites.[1] Jerome appears to equate such a gospel with the Gospel of the Nazarenes[2] and with the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles.[3] It could be inferred from statements made by Papias[4] and Epiphanius[5] that the Gospel of the Hebrews was some form of the canonical Gospel of Matthew in Aramaic.[6] Or, it could be the "Syriac Gospel" mentioned by Hegesippus.[7] In fact, since Clement of Alexandria[8] quotes a saying found in log. 2 of the Gospel of Thomas and yet assigns it to the "Gospel of the Hebrews,"

Jewish-Christian source behind the canonical Gospels to which the Church Fathers made reference.

[1]*Haer.* 30. 3. 7; 30. 13. 2. In recent scholarship, this identification of *the* "Gospel of the Hebrews" with the "Gospel of the Ebionites" has been advocated by Alfred Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente und Untersuchungen zu den judenchristlichen Evangelien*, TU 37,1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), pp. iii, 166ff., but it has been summarily rejected: cf. Hans Waitz, "Das Evangelium der zwölf Apostel (Ebionitenevangelium)," *ZNW* 13 (1912):338-48, 14 (1913): 38-64, 117-32; and Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:76, 79-81 (ET 1:119, 124-26).

[2]*De viris inlustribus* 3; *Dial. adv. Pelag.* 3. 2. This is incorrect, as demonstrated by Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente*, pp. iii, 161-66; and Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:81ff. (ET 1:126ff.).

[3]*Dial. adv. Pelag.* 3. 2. This is also incorrect; cf. Puech, in *NTApo*, 1:186 (ET 1:264). Waitz, *ZNW* 13 (1912):338ff., says the Gospel of the Nazarenes and the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles are not the same writing; he identifies the former with Hegesippus' *Syriakon* and the latter with the Gospel of the Ebionites.

[4]Eusebius, *H.E.* 3. 39. 16.

[5]*Haer.* 30. 3. 7; 30. 13. 2; 30. 14. 3.

[6]Cf. Schmidtke, *Neue Fragmente*, pp. 46f.; and Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:78 (ET 1:121).

[7]Eusebius, *H.E.* 4. 22. 8. This view is favoured by Vööbus, *Studies*, pp. 18-20, but not by Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:78-79 (ET 1: 122); cf. pp. 216f. below.

[8]*Strom.* 2. 9. 45. 5; cf. 5. 14. 96. 3.

it is possible (though unlikely) that Clement equates the two works.[1]

Let us also remember that according to Epiphanius some called the

Diatessaron the "Gospel of the Hebrews"![2]   Thus, just what the

"Gospel of the Hebrews" is remains obscure.

Its origin also remains clouded in obscurity. According to

Bauer,[3] Vielhauer,[4] and others, it was written in the first half of

the second century in Egypt in Greek and was used by Jewish Chris-

tians in Alexandria. This hardly squares with Quispel's "Aramaic"

tradition used in Syria.

What is more, the fragments which have been preserved, if

they have been preserved faithfully, scarcely allow us to character-

ize the general content of this writing, much less to presuppose

that every non-canonical reading of "Jewish-Christian" flavour can

be traced back to this gospel. Therefore, to build an entire his-

torical reconstruction of the New Testament text with such a tenuous

document as the cornerstone and further, to consider this reconstruc-

tion as indisputable fact is, to say the least, incautious.

Second, it cannot be said that the Gospel of Hebrews "figures,

without a doubt, among the sources for the Gospel of Thomas."[5] This

is certainly a possibility, but, as we have seen, this theory can be,

and is, questioned.[6]

Third and fourth, it has not been proven that Tatian even

used a fifth source, much less that this source was the Gospel of the

Hebrews.[7] Such a view is not even "generally admitted," though it

---

[1]Cf. Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:76-77 (ET 1:119-20).

[2]*Haer.* 46. 1.   [3]*Orthodoxy*, pp. 51-53.

[4]In *NTApo*, 1:107 (ET 1:162-63).

[5]Quispel, *VigChr* 13 (1959):117.

[6]See pp. 18-19 above.   [7]See pp. 136-38 above.

does remain a distinct possibility that Tatian was influenced by certain non-canonical traditions.

Another weakness in Quispel's theories is his sweeping approach to the problems. We have already noticed that he tends to view all the Synoptic-type material in Thomas as being from one source.[1] He takes a similar view to Diatessaric studies: e.g., all non-canonical readings which Thomas and Tatian's Harmony share must go back to the same source--the Gospel of the Hebrews.[2] Likewise, since in some places the *Heliand* betrays a knowledge of a non-"Vulgatized" Old Latin text, the whole work must have been based upon such a text.[3] While such conclusions may yet be proven to be correct, considering the fragmentary evidence available, and the disputations concerning that evidence,[4] perhaps a little more reserve would be appropriate.

A sixth disturbing fact about Quispel's studies is the omission, in practice, of the allowance for other possibilities: e.g., coincidence, independent expansion of the text, or another outside influence. For instance, in one article, he gives four examples of cases, which he obviously considers exceptional, where Thomas shares variants with Tatianic witnesses.[5] Most of the common

---

[1]Page 24 above.

[2]In *VigChr* 13 (1959):117, he presents this methodology as "probable," but since then he seems to have abandoned this caution.

[3]*VigChr* 16 (1962):121-51; cf. *JBL* 88 (1969):321ff., esp. 328-29; and *Tatian*, pp. 26ff.

[4]For example, Willy Krogmann, "Heliand, Tatian und Thomasevangelium," *ZNW* 41 (1960):255-68, and "Heliand und Thomasevangelium," *VigChr* 18 (1964):65-73, denies Quispel's contention that all the Gospel quotations in the *Heliand* are from a very old Diatessaron and therefore reveal some of the same Jewish-Christian traditions which are behind the Gospel of Thomas. Nevertheless, Quispel, *VigChr* 16 (1962):139ff., stands his ground.

[5]*JBL* 88 (1969):329.

variants in all four, however, *could* be explained as due to coincidence. The first he sets out thus:

1. 96	Venetian (Vaccari, p. 66)
The kingdom of the heavens is like a woman who took a *little* yeast and hid it *in meal* and from it made *great loaves*.	The kingdom of the heavens is like a yeast that a woman took and put *in the meal:* that yeast is *little* and makes a *great quantity* of dough to rise.

(i) To begin with, it must be mentioned that Thomas has "kingdom of the Father," not "kingdom of the heavens" as Quispel prints. But the main points that Quispel is making are that (ii) both of these readings have "in (the) meal," omitting the "three measures" of Mt. 13:33/Lk. 13:20-21, and (iii) both have added "little" with which they contrast "great."[1] Variant (ii) is the most significant, but since "three measures" is a rather unimportant detail of the story, it could easily have been omitted independently. Moreover, the phrase is also omitted in sy^c of Mt. 13:33 and a a^{2*} b c ff^2 i l q of Lk. 13:21.[2] Another influence besides that of a common Jewish-Christian tradition cannot, therefore, be excluded. It should also be noted that Thomas does *not* have "meal," but "flour, dough" (ⲩϣⲱⲧⲉ). Coptic has another word for "meal"--ⲚⲞⲈⲒⲦ --which, significantly, Thomas uses in the next logion (it is also found in the Coptic versions of Mt. 13:33). As for "little/great" (variant iii), it could be said that "little" is a natural inference which any copyist may have added on his own--perhaps being influenced by the saying

---

[1]Cf. *Tatian*, pp. 51-53.

[2]Interestingly, Ta^e also omits "three measures" (cf. Leloir, *Témoignage*, p. 156), but in what is a very loose and informal quotation which could almost be termed a paraphrase, and therefore inadmissible evidence.

"A *little* leaven leaveneth the whole lump" (1 Cor. 5:6; Gal. 5:9).[1]

In addition, Ta^V and Thomas are not exactly parallel; "little" occurs

in two different places, and in Thomas "great" refers to size, while

in Ta^V it refers to quantity (una grande quantitade").

Quispel's second example is:

1. 44	Tuscan (Vaccari, p. 244)
He who shall blaspheme *a-gainst the Father*, it shall be forgiven him; and he who shall blaspheme *against the Son*, it shall be forgiven him; but he who shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit, to him it shall not be forgiven, neither on earth nor in heaven.	He who shall speak a word *a-gainst the Father*, it shall be forgiven him; and he who shall speak a word *against the Son*, it shall be forgiven him; but he who shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit, to him it shall not be forgiven, neither in this world nor in the other.

These two passages are, without a doubt, almost exactly parallel,

the only differences being the "speak a word" in the first two

clauses of Ta^t and the divergence in endings. (i) The most signifi-

cant similarity of these two readings, as compared with the canoni-

cal tradition, is the addition of the clause including "against the

Father" (cf. Mt. 12:32/Mk. 3:29/Lk. 12:10), which Quispel maintains

occurs in no other New Testament textual witness.[2] This could in-

deed indicate that both are somehow connected; Quispel, of course,

argues for the common dependence upon a Jewish-Christian tradition.

But an alternative and very real possibility is the independent expan-

sion of both texts under the influence of the trinitarian formula

"Father, Son, and Holy Spirit." In the case of Ta^t, this is

---

[1]Cf. Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 108; and Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 184. Quispel, *Tatian*, p. 52, on the other hand, suggests that Paul has been influenced by a form of the saying found here in Thomas.

[2]*VigChr* 11 (1957):192. Cf. *Tatian*, pp. 54-55. Quispel fails to mention that the reading occurs in only three of the ten Tuscan MSS listed by Vaccari in the apparatus, and all three of these are related to the same archetype (cf. Todesco, *Il Diatessaron*, p. 187).

emphasized by two facts: (a) the expansion occurs in only one strain

of the Tuscan harmony tradition; and (b) in the first clause we find

"speak a word," just as in the second (canonical) clause, as opposed

to "blaspheme" in the third clause. This may indicate that the form-

ulation of the added clause has been assimilated to that of the

second (canonical) clause.[1] (ii) It is more difficult to explain

the mutual omission of "of man" after "Son" in both witnesses, but

this could again be due to the same independent influences.[2] Thus,

though both Thomas and Ta[t] could be somehow connected here, one

would have thought, if there were any one, significantly influential,

non-canonical tradition behind this shared saying, that the variants

contained in it would be more prevalent in the canonical textual

tradition.

Quispel then offers his third example:

l. 9	Heliand, lines 2388-2403
Some seeds fell *on* the road: the birds came, they *gathered them*. Other fell on the rock *and struck no root in the earth*.	Some seed fell *on* top of the hard stone: *it had no earth to grow and no root to take hold*...Some seed fell *on* the hard road...the birds *gathered* it up.

This appears to be a good example of where the writer of the *Heliand*

has exercised his poetical license, particularly since the destiny

of the two types of seeds appears in a reversed order from Thomas

as well as from the Synoptics.[3] (i) Nonetheless, Quispel first

---

[1]It must be admitted that the Greek behind Thomas could have also followed a similar pattern, since the Fayyumic of Mt. 12:32 translates εἰπεῖν λόγον κατά ("to speak a word against") with ϫⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉ- ("to blaspheme") instead of ϫⲱ ϣⲁϫⲉ ⲉ- as in the Sahidic and Bohairic (cf. Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 468b); if so, it is difficult to understand why Thomas would not have differentiated between the two phrases.

[2]Cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 144: "Le υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου a été abregé en υἱός pour favoriser la doctrine trinitaire." Also cf. Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 73.

[3]Indeed, the order in Hel is rocks, good soil, road, thorns.

stresses that both works share "on" where the Gospels have παρά

("beside," but also "along"), which goes back to the different trans-

lations of the Aramaic ⟨ⵓ⟩ by two different strains of tradition.[1]

This point, however, has been adequately refuted by others.[2]

(ii) The next point that Quispel makes is the fact that both men-

tion "(no) earth" and consequently "no root."[3] But the mention of

earth is found in this place in the Synoptic account; the lack of

roots is mentioned in the second half of the verse which Thomas and

Hel lack. Since the former appears to be a condensation of the

saying, and the latter a paraphrase, it could be that this particu-

lar wording (which is only vaguely similar) is the work of two in-

dependent redactors. (iii) Perhaps the most significant variant

these works share is "the birds gathered them (it)," whereas in the

Gospels the birds "ate" the seed. Krogmann, however, questions

whether the words of Thomas and Hel are actually similar at all.[4]

The other Tatianic witnesses Quispel gives for this variant (Ta[e] and

Aphr)[5] are also questionable; the only time Ephraem (11. 12, 13) and

Aphraates (*Dem.* 14. 46) mention anything about what happened to the

seed which fell upon the road is in their commentary, not their text,

and then in what is a probable reference to Mt. 13:19, where the evil

one ἁρπάζει the seed. The similarities between log. 9 and Hel,

therefore, are not as strong as Quispel suggests.

---

[1]Cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 16 (1962):146-47.

[2]Cf. Bartsch, *NTS* 5 (1959):250-51; Haenchen, *ThR* 27 (1961): 167; Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 44-45; Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 92; and Horman, *NovTest* 21 (1979):335-36.

[3]Cf. *VigChr* 16 (1962):147-48.

[4]*VigChr* 18 (1964):71. Scott translates the phrase: "and the flying birds picked them up" (p. 82), but Genzmer, p. 84, has "und die Vögel lasen es."

[5]Cf. *Gnostic Studies*, II, pp. 58-59.

Quispel's fourth example in this article is this:[1]

1. 33 (cf. Matt 5[15])	Liège Diat. (Plooy, p. 67)
No one lights a lamp and places it under a *grain measure* nor places it in *a hidden place*, but *he places it* on the stand, *so that* all who go in and out may see its light.	*No one* when the light is kindled sets or hides it under the *grain vessel* or under the bed or *in a hidden place* but on the candlestand one *sets it so that* it may give light to all who are in the house.

(i) He obviously considers it significant that both readings share "no one." If this is compared with Mt. 5:15, as Quispel suggests, it *is* striking, since Mt. has οὐδέ; but Lk. 8:16 and Lk. 11:33 both have οὐδείς, and this could easily have been the source of this "variant" reading.[2] (ii) The next, and most interesting reading is the occurrence of "grain measure" before "hidden place," especially when one sees that Lk. 11:33 has the same wording in an opposite order. This could indicate some type of relationship between Thomas and the Diatessaron. And yet, this variant can also be explained otherwise. If Tatian used Matthew's structure as a base (as some writers hold), he could have started with "under a grain measure" (Mt. 5:15). To this he could have added "under a bed" (Mk. 4:21). Finally, as he leafed through his manuscript, he would have found the "hidden place" mentioned only in Lk. 11:33. This operating

---

[1] Cf. *Gnostic Studies*, II, pp. 60-61.

[2] According to most form critics, the οὐδείς of Lk. 8:16 and 11:33 is due to Luke's stylistic improvement of Mark and Q, thus giving us a later form of the saying: cf. Adolf Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus. The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke*, trans. J. R. Wilkinson (London: Williams & Norgate, 1908), p. 55; Joachim Jeremias, "Die Lampe unter dem Scheffel," *ZNW* 39 (1940):237-40; and Dodd, *Parables*, pp. 111-12. Luke's formulation is apparently the basis for this saying as it is found in the Diatessaric witnesses Ta[pn] Aphr Hel. Since log. 33b also has Luke's οὐδείς (ⲘⲀⲢⲈⲖⲀⲀⲨ), along with several other close similarities to Luke, this may indicate Lucan influence upon this logion, perhaps at least as early as its Greek stage. For a different view, however, cf. Montefiore, *NTS* 7 (1961): 232-33, 241-42.

procedure would quite naturally result in the reading as found in

Ta^L above.[1] The explanation behind Thomas may not be so logical--

the order could be reversed due to oral transmission of the tradi-

tion, to the redaction of a copyist, or to the influence of some

Gospel text (sy^c also reverses the order of Lk. 11:33). Whatever

the case, the influence of a common third source upon Thomas and the

Diatesssaron is not demanded, though it is possible. (iii) Quispel

also thinks it important that both of the above readings have "hid-

den *place*," whereas Lk. 11:33 has merely κρύπτην ; but the addi-

tion of "place" is a natural inference and is added in many transla-

tions of Lk. 11:33--the Bohairic version has, for instance, ϧΕΝ

ΟΥΜΑ Ν̄ϨⲰⲠ ("in a *place* of hiding"), and sy^c has ܟܣ̈ܝ ܟ݁ܕܘܟ݁ܐ

("in a hidden *place*"). (iv) It is also natural to supply the verb

which the Greek of the Synoptics has omitted and left understood.

The Coptic versions, for example, repeat "to set, place" in all four

occurrences of this saying.[2] It cannot be said, then, that this

reading in Thomas and the Diatessara is significant. (v) Finally,

Quispel focuses on the "so that" of these two passages as compared

to the καί of Mt. 5:15. All that is necessary to mitigate this ob-

servation, however, is a look at the Lucan parallels which both have

ἵνα . Quispel has thus, in this instance, made his case for a re-

lationship between Thomas and the Diatessaron only by a comparison

of the two with carefully selected Synoptic parallels and by ignoring

the obvious implications made from the Greek language. A considera-

tion of *all* the evidence shows clearly that a relationship is not

---

[1]Significantly, this is also the wording of Aphr (*Dem.* 1. 10).
But Codex Fuldensis (ch. 26) has: "sub modio neque sub lecto neque in
loco abscondito· neque sub vaso· (= σκεύει of Lk. 8:16?)." Cf. Ta^t.

[2]Cf. log. 86, 91b, 100 and their parallels in·the Coptic ver-
sions.

necessarily demanded.

A final criticism of Quispel's arguments for a relationship between Thomas and the Diatessaron is the fact that he sometimes places great emphasis on relatively minor evidence, such as the a-greement of singulars/plurals, pronouns, tenses, etc. against the Synoptics. A cursory look at his list of variants[1] quickly reveals several examples. He notes that log. 12, Ta, and other witnesses have "shall be great" instead of "is great"; for the saying in log. 30, Thomas and Ta add "I"; and log. 39 and the Eastern witnesses have "keys" instead of "key." For log. 55, he notes that Thomas and several Diatessara add "his" to "mother," "brethren," and "sisters"; log. 76b and Ta read "the treasure" as opposed to "the treasures"; in log. 93 Thomas and Ta[v] have "the pearls" instead of "your pearls"; and in log. 94 Thomas and some Tatianic witnesses share "will find" instead of "finds." It may be possible, upon closer investigation, that some of these variants are significant. Most of the time, how-ever, the variants are probably due more to the peculiarities of in-dividual languages or scribal additions caused by natural inference from the context than to a common underlying tradition, as Quispel asserts; it is necessary to look at the evidence objectively and take fully into account the nuances of the many languages which make up the variety of Diatessaric witnesses.[2]

Some of Quispel's conclusions, then, must be scrutinized closely. His theories are all very interesting, but an excessive enthusiasm and lack of care in handling the evidence have made some of them untenable. There can be no doubt, however, that Quispel's work is both important and useful: important, because he has plausibly

---

[1]See p. 152 n. 3 above.

[2]Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 137-38.

demonstrated that Thomas and the Diatessaron are similar in several
instances, and useful, because he has done so much work and compiled
such a great amount of valuable material. For these things scholar-
ship remains in his debt.

Another prominent and early advocate for a relationship be-
tween Thomas and the Diatessaron is T. Baarda. In the last chapter
of Schipper's commentary,[1] Baarda has compiled a list of variant
readings in Thomas and compared them with the readings of the vari-
ous manuscript traditions. In his study he notes about 130 cases
where Thomas agrees with at least one recension of the Diatessaron,
thus indicating a possible relationship. Unlike Quispel, however,
Baarda proposes a *direct* relationship, i.e. that the Gospel of Thomas
(which was written in Syria) has been influenced by Tatian's (Syrian)
Harmony.[2] How one views this suggestion depends largely on when
one dates Thomas. Since Baarda has apparently been influenced by
Schipper's comparatively late dating (ca. A.D. 190), he can suggest
this possibility which is rejected outright by others.[3] But be-
cause no one has definitely ascertained Thomas' date of origin,
Baarda's hypothesis cannot be so easily dismissed.

Unfortunately, Baarda has done very little follow-up of his
proposal. His list, however, remains extremely useful, primarily
due to its thoroughness. In fact, Baarda is thorough nearly to a
fault, since some of the variants he lists may not actually be

---

[1]Chapter 6: "Thomas en Tatianus," in Schipper's *Thomas*,
pp. 135-55. He gives his conclusions on pp. 154-55.

[2]Reading between the lines, it also appears that Schippers
would support at least an indirect dependence of Thomas upon the
Diatessaron: cf. his *Thomas*, pp. 20, 52-53, 134.

[3]Cf. Quispel, in *Gnostic Studies, II*, p. 56; and Klijn,
Edessa, p. 69. Also cf. the reservations of Higgins, *NovTest* 4
(1960):294; and Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 79, 140.

variant readings at all, but peculiarities of a particular language.[1]
Moreover, since he assigns no special significance to any single
variant, one must be careful not to draw unwarranted or hasty conclu-
sions from an isolated agreement between Thomas and the Diatessaron.
And yet, if these problems are given due consideration, Baarda's
work may be used with much profit.

Another writer who has been concerned with the similar-
ities between Thomas and the Diatessaron is A. F. J. Klijn. Al-
though he earlier advocated the dependence of both on a common de-
viant Gospel text (*not* the Gospel of the Hebrews),[2] he has appar-
ently modified his views somewhat.[3] Perhaps his clearest elabora-
tion on the problem can be found in his book *Edessa*:

> Diese Frage ist sicher gerechtfertigt. Mit dem, was wir
> vom Diatessaron wissen, ist eine grosse Menge von Problemen
> verbunden: Ist es möglich, dass das Thomasevangelium aus dem
> Diatessaron zitiert? Kaum, da der Zeitunterschied zwischen
> den beiden Werken zu gering ist. Oder hat Thomas aus einem
> Evangelienbuch zitiert, das einen genauso schlechten Text
> hatte wie das, das Tatian für sein Diatessaron benutzte?
> Darauf ist zu antworten, dass die Existenz dieses Textes eine
> reine Vermutung ist, da wir ihn nicht besitzen. Oder sind
> das Thomasevangelium und das Diatessaron durch das Hebräer-
> evangelium beeinflusst? Auch das ist nichts als eine Ver-
> mutung, denn wir wissen vom Hebräerevangelium so gut wie
> nichts.[4]

How, then, does Klijn explain the apparent similarities between
Thomas and Tatian's Harmony? He suggests that the authors of both
works were influenced by the Synoptics as they circulated orally in
Edessa of Syria:

> Wahrscheinlich schöpfte der Verfasser des Thomasevangeliums
> zum grossen Teil aus dieser Überlieferung. Diese Überlief-
> erung muss es also auch gewesen sein, die den Text des Dia-
> tessarons beeinflusste.[5]

---

[1] For instance, Baarda lists some of the same questionable
variants which Quispel cites in the four logia discussed above.

[2] Cf. *NovTest* 3 (1959):166ff.

[3] Cf. Dehandschutter, *OLoP* 6 (1975):129.

[4] Klijn, *Edessa*, p. 69.   [5] Ibid., p. 70.

Klijn thus proposes another viable alternative, however un-
provable it might be: common dependence upon a third source other
than the Gospel of the Hebrews, i.e. oral tradition. As would be
expected, his position is not without its opponents. Dehandschutter,
for example, has pointed out that the existence of similarities be-
tween two works does not perforce indicate the dependence of both
upon a third source.[1] Nevertheless, this remains a position which
some are not yet ready to abandon.[2]

A still different view is advocated by Koester. He is of
the opinion that the writer of the Diatessaron has used the four
Gospels *and* the Gospel of Thomas.[3] This, of course, would require
a date for Thomas considerably before A.D. 170; Koester, in fact,
has suggested a date of origin possibly as early as the second half
of the first century![4] This type of relationship between Thomas

---

[1] Dehandschutter, *OLoP* 6 (1975):129. Cf. Quispel, in *Gnostic Studies*, II, p. 57.

[2] Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 30, for instance, while not concurring with Klijn in specifics, suggests that "the agreement may have arisen from the dependence of both on a 'wild' text of the individual Gospels" (which appears closer to Klijn's earlier posi- tion). Parsons, "Liber Graduum," pp. 12-15, 42-44, also believes that both works have been influenced by some unknown third source. Similarly, but more specifically, Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963):211-24; and H. S. Pelser, "The Origin of the Ancient Syriac New Testament Texts—A Historical Study," in *De fructu oris sui: Essays in Honour of Adrianus van Selms*, ed. I. H. Eybers, et al., Pretoria Oriental Studies 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), pp. 161-62, propose that both the Diatessaron and Thomas rest upon the same older textual tradi- tion, possibly Jewish-Christian, as found in early second-century Syria and, according to Pelser, also in Rome.

[3] Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," p. 142. This view is evidently favoured by Ménard, *Thomas*, pp. 22-24.

[4] In *NHLE*, p. 117. Of course, a first-century date is quite impossible for those who think Thomas is dependent upon the Gospel of the Hebrews (see p. 19 n. 1 above), since the latter probably orig- inated in the first half of the second century (cf. Vielhauer, in *NTApo*, 1:107, ET 1:163). Moreover, Tatian's use of Thomas becomes increasingly unlikely if Thomas used the Gospel of the Hebrews—espe- cially if the Gospel of the Hebrews was written in Egypt, Thomas in Syria, and the Diatessaron in Rome!

and Tatian's Harmony is a possibility which cannot be excluded out
of hand, but it appears less than likely, since, if such was the
case, we would expect to find far more and much closer agreement be-
tween Thomas and the Diatessaron than can presently be discovered,
notwithstanding subsequent scribal correction. Therefore, unless
an adequate explanation for this phenomenon is forthcoming (and it
is regrettable that Koester has not elaborated upon his theory),
this view may be confronted with a fair amount of scepticism.

In summation, scholars have offered three possible relation-
ships between Thomas and the Diatessaron: the former was influenced
by the latter, the latter was influenced by the former, or they both
used a common third source (whether it be the Gospel of the Hebrews,
oral tradition, an ancient Syrian gospel tradition, or a "wild"
Gospel text). Of course, there is an alternative explanation: both
could be independent of one another, but coincidentally agreeing in
some places. Nonetheless, the agreements between Thomas and the Dia-
tessaron almost compel one to seek some type of relationship or con-
nection. Many other scholars have posited a connection between the
two,[1] but they are at a loss as to how to define it; the dearth of
substantial evidence prohibits firm conclusions. We are yet faced
with the question: If there is a relationship between Thomas and Ta-
tian's Harmony, precisely what is it? Hopefully, the following in-
vestigation will furnish additional clues.

As we compare these two texts, we must attempt to avoid the
mistakes of previous studies. Hence, allowance must be made for for-
tuitous agreement, linguistic peculiarities, and other textual

---

[1]Among the others who seem to suggest some type of connec-
tion between the two works, cf. Wilson, *Studies*, pp. 136-41; Schip-
pers, *Thomas*, pp. 19-20, 52-53, 134; Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):250;
J. A. Huisman, "Nachwort," *VigChr* 16 (1962):152-53; Baker, *JThS* 16
(1965):449-54; and Frend, *JThS* 18 (1967):20.

influences. What we are searching for are textual agreements between

Thomas and the Diatessaron which are more likely due to some type of

connection between them than to anything else. This would include

substantial and rather extensive verbal agreements, a common misread-

ing or mistranslation of the underlying Greek text, etc. Moreover,

it is extremely important what we label as "Tatianic." In this study,

preference will be given to the Diatessaric readings which occur in

both branches of witnesses, especially if the readings are *against*

the Vulgate and Peshitta. A final note may be added here: for the

sake of brevity, only those logia with a comparatively strong claim

to Diatessaric similarity will be studied.

D. A Brief Comparison of Thomas
and the Diatessaron

Logion 8: "And he said: The man is like a wise fisherman who

cast his net into the sea; he drew it up out of the sea full of small

fish; among them the wise fisherman found a large fish which was good.

He cast out all the small fish into the sea; he chose the large fish

without difficulty. The one who has ears to hear, let him hear."

This saying has only one canonical parallel, Mt. 13:47-48, and it is

one in which are found many possible connections with the various Ta-

tianic witnesses.[1] It is thus a good logion with which to begin this

investigation. (i) The main difference between Thomas and Mt. is

that Thomas likens a *man* to a *wise fisherman*, whereas in Mt. the *king-*

dom is compared to a *fishnet.* Quispel would like to think that Tatian,

---

[1]The variants for this study will primarily be those iden-
tified by Baarda, in Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 138-53; and by Quispel
in his two most recent lists in *Gnostic Studies, II*, pp. 58-69, and
in *Tatian*, pp. 174-90. Quispel discusses this particular logion in
detail in *Tatian*, pp. 95-106.

like Thomas, originally wrote of a parable of the fisher*man*,[1] but

the only significant witness he can call is Hel; no copy of the Dia-

tessaron reads similarly.[2] Because of this, it is very unlikely that

Thomas has at this point been influenced by the Diatessaron; indeed,

it could well be that the "man" is stressed in log. 8 in order to

link it with log. 7,[3] or because of a tendentious Gnostic influence,[4]

or "man" may be due to a scribal error.[5] Alternatively, this reading

could be due to the same type of influences which prevailed upon

Clement of Alexandria in Egypt.[6] (ii) An impressive array of Tati-

anic witnesses (Ta[ape][arm]nvt; cf. Hel) have a finite verb "he/they

drew" in place of the aorist participle of Mt. But since they all

vary between "he/they" and "draw/drew," one wonders whether this vari-

ant could be due to the preference of many languages for the finite

verb instead of the participles of Greek. The fact that the finite

verb also occurs in D it sy[scp] sa fay bo confirms this view.

(iii) Also of interest is the frequent addition of "fish" in Thomas

and the various Diatessara (i.e., the net was "full of fish"--Ta[snvt];

the good "fish" were collected--Ta[e][syr]n), while in Mt. "fish" are

---

[1]*Tatian*, pp. 100f.

[2]Quispel, *Tatian*, p. 101, sees that Ta[e][arm] reads "simile est
sagenae, quia misit eam"; he concludes that "misit eam" points to a
latent reading which spoke of the fisherman as the subject of the
parable, but this is highly questionable; "misit eam" could be a cir-
cumlocution for the Passive: cf. Ta[e][syr], which uses the intensive
tense Pa'el.

[3]Cf. Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 13.

[4]Cf. Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 67-68.

[5]Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings*[2], p. 89. He gives this reason
because "men" is mentioned four times in the preceding logion.

[6]Cf. *Strom.* 6. 11. 95. 3 (GCS ed.): ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασι-
λεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ σαγήνην εἰς θάλασσαν βεβληκότι
κἀκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἑαλωκότων ἰχθύων τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἀ-
μεινόνων ποιουμένῳ.

never explicitly mentioned. Thomas and these witnesses, however, do

not exactly agree: Thomas has "*small* fish" and "*a* fish." Moreover,

"fish" is a natural implication (despite what Quispel says),[1] and

it is added by other witnesses (cf. sa sy^{sc} ClAlex). Hence, the source

of this reading in Thomas could be totally independent of the Dia-

tessaron. (iv) In this connection, it is noteworthy that Ta^{v} men-

tions "the *large* (and the good)" ("li grandi et li buoni"; "fish" om.),

as does Thomas, but it is difficult to draw firm conclusions from just

one witness.[2] (v) Finally, Baarda and Quispel note that Mt. has

"they collected" (συνέλεξαν), but Thomas and Ta$^{ape arm}$snt have "he/

they chose, selected." The variant is not as remarkable as it appears.

The word συλλέγειν , for instance, has clear connotations not only

of collection, but also of selection (cf. Mt. 7:16/Lk. 6:44/log. 45a

and Mt. 13:28-30/log. 57); in addition, the English word "to elect

(chose)" is quite obviously a derivative from the Greek word. It is

not surprising, then, that the Diatessaron and Thomas are not the

only texts to have "to choose"; it sy^{scp} and several other witnesses

have it as well. An alternate explanation for the ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ("to choose")

of Thomas could be an intended word-play with the ⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ("to hear")

of log. 8. In view of the relatively minor evidence and the several

other possible influences upon Thomas, therefore, the influence of

the Diatessaron upon log. 8, or even their common dependence upon a

third source, appears less than likely.

Logion 9. On pp. 159-60 above, it was seen that there is

little, if any evidence to connect the *Heliand* and Thomas. Because

---

[1]*Tatian*, p. 96. Cf. the interesting reading of Ta^{p}: "Quando si rempli di tutte le specie di animali del mare" (Messina, p. 221).

[2]The addition of "great" is probably nothing more than inde-pendently or tendentiously added emphasis: cf. sy^{sc} which add "great" before "net."

there are no other Diatessaric witnesses which share major variants with Thomas, a connection between the two works for this logion is unlikely.

Logion 16: "Jesus said: Men possibly think that I have come to throw peace upon the world, and they do not know that I have come to throw divisions upon the earth, fire, sword, war. For five shall be in a house; three shall be against two and two against three; the father against the son and the son against the father, and they shall stand as solitary ones." This saying has parallels in Mt. 10:34-35 and Lk. 12:51-53. (i) The listing of Thomas and Ta^{apearm}vt, which read "to throw," as opposed to the Synoptic "to bring" is misleading, since Mt. has βαλεῖν. The reading of Thomas, and indeed the readings in the Diatessaron for Lk., could well be due to Matthean influence.[1] (ii) This is also a more probable explanation for the repetition of "I have come to throw (divisions)" in Thomas than any reading which may be found in Tatianic witnesses (Quispel gives Ta^{apv}). (iii) Another reading of Thomas worthy of note is the harmonistic "divisions . . . fire, sword, war." If Thomas is not independent of the Gospels, it is possible that "divisions" comes from Lk. 12:51, "fire" from Lk. 12:49, and "sword" from Mt. 10:34; but whence comes "war"? Quispel would aver that it comes from the Aramaic word *ḥarba*, which in Syriac has the sense of "sword" as well as "war"; this Aramaic word was most likely in the same Jewish-Christian gospel tradition which influenced not only Thomas, but Ps.-Clem. (*Rec.* 2. 26. 6) and Ta^p, which both have "war" as well.[2] This is possible,

---

[1] Witnesses for βαλεῖν in Lk. 12:51 include 1093 1424 b g l r^{1,2} sy^{sp} sa^{129} bo achm georg eth Mcion. Cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 103. Moreover, Ta^{earm} (8. 14) evidently quotes only the Matthean form (and hence, βαλεῖν).

[2] Cf. *VigChr* 12 (1958):189; cf. Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 77. Quispel is refuted by Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 58.

but because Thomas has a much fuller reading than any witness, Tatianic or otherwise (Ta[p] has only "division and war," and sy[c] in Mt. 10:34 reads "division of the will and a sword"), it is more probable that Thomas is here acting on its own, perhaps with the help of the Gospels. (iv) One highly interesting variant which Thomas and some Diatessaric witnesses share is "they do not know" in Lk. 12:49 (Ta[fsn]Zach), but it may be questionable whether Thomas is here actually parallel to Lk. 12:49. Moreover, since the reading occurs only in Western witnesses, it cannot be traced back to Tatian with any certainty. A relationship between Thomas and the Diatessaron can merely be a possibility. (v) The second part of log. 16 shares only the omission of the word "divided" with Ta[n] (Quispel also lists Ta[apt], but all three have "divided" twice, just like Lk. 12:52-53). Though this omission makes the wording of the first part of log. 16b amazingly close to that of Ta[n],[1] with only one Tatianic harmony as a witness, no firm conclusions can be drawn. The most that can be said for log. 16 and the Diatessaron is that there is a slight possibility of a mutual relationship--if anything, the dependence of the former upon the latter or the dependence of both upon a common source (a tradition in Syria?).

Logion 25: "Jesus said: Love your brother as your soul; keep him as the apple of your eye." Quispel avows that, as far as the first part of this saying is concerned, it cannot be based on the Synoptics (Mt. 19:19; 22:39/Mk. 12:31/Lk. 10:27) because of three differences: (i) Thomas has "love" (Imperative) instead of "you will love"; (ii) Thomas has "brother" instead of "neighbour"; and

---

[1]In this place, Ta[L] (Plooij, p. 97) reads: "For henceforth, where there shall be five in one house, three shall be against two, and two against three. For I have come to part (*scheeden* ~ διαμερίζειν) the son from the father, and the daughter from the mother . . . ."

(iii) Thomas has "as your soul" in place of "as yourself."[1] For each difference, Quispel traces parallels between this logion and the Diatessaron. (i) But the fact that Ta^{pesn} also have "love"[2] is not impressive when one considers that the Future of the Synoptics is due to the Hebrew וְאָהַבְתָּ of Lev. 19:18, but the tendency for many languages is to render the command in the Imperative.[3] As for (ii), Quispel also notes that Ta^{pn} Hel have "friend" instead of the Synoptic "neighbour,"[4] but it is difficult to see how this demonstrates any connection with Thomas' "brother." Regarding (iii): the phrase "as your soul" has been briefly mentioned above.[5] Guillaumont points out that this is commonly used for the reflexive in Aramaic and Syriac;[6] Quispel likes to think of its occurrence in Thomas as due to Aramaic influence,[7] Ménard as due to Syriac influence.[8] Alternatively, it could merely be a "biblicism."[9] Whatever the case, a tie between

---

[1] See "Love Thy Brother," *Ancient Society* 1 (1970):83-93; reprinted in *Gnostic Studies, II*, pp. 169-79, esp. 172ff.; and *Tatian*, pp. 78-82, esp. 79.

[2] Quispel, *Tatian*, 178, also lists Ta^{v} (cf. *Gnostic Studies, II*, p. 175), but it appears that this is incorrect.

[3] Cf. Mt. 19:19 in sy^{s} which has "will love" and in sy^{c} which has "love"; Ephraem actually seems to quote the passage two times, once each way.

[4] Again, he erroneously lists Ta^{v}. Moreover, the "compagno" of Ta^{p} could well be tendentiously unique (cf. Messina, pp. 67, 225, 265), but Leloir (*Témoignage*, p. 201) thinks it represents a probable Tatianic reading. Further, it may be questioned whether the "friunda" in Hel 1451 is even parallel here (cf. Mt. 5:43); in v. 1448, which is perhaps closer to log. 25, the *Heliand* reads "nahiston" ("neighbour"). Interestingly, Ta^{L} (Plooij, p. 347) for Mt. 19:19 has "euenkersten" ("fellow-Christian").

[5] Page 127.

[6] *JA* 246 (1958):117-18. It also occurs in Hebrew--cf. 1 Sam. 18:1, 3; also, Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):322-23; and J. B. Bauer, *Muséon* 74 (1961):435-36, 438.

[7] *Tatian*, p. 78.　　　　[8] *Thomas*, p. 117.

[9] See p. 133 above.

log. 25 and Ta[p], which has "come l'anima tua" in Lk. 10:27, is un-
likely since this phrase in Ta[p] could well be due to the influence
of the Syriac versions which unanimously have ܐܝܟ ܢܦܫܟ ("as your
soul"). In fact, any connection between this saying in Thomas and
the Diatessaron is doubtful.

Logion 30: "Jesus said: Where there are three gods, they are
gods; where there are two or one, I am with him."[1] (i) The "addi-
tion" of "I" to the sayings found in Mt. 18:20 by Thomas and Ta[pevt]
cannot be considered too significant, since the emphatic pronoun is
an option in some languages (cf. Pierpont Morgan it), and indeed it
is almost necessary in others. In Syriac, for instance, the ("I")
is not superfluous, but necessary, since it also serves as a copula
carrying with it the verb "to be" (cf. Ephraem and sy[sc]). (ii) Sim-
ilarly, the omission of ἐκεῖ and γάρ in Thomas and Ta[pvt] and Ta[pe],
respectively,[2] could easily be explained as due to the work of an
editor or copyist as he used (wove together?) his sources.[3] (iii) By
far the most interesting variant in Thomas is the addition of the idea
of "one." Ephraem, in his commentary on the Diatessaron (14. 24),
appears to quote two sayings in his comments: "Where one is, I am"
and "Where two are, I am."[4] This raises two questions. The first is:

---

[1]For the most recent attempt to restore the parallel to this
saying in POxy 1, with a good overview of previous attempts, see
Harold W. Attridge, "The Original Text of Gos. Thom., Saying 30,"
Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists 16 (1979):153-57.

[2]As noted by Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 126.

[3]And, as we have seen (p. 61 n. 1), the Sahidic version also
omits "there" (ⲘⲘⲀⲨ), and reads, perhaps due to confusion, "with
them" (ⲚⲘⲘⲀⲨ). As a comparison with POxy 1 will show, the "with
him" (ⲚⲘⲘⲀⲩ) of Thomas is not due to such a confusion, but probably
to its interest in the "single one."

[4]Cf. Alfred Resch, *Agrapha. Aussercanonische Schriftfrag-
mente*, TU 30 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906), pp. 201-202; and Leloir,
Témoignage, p. 183.

Was this saying about "one" originally in Tatian's Diatessaron? If

it was, one wonders why it is found in no other Tatianic witnesses.

The only possible traces are the allusions in Aphraates (*Dem.* 4. 11,

12; 6. 11), which are by no means clear references to Tatian.[1] More-

over, since similar sayings are found elsewhere, including the writ-

ings of Ignatius,[2] it is more likely that this saying comes from an-

other source. This brings us to the second question: Where did Thom-

as get this saying about the "one"? It is possible that it was

gleaned from oral tradition, or from some canonical text unknown to

us; it could be influenced by rabbinic tradition.[3] Yet, it is more

plausible to conceive of the reference to "one" as a tendentious

addition to emphasize further the obvious interest Thomas has in

"the solitary one,"[4] but this is not certain. Perhaps with more cer-

tainty it can be said that there is little evidence to connect log.

30 with the Diatessaron.

Logion 32: "Jesus said: A city that is built upon a high

mountain and is fortified cannot fall, nor can it be hidden."

---

[1]Zahn, *Forschungen*, 1:170, very intriguingly suggests that
Aphraates in these places does *not* use the same text as does Ephraem,
but independently develops a similar idea. If Aphraates can invent
such terminology, why not the writer of log. 30?

[2]*Eph.* 5. 2; and Ps.-Ignatius *Eph.* 5. Cf. Resch, *Agrapha*,
p. 201; and Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings*², pp. 106-107.

[3]See pp. 128-29 above.

[4]Cf. log. 4, 11, 16, 22, 23, 49, 75, and 106. Cf. also the
discussions of M. Harl, "À propos des ΛΟΥια de Jésus: le sens du
mot μοναχός," *Revue des études grecques* 73 (1960):464-74; A. F. J.
Klijn, "The 'Single One' in the Gospel of Thomas," *JBL* 81 (1962):
271-78; Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 59; Quispel, in *Aspects du Judéo-
Christianisme*, pp. 37ff.; H. S. Pelser, "The Origin of the Syrian
Asceticism or Monasticism," in *Biblical Essays: Proceedings of the
Ninth Meeting of 'Die Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-
Afrika' Held at the University of Stellenbosch, 26th-29th July 1966*
(Stellenbosch, 1966), pp. 121ff.; Ménard, in *StPatr*, 14:224f.; and
Engelzakis, *NTS* 25 (1975):265, 270.

(i) The difference between log. 32 and Mt. 5:14 which primarily

concerns us here is Thomas' "built" (οἰκοδομημένη /ⲕⲱⲧ) in place

of the canonical "set" (κειμένη). "Built" may also be found in

Ta^{ap}. It can be seriously questioned, however, whether this read-

ing goes back to Tatian. Because it occurs in several other wit-

nesses (sy^{scp} f k arm^{vet} georg PsClem Aug Hil),[1] it could readily

have Syrian origins besides his Harmony; a Diatessaric connection is

only one possibility.[2] (ii) Another point of interest is the ἐπ᾽

ἄκρον /ὅ/ρους ὑψηλοῦς of POxy 1. 7.[3] The word "summit, top" is

apparently found in Ta^p; the mountain is described as "high" in Hel

(vv. 1395-97). But due to the fact that the attestation for these

readings is so meagre, this agreement is due probably more to chance

than it is traceable to the Diatessaron or one of its sources.[4] We

must conclude, therefore, that a relationship between log. 32 and

the Diatessaron is only a remote possibility.

Logion 33b: "For no one lights a lamp and puts it under a

bushel, nor does one put it in a hidden place, but one puts it upon

the lampstand so that all who go in and come out will see its light."

---

[1]Baarda, in Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 140-41, notes this read-
ing also in the biography of Ephraem and in the Syriac version of
Eusebius' *Theophania*.

[2]Kuhn, *Muséon* 73 (1960):319-20, suggests the possibility
that these two readings originated in the Coptic tradition, since
the difference between "built" (ⲕⲱⲧ) and "set" (ⲕⲱ) is just one
letter. Cf. Garitte, *Muséon* 73 (1960):168.

[3]Cf. Peters, *AcOr* 16 (1938):284-85.

[4]Krogmann, *ZNW* 51 (1960):265, thinks that the "high" of Hel
is explainable by the writer's epic style, and even Quispel, *VigChr*
16 (1962):142, is forced to admit that a connection between Thomas
and Hel here is only a possibility. On the other hand, Schrage,
Verhältnis, p. 78; Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 129; and, before them, Evelyn-
White, *Sayings*, p. 44, trace the wording of POxy 1. 7/log. 32 back
to Mt. 7:24f. and Isa. 2:2 or Isa. 28:4. Garitte, *Muséon* 73 (1960):
168, believes it goes back to the Coptic *Vorlage* of POxy 1. 7, where
ϩⲓ (=ἐπί) and ⲭⲱ (=head, summit) was misread from ϩⲓⲭⲛ- ("upon").

This saying is similar to Mk. 4:21/Lk. 8:16 and Mt. 5:15/Lk. 11:33, but it is also replete with subtle differences, many of which are also found in Tatianic witnesses.[1] Thomas in this place is particularly close to Ta^L, but as we have seen above (pp. 161-63), the evidence is not so great as to demand some type of connection between them. Thus, (i) the "addition" of "no one" (Ta^{pn} Aphr Hel), (ii) the addition of "place" to "hidden" (Ta^{lsnvt} Aphr), (iii) the repetition of "one puts it" (Ta^{pLv} Aphr Hel Zach), and (iv) the reading "so that" (Ta^{lsnt} Hel) are not all that telling. (v) Neither is the occurrence of "all" in some witnesses (Ta^{plsnt} Aphr Hel) impressive, since it occurs in the Synoptics in Mt. 5:15. This could be the source of Thomas' "all," or Thomas could have added it independently. (vi) The variant which *is* impressive, however, is the reversal of the canonical wording in Lk. 11:33 to read "under a bushel . . . in a hidden place" as is found in Thomas and Ta^{fsnt} There may be other explanations for this agreement (see pp. 161-62), but some type of connection between Thomas and this reading in the Western Diatessaron cannot be excluded. Unfortunately, it is questionable whether this reading formed part of Tatian's original Harmony, since no certain Eastern witnesses attest to it. Aphraates (*Dem.* 1. 10) has a text almost identical with Ta^L, but then, so does sy^c for Lk. 8:16. Moreover, it is difficult to draw parallels between the Diatessaron and Thomas, the latter omitting any reference to the "bed" of the Tatianic witnesses. Lk. 11:33 remains the closest parallel, but this version of the parable is omitted altogether from Ta^{ape}, which seem to prefer the Matthean form (although Ta^p also uses

---

[1]Cf. especially Quispel, *VigChr* 13 (1959):108-109, 112-13, and *NTS* 5 (1959):285. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 138, for one, is impressed with the evidence for some type of connection between this logion and Tatian's Harmony.

Lk. 8:16). We are thus left with sy^c in Lk. 11:33 as the closest

text to Thomas. Consequently, a connection between log. 33b and

Tatian can only be one possible explanation for Thomas' wording.

Logion 35. On p. 83 it was shown that the influence of

the Coptic versions of Mt. 12:29/Mk. 3:27 upon this saying is un-

likely. The evidence for a connection with the Diatessaron is also

slight. (i) The minor difference which Baarda and Quispel detect

between the "spoil" of Mt. and the "take by force" of Thomas and

Ta^{Lt} is not all that significant. The two words ἁρπάζειν (Mt.)

and διαρπάζειν (Mk.) are, after all, basically synonyms, with the

latter being marginally more intensive, as a comparison with the

Syriac versions shows (Mt.--)⊐; Mk.--ܓܠܘ, both basically meaning

"to plunder, spoil"). The wording of these two Diatessara could be

influenced by Mk., or they could merely be independent translations

of their *Vorlage.*[1] The latter explanation most likely is at the

base of Thomas' reading. Whatever the case, the modest variation

in synonyms is poor evidence for a connection between any two works.

Logion 39a: "Jesus said: The Pharisees and scribes have re-

ceived the keys of knowledge; they have hidden them. They did not

enter, and those who wished to enter they did not allow." This say-

ing is closely paralleled in Lk. 11:52, with echoes also traceable

in Mt. 23:13. Quispel, however, thinks that the Diatessaron and

Thomas are much closer to each other than to any of the Gospels,[2]

and there is much evidence to sustain his opinion. (i) To begin

with, Lk. has "key," but Thomas and Ta^{apearm} have "keys."[3] Two

---

[1] Significantly, Barnouw translates the "eñ duingt hem af" of Ta^L (Plooij, p. 140) with "extorts from him," which is much closer to Mt. than to Thomas.

[2] Quispel, *VigChr* 13 (1959):112.

[3] Quispel (cf. *Tatian,* pp. 180-81) and Baarda list Aphraates

things must mitigate any conclusion of a connection here: (a) the reading is found only in Eastern Tatianic witnesses, and (b) "keys" is also found in q sy^{scp} bo arm georg ClemAl Just Aug of Lk. 11:52. One can justifiably wonder whether the Syriac versions are thus the source of the plural in Ta$^{ape^{arm}}$ and even in Thomas.[1] (ii) Identical objections could be raised concerning the addition of "they have hidden them" which occurs in Thomas and Ta$^{ae^{arm}}$, as well as in sy^{sc} and D 157 it arm georg eth Orig PsClem. (iii) Next, there is the addition of "those who wished" in Thomas and Ta^{pvt}. This may simply be an independently made addition from inference, but because it occurs both in the East and West (in the Tuscan Harmony, however, it occurs only in the margin of MS Θ), it may be original to Tatian.[2] Nevertheless, even if this is true, one may have difficulty forming a connection with log. 39a, since "those who wished" most likely does *not* occur in POxy 655. 4.[3] If this is correct, the odds are good that the phrase represents the freedom of the Coptic translator, and does not go back to the original redactor of this saying.

(iv) Finally, we may observe that Quispel makes a distinction between the "stopped" of the Gospels (especially Lk.) and the "did not allow" of Thomas and Ta^{alnt}, but the point is artificial, since Mt. uses ἀφιέναι and the Sahidic version, for one, translates both

---

as a witness for this variant, but Aphraates only alludes to this saying once (*Dem*. 14. 26), and here he uses the singular "key." An obscure reference to this saying with "keys" may be found in *Dem*. 14. 16 and perhaps in 14. 38, but this is hardly satisfactory textual evidence.

[1] We must be careful not to assume that just because a reading in Ta^{ap} also occurs in sy^{scp} that it *automatically* is Tatianic, especially in the absence of Western Diatessaric testimony.

[2] And yet, even here there are problems, since in Ta^{p} the reading occurs in a Lucan context, and in Ta^{vt}, a Matthean.

[3] Cf. Fitzmyer, *Essays*, pp. 413-14.

Mt. and Lk. (κωλύειν) with the same word (κω--"to allow, permit").

In light of all these objections to the evidence, we must conclude

that a connection between the Diatessaron and log. 39a is only one

of several possibilities;[1] we could be seeing the influence of a

Syrian tradition,[2] or the author of Thomas could be using his tradi-

tions independently.[3]

Logion 44. This saying and its relationship to Ta[t] has

been discussed on pp. 158-59. Variant (i)--the addition of "who-

ever will say a word against the Father"--is significant; in fact,

this is exactly the type of substantial variant for which we have been

looking. Unfortunately, it occurs only in Thomas and Ta[t],[4] making

a connection between the two only a remote possibility.

Logion 45b. When this logion was earlier discussed on p. 86,

it was concluded that there was little reason for connnecting it

with the Coptic versions. The evidence for a relationship with Ta-

tian's Harmony is a little better. (i) The first major variant

shared by Thomas and the Diatessaron (Ta[apnv] Aphr Hel) which Baarda

and Quispel[5] notice is the addition of "of his heart" after "treas-

ure." This gloss is not unique to these two writings, however, for

it occurs also in L 33 1424 1604 1675 pc sy[scpal] of Mt. 12:35 and in

A C D[2] Δ Ψ R pm it[pt] sy[scp] bo[pt] of Lk. 6:45. A comparison of Thomas

_____

[1] Wilson, *Studies*, p. 139, considers the suggestion of a con-
nection with the Diatessaron to be "fully justified."

[2] Cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):190, where he argues strongly
for a connection with the Pseudo-Clementines.

[3] The apparent majority of scholars would view these tradi-
tions as canonical; cf. Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 97-98; Schrage, *Ver-
hältnis*, pp. 92-93; and Ménard, *Thomas*, pp. 139-40.

[4] Such a reading may be implied by the commentary of Ta[v]; cf.
Todesco, *Diatessaron Veneto*, p. 59.

[5] Cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 16 (1962):145-46.

with all of these witnesses (including the Diatessara) will reveal
two noteworthy differences: (a) the marked tendency for the canonical
texts is to add "of his heart" to the "good treasure" *and* to the
"evil treasure," whereas Thomas alone adds it only to "evil treas-
ure"; and (b) most of the above texts[1] follow the somewhat unnatural
word order "the evil *man* from the evil *treasure* in his *heart brings
forth* evil *things*," but Thomas clearly has "an evil *man brings forth*
evil *things* from his evil *treasure* which is in his *heart*." Hence,
while it is possible that Thomas has a connection with the Diatessaron
here, it could have as easily been influenced by a different textual
tradition, or it could be following an independent line. (ii) An
even more interesting variant is Thomas' addition of "and he speaks
evil things." A similar reading may be found in Ta^L Aphr Hel,[2] but
also in sy^{sc} of Mt. In Ta^L Aphr, however, "speaks" is used in ref-
erence to good *and* evil things; in Hel, "speaks" is not used at all.[3]
Significantly, it is in sy^{sc} where only the *evil* things are *spoken*.
The Old Syriac, then, is somewhat closer to log. 45b than the Diates-
saron is, but the possibility of a connection between Thomas and Ta-
tian's work cannot be disregarded.

Logion 47a. There is very little evidence to tie this saying
to the Coptic versions (see pp. 86-88) or to the Diatessaron. (i) It
is true that Thomas and Ta^{ap} have "to honour" in place of the canonical

----

[1] Ta^L is an exception.

[2] In Ta^L, "evil things" are "spoken" only in the condensed,
paraphrased form of the saying (Plooij, p. 141), not in its fuller,
more precise form where "treasure" is discussed (p. 87).

[3] Quispel, *VigChr* 16 (1962):145, translates Hel 1755-57 as
"sondern vom üblen Mann kommen bösartige Ratschläge, bittere Worte
des Verderbens, wie er sie drinnen in der Brust um sein Herz geheftet
hält." Cf. Scott, *Heliand*, p. 59: "But from an evil man cometh un-
wise counsel, Words bitter and blameworthy, such as he hath in his
breast, Harboring them 'round his heart." Log. 45b and the *Heliand*
are not so parallel, after all.

ἀντέχεσθαι ("to be loyal to, to hold firmly to"), but so does sy[p].
Because this reading does not occur in sy[sc] or any other Syrian
traditions, and because this reading occurs only in the Eastern
branch of Tatianic witnesses, it is doubtful that it is originally
Tatianic; more probably it can be traced to the Peshitta. Its occur-
rence in Thomas could be fortuitous, being an independent transla-
tion from some text.[1]

   Logion 47b: "A man does not drink old wine and immediately
desire to drink new wine." The only canonical parallel to this say-
ing is Lk. 5:39. Baarda and Quispel list three variants shared by
Thomas and Ta[ap]: (i) "drinks" in place of "drinking" (πίων),[2]
(ii) the addition of "wine" after "old,"[3] and (iii) the addition
of "and." (i) As to Thomas' use of a Coptic finite verb, it must
be said that this is no guarantee that its *Vorlage* did not have a
participle, as Luke does.[4] Nevertheless, the preference for a finite
verb represents a common tendency and could have been done indepen-
dently. (iii) The addition of "and" is thus made necessary to join
two finite verbs. (ii) Also, the addition of "wine" is clearly due
to a near compulsion to supply the adjective "old" with a noun.[5]

_____

   [1]Quispel suggests the possibility that Thomas' reading is
the result of an independent translation of an Aramaic *Vorlage*: cf.
VigChr 13 (1959):91, and *NTS* 5 (1959):279. This suggestion, however,
has been met with serious opposition: cf. Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):
251-53; Wilson, *Studies*, p. 78; Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 111; and
Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 148. In the opinions of most writers (cf. Bartsch,
Wilson, Schippers, Haenchen, Grant, Schrage, and Ménard), the "text"
of Thomas is ultimately canonical.

   [2]Quispel, *Tatian*, p. 182, lists Ta[a] as "personne ne boit"
and is thus probably using Marmardji's translation (p. 65). Ciasca,
p. 13, however, has "bibens," and he is not necessarily being influ-
enced by the Vulgate; cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 15.

   [3]Cf. Ta[s].

   [4]Cf. Plumley, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 151.

   [5]This could be the reason Ta[pep] adds "wine" to both "old"

Moreover, since all three variants also occur in sy^p, its subsequent influence on Ta^{ap} cannot be ruled out, making the authenticity of these "Tatianic" readings doubtful. (iv) Perhaps the most interesting variant is the addition of "immediately," found not only in Thomas and Ta^{alst}, but also in Koine A C Θ 33 892 pl lat sy^p; consequently, the Tatianic witnesses could be under the influence of the Peshitta, the Vulgate, or the Koine text. Alternatively, it may be the case that the Diatessaron inspired this reading in all these witnesses, but Thomas' independent use of "immediately" appears to be a more likely possibility.

Logion 47c,d: "And they do not put new wine into old skins, lest they burst, and they do not put old wine into new skins, lest it spoil it. They do not sew an old patch on a new garment, for a rent will occur." The reverse combination of two similar sayings occurs in Mt. 9:17, 16 / Mk. 2:22, 21/Lk. 5:37-38, 36.[1] The similarities between Thomas and the Diatessaron as listed by Baarda and Quispel are difficult to decipher. (i) Probably the major common variant is the mention of "the *old* patch on the *new* garment" as found in log. 47d and Ta^p. From this meagre evidence, Quispel reconstructs the full Semitic poetry as, he guesses, it was found in the Gospel of the Hebrews.[2] Such a reconstruction is nothing but pure supposition, and, in light of the lack of firm evidence, must remain so.[3] Besides this reading, there are no other significant

_____

and "new"; cf. the Sahidic version, which does the same thing.

[1]Marcion and Shenoute (36. *De actis Archelai*) are the only other witnesses which reverse the Synoptic order to wine/patch.

[2]Quispel, *VigChr* 11 (1957):194-95.

[3]For a critique of Quispel's hypothesis, cf. Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 104-105; Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):251-53; Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 51; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 149.

common variations from the canonical text. (ii) Quispel tries to

see in Ta^{apnt} a dichotomy between "new wine" and "old wine" as in

Thomas, but "old wine" occurs nowhere in these witnesses (except,

of course, in the saying as found in log. 47b/Lk. 5:39). (iii) The

same author also thinks that the "new patch" (Ta^{pnt}) as opposed to

the "patch of a new garment" (Lk. 5:36) is noteworthy, but "new

patch" could easily be taken from Mt. 9:16/Mk. 2:21. Moreover,

since "new patch" cannot at all be found in Thomas (which mentions

only an "old patch"), Quispel is clearly begging the question. In

sum, there is very little substantial evidence to connect log. 47c,d

and Tatian's Harmony.

Logion 55 (cf. log. 101). The list of similarities between

this saying and the Diatessaron is impressive, until one looks

closely. Then it becomes apparent that all the evidence is of rela-

tively minor importance, similar to that offered by Schrage as he

argues for a connection with the Coptic versions (see pp. 88-90

above). This would include (i) the addition of "his" to "mother,"

"brothers," and "sisters" (cf. Ta^{anv}),[1] as well as (ii) "disciple

to me" instead of "disciple *of mine*" (cf. Ta^{a}).[2] (iii) As for the

difference between "whoever" (Thomas and Ta^{ap}) and "if anyone"

(Lk. 14:26), the distinction is artificial, since Ta^{a} and Ta^{p} both

use the same word whether they are translating Mt. 10:37 or Lk. 14:26,[3]

demonstrating that both phrases are basically synonymous, or that Ta^{ap}

and possibly Thomas have been influenced by Mt.; in either case, this

---

[1]Also cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 137.

[2]Marmardji, p. 149, does translate the Arabic of Lk. 14:26-27
as "ne peut (pas) être un disciple à moi," but Ciasca, p. 28, has
"non potest meus esse discipulus." Cf. Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):238.

[3]In Ta^{a}, the word is ﺟﻮ ; and in Ta^{p}, ﻣﺮﻳﺪ .

cannot be used as a "variant" reading. (iv) More intriguing is

the reading of Thomas (which seems closer here to Lk. 14:26) where

"brothers and sisters" immediately follows "father and mother,"

while Lk. mentions "wife and children" between these two phrases.

Thomas' order is also in Ta^{ap}.[1] Several things should be observed,

however. First, Ta^{ap} go on to mention "wife and children," which

Thomas lacks. Second, this omission in Thomas is consistent with

the last redactor's views of the "single one"--perhaps a reference

to asceticism, or to unisexuality (cf. log. 22, 114). The omission

of "wife and children," which may or may not have been in his tradi-

tion, could be theologically motivated. And third, if we must look

for a *textual* influence upon Thomas, we would be better to suggest

sy^{scp}, which have an order just like Ta^{ap}, and probably influenced

them (if not initially, at least in their present form). Hence,

there is no substantial evidence to link log. 55/101 with the Diates-

saron.

Logion 57: "Jesus said: The kingdom of the Father is like a

man who had /good/ seed. His enemy came by night; he sowed a weed

among the good seed. The man did not permit them to pull up the

weed. He said to them: Lest perhaps you go to pull up the weed and

you pull up the wheat with it. For in the day of harvest the weeds

will appear; they will be pulled up and burned." In the Gospels,

this saying occurs only in Mt. 13:24-30, and then in a much fuller

form. (i) Baarda's first variant is the "is like" in Thomas and

Ta^{pnv} as opposed to Matthew's ὡμοιώθη , but a look at Mt.-sa will

reveal the same word as Thomas', rendering the observation inconse-

quential. (ii) The fact that Ta^{n} also mentions "night" is interest-

ing, but because this reading occurs in only one group of Tatianic

---

[1] But Ta^{p} omits any mention of "brothers."

witnesses, its authenticity may be questioned.[1] Besides, Mt. tells

us that the workers were sleeping, so that the enemy's undetected

approach "by night" is an obvious inference and could have been

added independently. (iii) The distinction which both Baarda and

Quispel seek to make between "he sowed" (from σπείρειν --Thomas

and Ta^{apln}) and ἐπέσπειρεν (Mt.) is meaningless, since these

words are basically synonymous and the Coptic and Syriac versions

translate both words the same way--thus, for all we know, Thomas

and these Tatianic witnesses could all go back to Matthew's ἐπ-

έσπειρεν.[2] (iv) Similarly, it is questionable whether Thomas'

"among" is closer to Ta^{Lt} than it is to the ἀνὰ μέσον of Mt.; Ta^{Lt}

may only be translation variants.[3] (v) The next variant, the sec-

ond "good seed" of Thomas and Ta$^{pLt(QH)}$ in place of Matthew's τοῦ

σίτου, is more impressive--that is, until one looks closer. If

Messina's translation can be trusted, Ta^{P} has *seminate* which means

"seed *bed*," and MSS QH of Ta^{t} are clearly shown in the apparatus to

read *tra il grano* ("among the wheat"). Combined with the fact that

Thomas' "good seed" could be derived from its mention earlier in the

saying, and taking into account the author's possible desire to stress

the *quality* of the seed, this shared "variant" between Thomas and the

Diatessaron is unlikely. (vi) Another variant, the addition of "to

them" after "he said" (cf. Ta^{an} Hel), is unsubstantial since the ad-

dition of the indirect object is a tendency in many languages (cf. D

Θ 080 023 pc sy^{scp} it sa fay arm georg), and Thomas might be

---

[1]Especially since the ζιζάνια in Ta^{n} are referred to as *nacht
crokke* ("night tares"), making the addition of the adverbial "in the
night" clearly tendentious.

[2]Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 138.

[3]Actually, Thomas has ⲘⲚ which more precisely means "with,"
the Coptic generally preferring ⲞⲨⲦⲈ- or ϨⲚ- for "among" (cf. Crum,
Dictionary, pp. 494b, 683b).

independent here.[1] (vii) Perhaps the most significant variant which Thomas and the Diatessaron (Ta[apnv] Hel) have in common is "to pluck, pull up" in place of Matthew's συλλέγειν. This could be due to a translation variant,[2] but we should explore the possibility of an agreement between Thomas and the Diatessaron. The word Thomas uses here is ϥⲱⲱⲗⲉ, a word not used in the Sahidic NT, and for which the only meaning Crum gives is "to pluck."[3] Nevertheless, it could conceivably translate the συλλέγειν ("to collect, gather") of Mt.[4] But if Thomas is closer to the Diatessaron than to the Synoptics, one would expect the Diatessaric witnesses generally to agree with Thomas' "to pluck." If we look at Ta[a], however, we see the word to be "seligo" or "separer,"[5] which means "to select, choose." Ta[p] is translated with "strappare" which means "to snatch, to root up." Ta[v] translates συλλέγειν using three different words, so it is obviously using some translation freedom; the same may be said for Hel. Ta[n] has "to draw out, pull out" for the first two occurrences of συλλέγειν (Mt. 13:28, 29), but in v. 30, it uses "to gather," demonstrating the former translations to be, perhaps, free translations.[6] The likelihood of this assessment is increased when we realize that the Bohairic version renders συλλέγειν with ⲥⲱⲕ ("to draw out"). We are thus left with only Ta[p] and Thomas which consistently have "to pluck" or "to snatch" in place of Matthew's "to gather," but even both of these could have had συλλέγειν in their *Vorlagen*. It may

---

[1]Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 138.   [2]Cf. ibid.

[3]*Dictionary*, p. 667b.   [4]Cf. Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 83.

[5]This is the correct translation of the Arabic word, even though Marmardji, p. 161, confuses the point by emending it to "ramasser," meaning "to collect, gather."

[6]This is highlighted by the fact that in v. 28, Ta[L] reads: "Wilt thou that we go and *pull out* the night-tares *with the roots*?" (Plooij, p. 169; italics added).

be more likely that Thomas' reading goes back to a Syriac variant (sy[sc] here has ܠܩܛ, which can mean both "to pick, pluck" and "to collect, gather"), or that the Coptic represents an independent translation from the Greek.[1] (vii) Finally, we may note the attempt to differentiate between "with it (them) wheat" (Mt.) and "wheat with it (them)" (Thomas and Ta[plsn]); the fact that the latter word order also occurs in D 477 pc sy[sc] bo fay georg clearly demonstrates that it is merely an alternative, perhaps more natural word order for many languages (cf. the modern translations). Concerning log. 57, therefore, we must conclude that there is only the slightest evidence for connecting it with Tatian's Harmony.[2]

Logion 63: "Jesus said: There was a rich man who had many possessions. He said: I will use my possessions in order that I may sow and reap and plant and fill my storehouses with fruit, that I may lack nothing. These were his thoughts in his heart. And in that night he died. He who has ears, let him hear." There are primarily two variant readings of this saying which Baarda and Quispel claim are parallel to the Diatessaric rendition of Lk. 12:16-20. (i) The first is "there was a rich man" (*homo dives*) (cf. Ta[apnt])[3] in the place of ἀνθρώπου τινὸς πλουσίου (*hominis divitis*). By way of rebuttal, it may be said that the Diatessaron is not the only

---

[1] Significantly, Thomas uses ϥⲱⲱⲗⲉ where, in v. 29, Mt. uses both συλλέγειν and ἐκριζοῦν ("to root up").

[2] This does not preclude, however, Synoptic contact at some time. Of special note is the fact that Thomas reads "the kingdom of the Father"--a term found only twice in the NT: in Mt. 26:29 and in the context of this parable, found only in Mt. (13:43). Cf. pp. 14-15 above.

[3] The precise wording of Ta[a] is obscure. Marmardji, p. 271, translates this phrase with "(Il y avait) un homme riche," indicating that the verb is not present in the Arabic text. Ciasca, p. 50, translates the Arabic with "Hominis cuiusdam divitis"; this wording, which appears closer to Lk. than to Thomas, may or may not be influenced by the Vulgate.

other version which prefers to make the man the subject of the sentence instead of the field--the Coptic versions do the same thing. Hence, Lk.-sa. translates this phrase with ογρωμε ⲚⲣⲘⲘⲀⲟ ⲠⲈⲚⲦⲀ ("a rich man who had"), and Lk.-bo. with ⲚⲈⲟⲅⲟⲚ ογρωⲙⲓ ⲚⲣⲀⲘⲀⲟ ("there was a rich man"), which is just like Thomas (except Thomas transliterates πλούσιος). Sy^{scp} use similar wording. This should not be too surprising, since it is the rich *man* who is the subject of the parable, not his field. It is most likely for this reason that these versions, including the Diatessaron, put "man" in the nominative case. Moreover, as we have seen in other parables, Thomas has a predilection for making a *person* (man or woman) the subject under discussion, rather than an object (net, field, pearl, etc.).[1] This, alternatively, could explain Thomas' wording. (ii) The second variant is "he said to his soul" (Quispel lists Ta^{aeL} Aphr) as opposed to Luke's "I will say to my soul" (presumably, v. 19). It should be noted, however, that both Ciasca (p. 50) and Marmardji (p. 273) translate Ta^{a} like Lk., not like the variant reading.[2] Ta^{L} uses the third person only in v. 17 where Lk. employs the third person; in v. 19, where Lk. uses the first person, Ta^{L} does the same.[3] Ephraem never actually quotes the parable in his commentary; in fact, there is only the slightest allusion to it in Ta^{earm} (6. 7). He does, however, quote part of it in his *Letter to Publius*.[4] But both

---

[1]Cf. log. 8, 76, 96, 97, 98, 107, 109.

[2]Therefore, Quispel, who lists Ta^{a} as "et il dit à son âme" (*Tatian*, p. 184), is incorrect.

[3]For this phrase in v. 17, Ta^{L} reads: "Doe sprac deghene iegen hem seluen in sire peinsingen aldus" ("And he said to himself in his meditations thus"; Plooij, p. 341); in v. 19, it reads: "eñ sal mi seluen troesten al dus" ("And I will console myself thus"; Plooij, p. 342).

[4]Cf. Burkitt, *Quotations*, p. 72; or *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:133.

here and in Aphr (*Dem*. 20. 6), the use of the third person seems to be in the paraphrase leading up to the quotation of Lk. 12:19b in the third person; the only undisputed witness to such a reading is sy^c. It is doubtful, then, that this was Tatian's original reading. Moreover, Thomas has "these were his *thoughts* in his *heart*," *not* "he said to his *soul*." To this wording no Diatessaric witness testifies. Thus, it is unlikely that there is any connection between log. 63 and Tatian's Harmony.

Logion 65. On pp. 92-95, it was seen that the chances of some type of Coptic-versional influence on this saying are good. Nonetheless, other, perhaps earlier influences cannot be excluded out of hand. Baarda and Quispel note several similarities to various Diatessara, but none are a convincing proof of any connection. For one thing, all of their examples, with a single exception, occur only in one Eastern witness: either Ta^a, Ta^p, or Ta^e. Consequently, it is questionable that these readings are authentically Tatianic. Further, (i) the reading "then" in Thomas and Ta^{earm}L as contrasted with ὕστερον (Mt. 21:37) is inadmissible, because the *postea* of Ta^{earm} is nearly an exact equivalent of ὕστερον and therefore much closer to Mt. than to Thomas.

Logion 68: "Jesus said: Blessed are you when they hate you and persecute you, and they will not find a place in which they have persecuted you."[1] This saying, especially the first part, is close to Mt. 5:11/Lk. 6:22. (i) The reading which normally catches the attention of the textual critic is the combination of "to hate" with "to persecute." Mt. mentions "to reproach, insult" and "to persecute,"

---

[1] The Brill edition suggests the emendation "you will find a place, where you will not be persecuted." See Ernst Haenchen, "Spruch 68 des Thomasevangeliums," *Muséon* 75 (1962):19-29, for the various emendations and interpretations of the second half of this saying; also cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, pp. 169-70.

and Lk. uses "to hate," "to exclude," and "to reproach," but Thomas

uses one word found only in Mt. ("persecute") and one unique to Lk.

("hate"). Similar readings may be found in Ta^{alnt} Hel.[1] All of the

Tatianic witnesses are clearly, and quite expectedly, harmonistic;

they combine several terms[2] and add the "men" of Lk. Thomas, though

harmonistic, has only two of these terms (just as sy^s of Mt. 5:11),

while omitting "men." It would seem, then, that there is no connec-

tion between Thomas and the Diatessaron here, and with this conclu-

sion even Quispel agrees.[3]

Logion 76a. There is a possibility that this saying has been

influenced by the Coptic versions (pp. 100-101), but there is also

a bit of evidence which may connect it with the Diatessaron: (i) at

the end of Mt. 13:46, the pearl is referred to as "it" (αὐτόν), but

Thomas and Ta^{pn} reiterate "pearl." In this regard, several things

should be considered. First, the repetition of pearl could easily

be fortuitous in light of v. 46a of Mt.; the fact that Ta^n calls it

"that precious pearl" emphasizes this. Second, the repetition occurs

elsewhere--Θ 517 954 1424 1675 arm PsClem. Finally, since Thomas

modifies the pearl with ογωτ ("one"? "alone"?), the addition could

simply be tendentious.[4] Thus, in light of the closer similarities

---

[1] The testimony of Hel may be questioned, since it reads in
v. 1322 "heti endi harmquidi" (Genzmer, p. 53: "Hass und Harmworte";
Scott, p. 44: "harm and hatred"). Thus, no mention is made of perse-
cution, and Hel is not clearly harmonistic here, as Thomas is.

[2] Ta^a_L has "hate, separate, expel, insult, and say evil about
you"; Ta^L appears the most harmonistic of all: "Blessed are ye when
the people curse and hate and persecute you and speak all /manner of/
evil of you, and lie about you, and part you asunder, and reproach
your behavior, and revile your name . . ." (Plooij, p. 65).

[3] *VigChr* 16 (1962):141.

[4] Cf. Schippers, *Thomas,* pp. 117-18; and Ménard, *Thomas,*
pp. 176-77; as well as A. F. J. Klijn, "The So-Called Hymn of the
Pearl (Acts of Thomas ch. 108-113)," *VigChr* 14 (1960):154-64, esp.
158.

to other textual traditions, a relationship between log. 76a and Tatian's Harmony is less than likely.

Logion 76b: "You yourselves also seek for his treasure which does not perish, which endures, where moth does not approach to devour, nor does worm destroy." (i) The first noteworthy variant is Thomas' "treasure" (with Ta[apnv] Aphr Hel)[1] as opposed to "treasures" in Mt. 6:20. This reading, though, is more likely due to the natural tendency to speak of a single treasure instead of several (especially in Thomas), or it could be a result of Luke's parallel (12:33), or the influence of the singular in Mt. 6:21. In fact, if the saying in Thomas ever existed in Syriac, it could even be due to a scribe's confusion between ܟܬܘܡܐ (sing.) and ܟܬܘܡܐ̈ (pl.) (cf. sy[cp]). As for the additions of (ii) "approaches" (cf. Ta[L], sy[C] in Mt. 6:19) or (iii) "to eat" (cf. Ta[pn]), it is questionable whether these readings are actually parallel to Thomas in placement or wording, or even authentically Tatianic. (iv) Finally, it is not really significant that Thomas and Ta[ap] have "worm" instead of "rust," because the Greek word $\beta\rho\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota\varsigma$, though normally translated "rust," can mean "worm";[2] the same can be said for the Syriac ܣܣܐ.[3] Consequently, there is not sufficient evidence to link log. 76b to the Diatessaron.

---

[1] Interestingly enough, Scott, *Heliand*, p. 55, translates *sinc* in v. 1642 (parallel here to Thomas) as "treasures" and in v. 1655 as "goods" (note the plural); cf. Genzmer, *Heliand*, p. 62, for v. 1642: "Schätze."

[2] Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, rev. and trans. by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 148.

[3] Cf. R. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, ed. J. Payne Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 383; and Carolo Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*, 2nd ed. (Göttingen, 1928), pp. 486-87. Cf. also sy[cp]; Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 118.

Logion 78. (i) Again, the main focus in this saying is the interpretation of τι ("why?" or "what?"), and the consequent placing of the question mark (before or after "to see") (cf. Mt. 11:7-8/ Lk. 7:24-25 and pp. 101-102 above). Thomas clearly takes the former approach; the Coptic versions and most modern translations and texts opt for the latter. It is thus interesting to see that Ta^p agrees with Thomas' wording.[1] Could Ta^p represent Tatian's original work? If it disagreed with the Peshitta, one might lean toward the affirmative, but the Peshitta (as the Old Syriac) is ambiguous here, preventing any definite conclusions. But it is noteworthy that the overwhelming majority of Western Tatianic witnesses (including Ta^{fsnt}) place the question mark after "to see" (vs. Thomas), and this against the Vulgate. Moreover, because the same reading occurs in Ta$^{ae^{arm}}$, it is more likely that Tatian originally wrote (or was interpreted to have written): "What did you go out into the wilderness to see?" This is contrary to log. 78, and precludes any mutual relationship.

Logion 79a. (i) The only shared variant worthy of comment in this saying is Thomas' "the breasts which nourished you" (cf. Ta$^{ape^{syr}}$) as opposed to "the breasts which you suckled" (Lk. 11:27). Wording similar to Thomas', where "the breasts" are the subject of the clause rather than "you," is also found in the Syriac tradition: sy^{scppal} arm arab. Now, the Syriac word used here is ܝܘܐܩܠ ܐ ("which suckled you"), but the Aph'el of ܩܠ can also mean "to suck,"[2] which is closer to Luke in meaning. In the Syriac versions, the breasts are clearly the subject of the clause, but the ambiguous

---

[1] Since Ta^v reads one way for Mt. 11:7 and the other for Mt. 11:8, giving divided testimony, the nature of its *Vorlage* cannot be properly determined.

[2] Cf. Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 193. The Latin *lacto* is analogous.

Syriac word could have not only sufficed as a translation of ϑηλά-
ζειν , but also led to some confusion. In any case, the readings
of Ta[apesyr] may better be explained as due to the influence of the
Syriac language,[1] especially since no Western Diatessara attest to
the Eastern reading.[2] On the other hand, the variant reading could
be due to the influence of the preceding clause: "womb which bore
you"//"breasts which nourished you." Moreover, it has already been
seen (pp. 103-104) that Lk.-bo., while translating Luke, uses the
same wording as Thomas. Who is to say, then, that Thomas' *Vorlage*
did not read just as Lk. 11:27a?[3] Because the remainder of the vari-
ant readings are only very minor and with relatively little attesta-
tion, no connection between log. 79a and the Diatessaron is provable.

Logion 79b. In light of the conclusions for the first half
of this logion, log. 79b shows a surprising amount of similarity to
Tatian's Harmony. For each common variant, however, there are also
other significant witnesses. (i) First of all, Thomas and Ta[apenv]
omit the "behold" of Lk. 23:29, the only canonical parallel; "behold"
is also omitted by p[75] D Φ 476 it sy[sc]. (ii) A second variant read-
ing is the Future "will be" of Thomas in place of the Present ἔρ-
χονται of Lk. Ta[apelnv] have "will *come*," which is different from
Thomas (though the Coptic language is capable of expressing the Dia-
tessaric phrase), but still in the Future tense. The Tatianic read-
ing occurs also in p[75] D Φ it sy[sc]. (iii) Another point of interest
is the "*you* will say" of Thomas and Ta[a(MS A)pen(MS H)] as opposed to

---

[1] Cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 180.

[2] Nevertheless, Baumstark, *OC* 3rd ser. 11 (1936):238, insists
that the reading "the breasts which nursed you" is "a purest Tatian-
ism."

[3] Cf. Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 100, who restores the Greek behind
Thomas to read just as Lk. does.

the ἐροῦσιν of Lk. Here, the Tatianic testimony is more sketchy,
and almost non-existent in the West, and, again, the same reading
(2nd pl.) also occurs in sy[scp(1 MS)]. There are several explanations
for these readings in Thomas. They could, of course, be fortuitous;
none of the readings is particularly major, and a redactor working
freely with his tradition (Synoptic or non-canonical) could have
succumbed to the obvious alternate wording (perhaps being influenced
by Lk. 23:28;[1] cf. Ta[e]). Or, if a particular text has influenced
log. 79b, it could be the Diatessaron, or it could be some form of
the Western text, perhaps as it was found in Syria. Now, it may be
argued that Tatian's Harmony is responsible for many, if not all
"Western" readings, and hence Thomas is at least indirectly connected
to Tatian, but the influence of Tatian's Harmony on the canonical
text is still a moot question, and its connection to this saying in
Thomas must remain only one of several possibilities. (iv) Another
well-attested Tatianic variant which is paralleled in log. 79b is
similar to the one discussed in log. 79a. Here, however, "the
breasts" is obviously the subject of the clause in all witnesses.
The problem is between the generally preferred ἔθρεψαν of Lk. or
the variant ἐθήλασαν of Koine A W Δ Γ Φ pm aur f sy[scp] sa vg arm
eth and Ta[aplnvt]. Just which reading Thomas supports, if either,
is unclear. In log. 79b we find ϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ("to give milk"), for
which Crum gives no examples where it translates either τρέφειν
or θηλάζειν.[2] Actually, it could probably translate either one,
such as ⲥⲁⲁⲛϣ does in Lk.-bo. 11:27 and 23:29.[3] In any case, we
cannot be sure that Thomas and the Diatessaron agree here. Even if
they do, alternative influences upon Thomas are once again possible.

---

[1]Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 165-66.

[2]*Dictionary*, p. 58b.   [3]Cf. ibid., p. 347b.

Logion 86. This saying[1] has a large amount of material in common with the Diatessaron, which has not only been listed by Baarda and Quispel,[2] but which has also been discussed in detail by Strobel.[3] Unfortunately, most of it is relatively minor. (i) For example, there is the addition of the personal pronoun: "*their* holes" (cf. Tae^{arm}vpep), "*their* nest" (cf. Ta^{vpep}), and "*his* head" (cf. Taape^{arm}l(MS M)snvpep). But these additions also occur elsewhere: the first two in sa, and the last one in nearly every non-Greek witness including sy^{scp} sa bo eth pers arab arm$^?$. These additions could thus be due to a number of textual influences. As we have seen (pp. 104-105), however, the Coptic, as most languages, has a tendency to add the personal pronoun.[4] Hence, Thomas is most likely acting independently, perhaps emphasizing purposely the *possession* of holes, nest, and head. (ii) Thomas and Ta^{nvpep} also add a second "have," but so do the Sahidic and Bohairic versions, and this, again, is probably due more to the Coptic idiom than anything else.[5] (iii) The omission of "of heaven" (cf. Ta^{Lpep}) deserves mentioning, but its Tatianic authenticity is doubtful, and in Thomas it is more likely due to free translation.[6] (iv) The next shared variant, though minor, is more interesting: the singular "nest" (cf. Ta^{pvt}) as opposed to Matthew's plural. It is all the more unusual in light

---

[1]See pp. 104-105 above.

[2]Also cf. Quispel, *Tatian*, pp. 82-87.

[3]*VigChr* 17 (1963):211-24.   [4]Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 137.

[5]Cf. p. 105 above. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 12, prefers to think of log. 86 as influenced by a Syrian text, but he also admits that the Coptic language has a tendency to repeat a verb omitted in Greek.

[6]With Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963):215. He denies any connection here with the Diatessaron, something which Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 12, seems to infer. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 168, admits finding it difficult to explain this omission.

of the plural "holes."[1] This reading, however, also occurs in sy[scp]

eth georg. Consequently, if Thomas is not independent, and its

original text has been correctly preserved,[2] log. 86 could here be

influenced by the Diatessaron, or by the Old Syriac text.[3] (v) It

has already been shown (p. 104 above) that ⲘⲀ is a perfectly good

Coptic word for translating the Greek ποῦ of Mt. 8:20/Lk. 9:58; the

fact that both log. 86 and the Coptic versions use it does not imply

Thomas' dependence. Likewise, just because "place" also appears as

the idiomatic (but not the only possible) translation in sy[sc] pers

arab and Ta[apearmL] Aphr LG,[4] this is no indication of dependence.[5]

(vi) The final, and most intriguing variant is Thomas' addition of

"and to rest." Schippers and Schrage believe it is a Gnostic addi-

tion to the text.[6] On the other hand, Quispel maintains that it is

of Jewish-Christian origin, perhaps even original to Jesus.[7] Strobel,

---

[1] Of Ta[pvt], only Ta[p] has the plural; Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963): 217, also lists eth georg.

[2] Although the Coptic MS clearly reads $\overline{\text{M}}$-, there is the possibility of a scribe mistakenly replacing $\overline{\text{N}}$- with $\overline{\text{M}}$-.

[3] So Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963):217-18; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 12.

[4] The Dutch text of Ta[L] clearly and accurately translates the ποῦ of the Synoptics; it is only in the commentary gloss that "place" occurs.

[5] Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 137.

[6] Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 121; and Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 168-69. Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963):223, adamantly denies that "rest" is Gnostic, because it also occurs in the parallel passages in the Old Latin version (cf. Baarda, in Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 151). His argument is not fully persuasive, however, because in this version it is not the Son of Man who rests, but the birds who have "nests where they may rest" (*nidos ubi requiescant*; cf. Ta[n]). On Thomas and the idea of "rest," cf. Philipp Vielhauer, "ΑΝΑΠΑΥΣΙΣ: Zum gnostischen Hintergrund des Thomasevangeliums," in *Apophoreta*, BZNW 30 (1964), pp. 281-99; for log. 86, esp. pp. 292-93.

[7] *Tatian*, pp. 84-85.

however, traces it back to textual roots.[1] He suggests that Thomas'

reading could be due to a double translation of a Syriac word which

did not correspond exactly to the Greek $\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$. Sy^{scppal} Aphr

have in this place the word $\sqrt{\lambda\lambda\varpi}$ which can mean "to lean, support"

and "to rest." Strobel proposes that this is the word which the

Coptic translator found in his Syriac (!) *Vorlage*, hence this read-

ing. That Thomas' reading can be traced back to a Syriac base is

possible. This Syriac word may also be the ultimate cause of the

reading "to rest" in Ta^{npep},[2] but it is more likely just the word

the translator used to render the word ultimately dependent upon

$\kappa\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$. And, since no Tatianic witness has two words here (as

Thomas' "lay" and "rest"),[3] a Diatessaric connection is unlikely.

But in light of some of the other common variants, a slight possi-

bility of some type of relationship between log. 86 and Tatian's

Harmony may perhaps be conceded.

Logion 89. (i) The best-attested common variant in this

saying is the "wash" of Thomas and Ta$^{apnvt\,(MS\ S)}$ Aphr in the place of

$\kappa\alpha\vartheta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (Mt. 23:25/Lk. 11:39).[4] As elsewhere, we are again deal-

ing with the elusive difference between two synonyms. It was said

---

[1]*VigChr* 17 (1963):222-24. On p. 224, he warns that before
one jumps to conclusions that a reading is Gnostic or secondary,
the textual possibilities should be thoroughly investigated. Stro-
bel's arguments from the Syriac are followed by Ménard, *Thomas*,
p. 13.

[2]Quispel also lists Ta^{earm} (Baarda uses brackets), but in
6. 24, Ephraem clearly mentions "rest" only in his commentary after
quoting the passage without it ("ubi ponat caput suum").

[3]But cf. Macarius in Erich Klostermann and Heinz Berthold,
Neue Homilien des Makarius/Symeon, I: Aus Typus III, TU 72 (Berlin:
Akademie-Verlag, 1961), p. 26, ll. 28-29: ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ καὶ ἀναπαῇ (in the apparatus,
καὶ ἀναπαῇ is listed as MS C(?) < MS R).

[4]This variant has been investigated in detail by Baker, *JThS*
16 (1965):449-54.

earlier (pp. 105-106) that nowhere in the Sahidic NT is Thomas' ЄIⲰ ("to wash") used to translate καθαρίζειν. Nevertheless, the Coptic word *is* capable of rendering the Greek, and does so in other places.[1] It is not inconceivable, then, that καθαρίζειν stood in the *Vorlage* of the Coptic Thomas. It is just as difficult to determine the word in the *Vorlagen* of the various Diatessara. Ta[a] has, for Lk. 11:39, تنسلون, which Ciasca (p. 36) translates with "mundatis" ("you cleanse"),[2] but which Marmardji (p. 193) more precisely translates with "vous lavez" ("you wash"). This word occurs, however, in a context where the word طهر ("to cleanse, purify") is used twice--once in v. 38 and once in the Tatianic addition. Moreover, this same word is used to translate καθαρίζετε in the parallel in Mt. 23:25. Here, Ciasca (p. 71) translates the Arabic تطهرون with "mundatis" and Marmardji (p. 385) with "vous purifiez." It is thus not clear whether the translator of Ta[a] had two different words in his *Vorlage*, or has translated the same word two different ways. Even the Italian "lavare" means not only "to wash," but also "to cleanse, purify" (cf. Ta[pvt]). Moreover, Ta[L] has *both* verbs.[3] All this confusion may be traceable back to the Syriac language. In the canonical passages, sy[scp] have ܪܟܐ which clearly means "to cleanse, purify." But for these passages Aphr (*Dem.* 15. 1; cf. LG 10. 3) uses the ambiguous ܣܚܐ which can mean either "to wash" or "to purify."[4] If the Syriac Diatessaron used this word, it might help to explain the problem. Nonetheless, the

---

[1] Crum, *Dictionary*, p. 75b, cites 1 K 20:26 S.

[2] Perhaps being influenced by the Vulgate. In any case, cf. Baker, *JThS* 16 (1965):451.

[3] Cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 190.

[4] Cf. ibid., and Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 563. Also cf. Baker, *JThS* 16 (1965):450.

evidence is too inconclusive to establish a connection between this logion and Tatian,[1] though Baker makes a very persuasive case. But even he is forced to admit, "It is possible that the variant is accidental, and a purely arbitrary simplification without relation or significance."[2]

Logion 90: "Jesus said: Come to me, for easy is my yoke, and my lordship is gentle, and you shall find rest for yourselves." This saying, markedly shorter than its parallel in Mt. 11:28-30, has one particularly intriguing variant: (i) "lordship" in place of "burden." The only Tatianic witness to come close to this wording is Ta[p], which has "comando." The reading cannot be confirmed by other Diatessara, and indeed is not precisely parallel to Thomas, so no conclusions can be drawn. It is conceivable that both readings ultimately rest on the same Aramaic word (אטורא);[3] perhaps, more plausibly, the similarity is due to the coincidental tendentious workings of both the translator of Ta[p4] and the redactor of Thomas.[5]

[1] Quispel, *VigChr* 11 (1957):200, notes the inverted order of Thomas' "outside . . . inside" and reconstructs a "complete" parallelism supposedly in the Gospel of the Hebrews. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 171, understandably criticizes this as an "artificially constructed mixed reading."

[2] *JThS* 16 (1965):453.

[3] Cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 13 (1959):115; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 191. If this saying has a Semitic background, one might ask why the ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν of Mt. is replaced in Thomas by the simple ΝΗΤΝ (ὑμῖν); cf. log. 25.

[4] Cf. Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano*, pp. lxix, lxxi-lxxii.

[5] Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 122, sees the change of "burden" to "lordship" as a Gnostic alteration. On the other hand, J. B. Bauer, "Das milde Joch und die Ruhe, Mt. 11,28-30," *ThZ* 17 (1961):105, concludes that "lordship" is *original* to the saying and has been replaced with "burden" by Matthew. With this, Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 173, disagrees. Cf. also Hans Dieter Betz, "The Logion of the Easy Yoke and of Rest (Matt. 11,28-30)," *JBL* 86 (1967):16-24; and Koester, "Gnostic Writings," pp. 245-46.

Logion 91b. On pp. 106-108, it was noted that this saying has several distinct readings in common with the Coptic versions of Mt. 16:3/Lk. 12:56. Some of these are also present in the Diatessaric witnesses. (i) For instance, Ta[a] also reverses the canonical order to "heaven . . . earth." Since, however, this is the only Tatianic testimony, it is probably not traceable back to Tatian,[1] especially in light of the vast testimony to this reading elsewhere. (ii) Ta[a] also omits "how," but again a connection with the Diatessaron must be rejected for the same reasons.[2] (iii) A last variant, the addition of "know," is probably found only in the Persian Diatessaron, but again it does not occur in any Western Diatessara. It does, however, occur in p[75] א B L Θ 33 1241 pc sy[s?] sa bo eth Mcion. But its occurrence in Thomas does not necessarily indicate a connection with one of these texts; because Coptic has a tendency to add a verb which is understood to be repeated,[3] Thomas could have independently added "to know" under the influence of Lk. 12:56a. Or, the redactor could have used an altogether independent tradition. A textual connection between this saying and the Diatessaron seems rather unlikely; the Coptic versions, Old Syriac version, and the Western text are all more probable alternatives.

Logion 94. When this saying was compared with the Coptic versions (pp. 110-12), it was noted that there is a fair amount of evidence to connect its wording in some way with the Sahidic version. (i) One of the most telling pieces of evidence is the modification of the Synoptic "finds" (Mt. 7:8/Lk. 11:10) to the Future "will find."

---

[1] This is confirmed by Burkitt's investigation of Ephraem's quotation of this saying: cf. *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe,* 2:134.

[2] πῶς is also omitted in D 1241 1573 al it sy[sc] Mcion.

[3] Cf. the Coptic-versional parallels here and also for log. 33, 86, and 100.

This is found unanimously only in the Sahidic version. Yet, it also occurs in Ta^{apn},[1] giving a good indication that this reading is authentically Tatianic. Consequently, the possibility of some connection between this saying and Tatian must be reckoned with. But there are some slight differences between log. 94 and the Diatessaron. In Ta^{p}, for instance, the word for "to seek" is "domandate" which conveys another idea altogether.[2] This, combined with the closer parallel to the Sahidic version and Pistis Sophia, may indicate that if this saying was textually influenced, the influence occurred in a later period of its transmission. Consequently, a connection with the Diatessaron, though possible, appears less likely than the influence of the Sahidic version.

Logion 96. This saying is discussed on pp. 157-58, especially as it relates to Ta^{v}. The only other relevant evidence which can be added is the "little" which occurs in the paraphrastic Ta^{pep}.[3] Nevertheless, there is not enough substantial evidence to prove a connection between this saying and Tatian's Harmony.

Logion 100: "They showed Jesus a gold piece and they said to him: They who are of Caesar demand taxes from us. He said to them: Give the things of Caesar to Caesar; give the things of God to God; and that which is mine give to me." This saying contains parallels to elements of Mt. 22:17-21/Mk. 12:14-17/Lk. 20:22-25. Schrage

---

[1] Marmardji, p. 97, translates the Arabic word ﺝﺪ with "trouvera" ("will find"), but Ciasca, p. 18, uses "invenit" ("finds"). This discrepancy could well be due to the ambiguity of the Semitic Imperfect tense.

[2] According to Messina, p. 79, Ta^{p} reads: "Tutto quello che domandate, traverete; e tutto quello che chiedete, prenderete; e chiunque bussa alla porta, gli sarà aperto." Note the divergence from the Synoptic order.

[3] Quispel, *Tatian,* p. 188, lists Ta^{ohg} (=Ta^{s}) as omitting "three measures," but this is in error.

would like to see a textual connection with the Coptic versions,[1] but there is not enough evidence to warrant such a conclusion. The same is true of the Diatessaron. (i) Ta^{npep} have "showed" with Thomas, but the testimony of the former may be questioned here.[2] Thomas is probably only being influenced by the "show" in Mt. 22:19/ Lk. 20:24 (in Lk., ℵ C L λ Φ al add a second "show" which is more closely paralleled by Thomas; cf. sy^{sc}). (ii) Also, the repetition of the verb "to give" in Thomas and Ta$^{pen(H)t}$ Hel is not telling.[3] Such repetition, though not necessary for Coptic, is quite common.[4] It is thus more probable that Thomas is acting independently of the Diatessaron.

Logion 113: "His disciples said to him: On what day will the kingdom come? (Jesus said:) It will not come by expectation. They will not say: Behold, here! or: Behold, there! But the kingdom of the Father is spread out upon the earth and men do not see it." The only canonical parallel to this saying may be found in Lk. 17: 20-21. (i) Quispel sees a difference between Thomas' "said" (finite verb; cf. Ta^{pnv}) and Luke's "asking" (participle). It should be re- plied, first of all, that Ta^{pnv} all have "asked," *not* "said." This would indicate that their finite verb is still ultimately based upon Luke's participle. Moreover, in Thomas the *disciples* are speak- ing, but in Lk. and Ta, the *Pharisees* address Jesus with the question. There is, therefore, scarcely a parallel between Thomas and Ta here.

---

[1] *Verhältnis*, pp. 189-90.

[2] Baarda, in Schippers, *Tatian*, p. 153, puts this evidence in brackets.

[3] Actually, the second word in Ta^e is not the same as the first "give." There appears to be more of a stress on one's obligation to God; cf. Ta^p and Hel 3830-32. Also cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 16 (1962): 148-49.

[4] Cf. the Bohairic version here and log. 33, 86, and 91b.

(ii) Also, Thomas' second "Behold" is not that important; not only is it found in Ta^{al}, but also in Koine A D W Δ Ψ λ Φ 700 pl it sy^{cph} eth Mcion. Thus, if a redactor was not acting on his own in this, other possible textual sources exist (also cf. Mk. 13:21). (iii) Of more consequence are the readings "will come?" and "will not come" in Thomas as opposed to Luke's ἔρχεται. The first variant reading may be found in Ta^{apnvtpep} and the second in Ta^{apep}.[1] A similar situation exists in log. 79b. This does not, however, mean that Tatian and Thomas are connected. At the time Jesus was asked this question, the coming of the kingdom was still a future event. It is thus quite natural to render the Greek Present in the Future tense. Significantly, this is what Lk.-sa.[2] and Lk.-bo. do. There is more likely a connection here between Thomas and the Coptic versions than between Thomas and the Diatessaron, though log. 113 is probably independent of them all. (iv) Finally, notice should be taken of Thomas' enigmatic ϩⲛ̄ ⲟⲩϭⲱⲱϣⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ("by expectation, observation"). Crum gives no example of this phrase rendering παρατήρησις (Lk.),[3] but it is possible that a Coptic translator had this word in his *Vorlage*.[4] On the other hand, Quispel has suggested,[5] and Bartsch agrees,[6] that this word could go back to a translation variant of the Semitic חור.[7] No doubt Quispel would trace the wording of Ta^{a} back

---

[1]The testimony of Ta^{a} may be considered ambiguous, the Arabic Imperfect being unable to distinguish between the Present and the Future. The testimony of Ta^{pep} can also be questioned, since it speaks not of the coming of the kingdom, but of the coming of Christ.

[2]Cf. Quecke, *Muséon* 74 (1961):493.   [3]*Dictionary*, p. 838a.

[4]Cf. Baarda, "Luke 12,13-14," pp. 125-27.

[5]*NTS* 5 (1959):288.   [6]*NTS* 6 (1960):257.

[7]This suggestion is severely criticized by Baarda, "Luke 12, 13-14," pp. 125-27. Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 200; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 209.

to this word as well.[1] It must be admitted, however, that the
Syriac ܟ݁ܬ݂ܝܘܟܝܒ ("by observings") could also be at the root of
this slight discrepancy between Thomas and Luke.[2] In sum, there is
not enough evidence to connect log. 113 and Tatian's Harmony.

E. Conclusions

Having briefly studied the logia for which there is suffi-
cient evidence to warrant a case for a connection to the Diatessaron,
it is now time to summarize the results. Unfortunately, our conclu-
sions are generally negative--at least relative to the enthusiastic
case set forth by Quispel. But hopefully, the standards which were
set are not excessively rigorous. The intention has been objectiv-
ity, not the creation of prohibitive criteria. Yet, in our quest to
discover the origins of the various sayings, and in the attempt to
determine what, if any, textual influences have been exerted upon
them, it is necessary to weigh *all* the evidence and to ascertain what
is most probable in view of all the alternatives.

Many times in this survey, there was insufficient evidence
to allow a useful comparison between Thomas and the Diatessaron;
either the shared variants were too minor or insignificant, or the
attestation for a Tatianic variant was too scant to determine its
authenticity. On the other hand, there were instances where, in
light of the evidence, clearly no connection between the two works
could be drawn.

On the more positive side, we did find numerous sayings for
which a connection with Tatian's Harmony is "possible." These include

---

[1]But, interestingly enough, Baarda, "Luke 12,13-14," pp.
125-27, says that Ta[a] gives Quispel no help here.

[2]Cf. ibid., and Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, pp. 337-38.

log. 16, 32, 33b, 39a, 44, 45b, 47b, 57, 79b, 86, 89, and 94. Again,
it may be reiterated that this assessment is relative. In some cases,
it would not take much additional evidence to tip the balance in
the "more likely" direction. In most of these logia, the evidence
for a relationship with the Diatessaron is strong, and viewed by it-
self, would undoubtedly lead to more "probable" ratings. But as-
sessed in the context of viable alternate influences, and in view of
the many differences which exist between Thomas and the Diatessaron
(which have only been touched lightly in this chapter), a Tatianic
connection with these sayings can only remain "possible." It is
also important to note that no saying was found to have similarities
to the Diatessaron which could not also be explained by other means--
as being due either to fortuitous agreement or to another textual in-
fluence.

Of course, the deferment of the Old Syriac evidence has
greatly affected the above evaluations of probability. Some logia
in Thomas are quite obviously similar to this ancient Syrian version
of the Gospels. If one views this version as dependent upon the Dia-
tessaron, and thus itself a Tatianic witness, then the results of
the present chapter would be more favourable to a Tatianic relation-
ship with Thomas. But the premise of this argument is still highly
disputed, and we must not allow one position or the other to cloud
our objectivity. Perhaps more can be said concerning this in the
next chapter.

More germane to the discussion now is: If a connection be-
tween the Diatessaron and Thomas is "possible," what kind of "con-
nection" is being inferred? It seems that of the three alternatives
(see p. 167), the possibility that Tatian used the Gospel of Thomas
is the least likely, even though on chronological grounds it may

appear most inviting. Tatian's work, of course, is harmonistic.
If we understand his methodology correctly, he attempted to weave
his sources together in such a way that he might have one story
while omitting as few of the details of his sources as possible.[1]
It is unlikely that he used Thomas because too much of Thomas'
unique material is omitted. Now, it is not possible to know for sure
which logia were contained in Thomas at this time, or precisely how
they were worded (or indeed, that the gospel itself had even yet
been compiled!), but even if one deletes all the obviously tenden-
tious additions, many details of Thomas cannot be traced in the vari-
ous Diatessara. For example, in log. 16 we find "division, fire,
sword, war," but nothing comparable exists in any Tatianic witness.
The "brother" in place of "neighbour" in log. 25 cannot be found in
any Diatessaric or Greek witness. The "come in and go out" of log.
33b is not found in Ta. The Diatessaron also makes no mention of
the "old wine" of log. 47c. Moreover, there is no indication that
Tatian had any knowledge of Thomas' "sow, reap, plant, fill" in
log. 63 and of its "lay and rest" in log. 86. And yet, one might
expect that a harmonistic work such as the Diatessaron would include
at least some of these readings if it were indeed partially based
upon Thomas.

Hence, if there is a connection between Thomas and the Dia-
tessaron, either Thomas has been influenced by the Diatessaron, or
both have been influenced by a common source. The former relation-
ship would most likely be indirect, since Thomas betrays very little
evidence of being *based* upon Tatian's work. Thus, the influence of
the Diatessaron could have been exerted on Thomas when it was first

---

[1]cf. Vööbus, *Early Versions*, p. 16; and Metzger, *Early Ver-
sions*, pp. 11-12.

compiled, or soon after its completion. This understanding, however, runs into chronological problems. If Tatian wrote around A.D. 170, there is relatively little time for his work to influence Thomas textually, since the apocryphal gospel existed in some form in Greek in Egypt around A.D. 200. But these dates are approximate. If Tatian wrote later and Thomas was in Egypt earlier, the influence of the Diatessaron upon these logia would be all but impossible. Consequently, though this reconstruction is not inconceivable, the third alternative is most plausible.

Now if we postulate that Thomas and the Diatessaron are influenced by a common third source, we are faced with the daunting problem of identifying that source. It is well known that Quispel has suggested the Jewish-Christian Gospel of the Hebrews. Though conceivable, the objections to such a theory have been expressed by others repeatedly.[1] Are there any additional options? Certainly the possible influence of oral tradition must be considered. As Klijn has pointed out,[2] it is likely that the Gospels were at least known orally even in Edessa at the time Thomas was written; it is perhaps this which influenced both the redactor of Thomas and Tatian. Or, the existence of a "wild" Greek text containing many "Western" readings is also a possible influence.[3] It is even imaginable that a Syriac Gospel text affected Thomas and the Diatessaron. This text could have been the Old Syriac version itself, as intimated by Schippers[4] and Ménard,[5] or it could be a lost, perhaps incomplete text or

---

[1]See pp. 151ff. above.   [2]See above pp. 165f.

[3]Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 30.

[4]*Thomas*, pp. 20, 52-53, 134.

[5]*Thomas*, esp. pp. 10ff., 22-23, 26.

tradition along the lines suggested by Haase[1] or Strobel.[2] These possibilities will be studied in further detail in the next chapter.

But we must not overlook the fact that other apocryphal gospels existed in this early period besides the Gospel of the Hebrews. Thus, the Gospel of the Egyptians, the Gospel of the Ebionites, and the Gospel of the Nazarenes, or even a gospel as yet unknown to us could be the common influence. Moreover, Tatian was probably not the only nor the first writer to compose a Gospel harmony. There are several scholars who think Justin may have quoted a pre-Tatianic harmony;[3] some argue that the Pseudo-Clementines use a harmony.[4] Also, there is the reference made by Jerome (*Ep. ad Algasiam* 121. 6) that Bishop Theophilus of Antioch (ca. 186) used or made a harmony of the Gospels.[5] Recently, D. A. Bertrand has argued that the Gospel

---

[1]See p. 140 above.

[2]*VigChr* 17 (1963):211-24; cf. Pelser, "Syriac NT Texts," pp. 159ff.

[3]Cf. Sanday, *The Gospels in the Second Century*, pp. 136-37; J. Rendel Harris, *The Diatessaron of Tatian. A Preliminary Study* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1890), pp. 54ff.; Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, pp. 86ff.; A. J. Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr*, NovTest Suppl. 17 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967), pp. 139-42; and Eric Francis Osborn, *Justin Martyr*, Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 47 (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1973), pp. 125-31.

[4]Cf. Sanday, *Gospels*, pp. 185-86, who suggests this as one possibility; Harris, *Diatessaron*, pp. 29ff.; and Leslie Lee Kline, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*, Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 14 (Missoula, Montana: Scholars' Press, 1975), esp. pp. 173-75. Interestingly enough, Koester, who was the advisor of Kline's thesis, had earlier concluded that such a conclusion "must remain questionable" (*Synoptische Überlieferung*, pp. 91f.).

[5]Migne, PL 22. 1020. There is a question of whether Theophilus wrote a harmony or a commentary. Cf. Adolf Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, I. *Die Überlieferung und der Bestand* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1893), pp. 498f.; Kraeling, *Greek Fragment*, p. 11; and Peters, *Diatessaron*, p. 16.

of the Ebionites itself was a harmony of the Synoptics.[1] In fact,

Cerfaux has noted that harmonization is a characteristic of many

writings of the second century, though his study is limited primar-

ily to the area of Alexandria.[2] For this reason, he postulates the

existence of many "Tatianisms" in an "embryonic diatessaron" *before*

Tatian![3] And, finally, there is Burkitt's suggestion,[4] recently re-

iterated by Edwards,[5] that even Tatian based his own work on an

earlier unknown harmony.

It could well be that the harmonizing readings in Thomas are

due to the influence of such earlier harmonies. Furthermore, since

the second century appears to have been a period of proliferation

for such harmonizing activity,[6] what is to prevent us from supposing

that the redactor of Thomas did his own harmonizing, using perhaps

a mixture of canonical and non-canonical material?[7] Such proposals

---

[1] Daniel A. Bertrand, "L'Évangile des Ebionites: Une harmonie évangelique antérieure au Diatessaron," *NTS* 26 (1980):548-63.

[2] Lucien Cerfaux, "Remarques sur le texte des évangiles à Alexandrie au IIe siècle," *EThL* 15 (1938):674-82.

[3] Ibid., p. 681.

[4] See p. 134 n. 4 above. Also cf. Harris, *Diatessaron*, pp. 54ff.; and Koester, *Synoptische Überlieferung*, p. 91.

[5] *BibR* 18 (1973):52ff.

[6] Other examples of the very early harmonization of texts may be found in Marcion's gospel: cf. Adolf von Harnack, *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, 2nd ed., TU 45 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), pp. 242*ff. He suggests that most of the harmonizing readings in Marcion were already in the Western text he used. In his review of Harnack's first edition of *Marcion*, M.-J. Lagrange, *RB* 30 (1921): 610, avers that Marcion did much of his own harmonizing: cf. *idem*, *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament; Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle; II, La Critique rationnelle* (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1935), 2:264. Cf. also August Pott, "Marcions Evangelientext," *ZKG* 42 (1923):202-23, esp. 208-13. This may also be the best place to insert the warning of J. W. Wenham that not all readings which appear harmonistic are necessarily secondary: "How Many Cock-Crowings? The Problem of Harmonistic Text-Variants," *NTS* 25 (1979):525.

[7] This early tendency or compulsion to harmonize the various

may appear dubious to scholars such as Montefiore,[1] but the trend of
recent studies concerning early patristic quotations seems to be
leading us in these directions, though for Thomas nothing can be
proven as yet. These are just other possibilities with which we
have to contend.

The above suggestions imply, of course, Thomas' dependence,
one way or another, upon the Synoptic gospels. Nevertheless, the
original sayings collection might still have been based upon inde-
pendent tradition. And yet, it does seem rather certain that Thomas
has had Synoptic contact at some time. What this thesis seeks to do
is to identify and trace some of these canonical influences, if pos-
sible. Hence, our study continues with a look at Thomas and the Old
Syriac version.

---

gospel traditions has not been fully appreciated by many scholars.
Such a tendency may have persevered even after the introduction of
a harmony as popular as Tatian's. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*,
2:185-86, for instance, feels that Aphraates not only used the Dia-
tessaron and the separate Gospels, but also did some harmonizing of
his own.

[1]Cf. his statements in *NTS* 7 (1961):224, 241-42, 248.

IV. THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND THE

OLD SYRIAC GOSPELS

The preceding chapter in particular has made it evident that
there are similarities between the Gospel of Thomas and the Old
Syriac gospels. Sometimes, in fact, Thomas is closer to the "Vetus
Syra" than to the Diatessaron. But it is one thing to note the fact
that some parallels exist; it is quite another to determine the ex-
tent and significance of these parallels. This is the task of the pres-
ent chapter. Unfortunately, the investigation is complicated by the
problems relating to the Syriac versions, not the least of which,
as we have seen, is the relationship of the Diatessaron to the Old
Syriac gospels. For this reason, a brief survey of the Old Syriac
version will be time well spent.

A. A Brief Look at the Old Syriac Version[1]

The Old Syriac gospels are sometimes referred to as the
Evangelion da-Mepharreshe (Syriac for "Evangel of the Separated
ones") as opposed to the Diatessaron (= *Evangelion da-Meḥallete*--
"Evangel of the Mixed ones"). The version is represented by only
two extant manuscripts. The first one to become known was in a group
of Syriac manuscripts acquired by the British Museum in 1842.[2] Its

---

[1]Although no manuscript of Acts or the Pauline epistles ex-
ists in the Old Syriac, it is suspected that a pre-Peshittic trans-
lation of at least some of these writings was made (cf. Chase, *Old
Syriac Element*, esp. pp. 1-2, 132ff.; and Black, "Syriac Versional
Tradition," pp. 133-39). Thus, when we speak of the "Old Syriac ver-
sion," reference is being made only to the Gospels, which, for our
present purpose, are all that are required anyway.

[2]Add. MS. 14451. For further details, see Metzger, *Early
Versions*, pp. 36-37.

significance was discovered by William Cureton, hence the name "Curetonian Syriac Gospels" (sy^c).[1] This fifth-century MS, which is very lacunose, contains a text which has been labelled "by and large a 'Western' type of text,"[2] but readings from other text traditions, including the B-Aleph and the Koine, are also present.[3] Sy^c has been adjudged to have a text closer to the Diatessaron than its cousin sy^s,[4] but, paradoxically, Vööbus sees in sy^c a text-type more revised towards the later Peshitta (sy^p).[5]

The other Old Syriac MS is known as the Sinaitic Syriac (sy^s). This palimpsest manuscript was discovered at the close of the nineteenth century in St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai by two sisters—Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson.[6] Although some prefer to date this MS at the beginning of

---

[1]The standard edition is that of F. C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe. The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, with the Readings of the Sinai Palimpsest and the Early Syriac Patristic Evidence*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1904).

[2]Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 131. Cf. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:210, 213ff. In fact, according to Chase, *Old Syriac Element*, and, *idem*, *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), the Old Syriac version of the Gospels as well as of Acts and the Epistles is predominantly *responsible* for the Western text.

[3]Cf. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:223ff.; and Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 131.

[4]Cf. Hjelt, *Altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, p. 165; and Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:220ff.

[5]*Early Versions*, p. 81; cf. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:213ff.; and Hermann Freiherr von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt* (Berlin: Arthur Glaue, 1907), I:2:1573-76.

[6]Mrs Lewis' is the standard printed edition: *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-Mepharreshe; Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, including the Latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from Many Other MSS., and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1910).

the V century,[1] Metzger[2] and others prefer a late IV-century date.

This MS shares basically the same text as sy^c, but without many of

its apparently later revisions, making sy^s an older and better rep-

resentative of the original Old Syriac gospels.[3]

As with most early translations of the Bible, no one knows

for certain by whom, when, or where this version was first made.

Burkitt believes that Palut, bishop of Edessa around A.D. 200, was

responsible for the Old Syriac,[4] but this view has generally been

rejected.[5] On the other hand, Lagrange thinks that there was no

need for a Syriac translation of the four Gospels until the middle

of the fourth century.[6] He attributes the Vetus Syra to Syrian

colonists outside of or on the periphery of Syria.[7] Torrey, who sees

especially in sy^s a preference for words and idioms more typical of

Palestinian Aramaic than classical Edessene Syriac, traces the Old

---

[1]Cf. Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 132.

[2]*Early Versions*, p. 38.

[3]Cf. Hjelt, *Altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, pp. 83ff., 165; Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:213ff.; and Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 124. Torrey, *Documents*, pp. 246-47, 294, would dispute this view somewhat. He suggests that sy^s and sy^c represent two totally distinct types of text, with sy^s representing the original Old Syriac version and sy^c a later revision; cf. Bewer, *NT Canon*, pp. 3-16. Vööbus, *Studies*, pp. 35, 166-67, solves the problem of the diversity between sy^s and sy^c by viewing them as only two of a multiplicity of Old Syriac translations, roughly similar to the situation found in the Old Latin version; cf. Kahle, *Cairo Geniza*, pp. 285ff. This is also the view of Baumstark and Peters (cf. Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 130).

[4]*Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:5, 208, 212.

[5]Cf. Lewis, *Old Syriac Gospels*, p. v; and Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 25.

[6]*Critique textuelle*, 2:205, 208. Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 26, thinks Lagrange "assumes too much."

[7]Lagrange, *Critique textuelle*, 2:208.

Syriac version to Antioch.[1] He would date the origin of sy[s] in the
early second century, but sy[c] in the third century.[2] Black also
traces the Old Syriac back to Antioch,[3] but he favours an origin
much later--closer to Lagrange's fourth-century date.[4] A median
position, as far as date is concerned, is occupied by Vööbus, who
prefers to think of the Vetus Syra originating in the third century.[5]
Regarding provenance, he is probably correct when he states, "In the
light of our present information the place of origin cannot be as-
certained with any degree of certainty."[6]

Of course, inextricably tied to the question of date for the
Old Syriac version is its relationship to the Diatessaron. As we
have seen, there are many scholars who assert that the Old Syriac
antedates the Diatessaron.[7] Many of their arguments remain unan-
swered. Nevertheless, the trend in more recent years appears to be
toward the affirmation of the view that the Old Syriac version as
represented by the Sinaitic and Curetonian MSS is later than, and in
part dependent upon, the Syriac Diatessaron of Tatian. This trend
is perhaps best reflected by the studies of Vööbus and Black.[8] But
even if the Diatessaron is given priority, such a relationship of
dependence upon the part of the Vetus Syra is not demanded. Just
after the turn of this century, Gressmann suggested that the *original*
Old Syriac version antedated Tatian, but the Tetraevangelium as rep-
resented by sy[sc] is replete with harmonistic readings and hence is

---

[1]*Documents*, pp. 249ff., 294.   [2]Ibid., pp. 136, 247, 294.

[3]"Syriac Versional Tradition," pp. 132-33.   [4]Ibid.

[5]*Early Versions*, p. 76.   [6]Ibid., pp. 76-77.

[7]See pp. 138-39 above.

[8]Cf. Vööbus, *Studies*; Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition";
and their previous works cited therein.

post-Tatianic.[1] Thus, one might understand Gressmann as saying that both the Diatessaron and sy^{sc} ultimately go back to a common third source--the original Vetus Syra.[2] The same destination is reached along a different route by Pelser.[3] According to him, the third source shared by the Diatessaron and Old Syriac is some Jewish-Christian tradition which flourished in Syria, but which reached Tatian in Rome through the medium of Justin.[4] If either of these views is accepted, one is able to explain the similarities of sy^{sc} to the Diatessaron other than by dependence, and thus, possibly, to date the former earlier than Tatian's work.[5]

Whether one understands the Old Syriac gospels to be dependent upon the Diatessaron, or vice versa, or even if one sees them as both utilizing a common third source, at the very least it must be recognized that the Old Syriac contains a certain amount of unique material--material not found in the Diatessaron or in any Greek witnesses.[6] The question is, how is this material to be explained? Black has postulated that even though the Old Syriac gospels are post-Tatianic, "there may have been a Syriac gospel before the Syriac Diatessaron."[7] One point in favour of this view is Eusebius' account of Hegesippus,[8] who, in a writing lost to us, makes a possible

---

[1] Hugo Gressmann, "Studien zum syrischen Tetraevangelium," *ZNW* 6 (1905):135-52, esp. 150-51.

[2] He says the same for the Peshitta (ibid., pp. 142-43).

[3] "Syriac NT Texts," pp. 159ff.   [4] Ibid., pp. 161-62.

[5] This is Pelser's suggestion (ibid., p. 162), but it is not Gressmann's view (*ZNW* 6 (1905):150-51).

[6] Cf. von Soden, *Schriften*, I:2:1585-88.

[7] "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 120; cf. *idem, Aramaic Approach*, pp. 266ff.

[8] Eusebius, *H.E.* 4. 22. 8 (GCS ed.). Eusebius says Hegesippus sets down certain things ἔκ τε τοῦ καθ᾽ ᾽Εβραίους εὐαγγελίου

reference to a Syriac gospel, but this reference is unclear.[1] It may be possible to postulate that this early gospel was the Gospel of the Hebrews, as Vööbus does,[2] but this leads to problems, particularly if one believes that Tatian made use of this gospel. Vööbus, while trying to discover the source of the earliest gospel traditions in Syria, states that "some very valuable clues of this most primitive stage in the use of the Gospel in Mesopotamia, are to be found in specific Palestinian Aramaic terms, idioms, and grammatical forms preserved sporadically in the Old Syriac Gospels."[3] Proceeding further concerning these words and forms, he says "Certainly Tatian did not make use of them. They must be older."[4] He then continues to identify the source of this Palestinian Aramaic influence unique to the Vetus Syra as the Gospel of the Hebrews. Paradoxically, however, he goes on to agree with Baumstark and Peters that the Gospel of the Hebrews was the "first and leading source" of Tatian in the compilation of his Harmony.[5] If this is so, one would think that virtually the whole of the Gospel of the Hebrews would have been incorporated into the Diatessaron. Later, nearly the whole of the Diatessaron was included (albeit in a restructured, "fleshed out" form) in the Old Syriac gospels.[6] This would mean that the entirety of the Gospel of the Hebrews, too, was embodied in the

---

καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ. Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 120, suggests that "Hegesippus's *syriakon* could refer to a pre-Tatianic Syrian gospel." Vööbus, *Studies*, pp. 18-20, tries to identify the Syriac (gospel?) mentioned here with the Gospel of the Hebrews. On the other hand, Waitz, *ZNW* 13 (1912):339-40, has equated it with the Gospel of the Nazarenes, and Bauer, *Orthodoxy*, p. 51, with the Gospel of the Ebionites. Cf. pp. 153ff. above.

[1]Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 9.

[2]*Studies*, pp. 18-20.   [3]Ibid., p. 18.

[4]Ibid.   [5]Ibid., p. 19.

[6]Cf. Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 127.

Vetus Syra. How, then, can the Gospel of the Hebrews be the source of the material *unique* to the Old Syriac gospels (i.e., not found in the Diatessaron) when *both* works contain essentially all of this non-canonical gospel? A view such as Vööbus' would appear to be contradictory. We would be safer to postulate that the Gospel of the Hebrews was not the only "Syriac" gospel.[1] Thus, either (1) Tatian used the Gospel of the Hebrews, but it is not the source of the unique material in the Old Syriac, or (2) Tatian did not use the Gospel of the Hebrews, but it may be a possible source of the special material found in the Old Syriac gospels but not in the Diatessaron.

Of course, it could well be impossible to identify this oldest stratum of Syrian gospel tradition[2] with any precision; it is probably presumptuous to gather it all under the heading of "the Gospel of the Hebrews." And yet, there seems to be good reason for postulating the existence in Syria of a gospel tradition, perhaps a canonical Gospel tradition, antedating both the Diatessaron and the Old Syriac gospels as represented by sy^{sc}.[3] Parts of such a tradition may be salvageable from sy^{sc},[4] the Syrian Fathers, and early

---

[1] Cf. Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 120.

[2] A pre-Tatianic "Syrian gospel tradition," if one existed, and if it was written, could have been written in the Syriac language, or in Greek or Aramaic. To avoid confusion, the word "Syrian" is used here and elsewhere geographically; the word "Syriac" refers to the language of Syria.

[3] Cf. T. Baarda, "The Gospel Text in the Biography of Rabbula," *VigChr* 14 (1960):124-25. He notes that the text of Mt. and Lk. used by Rabbula's biographer is even more archaic than that of the Old Syriac gospels. This would imply the existence of a Tetraevangelium in Syria older than the Vetus Syra.

[4] Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," p. 133, while speaking of sy^{sc}, says that "any second-century material they contain must be traced to the Syriac Diatessaron." But if sy^{sc} contain material not found in the Diatessaron or in the Greek MSS, the chances are good that this material represents Syrian gospel tradition which could be ancient, Black's statement notwithstanding.

apocryphal gospels. Relevant to the present study, the question arises whether such a tradition may lie behind some of Thomas' sayings.

Before proceeding with such an investigation, however, it may perhaps be best to conclude this section with a note concerning the esteemed significance which the Old Syriac gospels held in the eyes of the early Syrian church. Modern opinion on this question appears to be polarized. On the one hand, there is Burkitt, followed in the main by writers such as Kahle and Black, who views sy^s and sy^c as nothing more than two recensions of a four-Gospel translation which never really had a widespread circulation.[1] Black refers to them as possible representatives of various *ad hoc* translations made by different Fathers during this early period.[2] Whatever the case, these men see no significant circulation of these Old Syriac gospels in the period of the IV and early V centuries because it was "a translation of the Bible which was never officially recognized."[3] Hence, according to Burkitt, sy^s and sy^c were merely library volumes and "old-fashioned books" which had been forgotten by the time of Rabbula.[4]

On the other hand, we have Vööbus' theory of the Vetus Syra.[5] He believes that after its inception in the III century, it became the dominant Gospel text in Syria until some time after the Islamic invasion. Thus, Ephraem's use of the Diatessaron has been incorrectly

---

[1] Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:164-65, 177ff.

[2] "Syriac Versional Tradition," pp. 129-30.

[3] Kahle, *Cairo Geniza*, p. 285. Cf. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:164-65; and Black, "Syriac Versional Tradition," pp. 129-30, 132.

[4] *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:165.

[5] *Studies*, pp. 46ff., and *Early Versions*, pp. 81ff.

interpreted as an indication of its popularity, when actually in the
IV century the use of the Diatessaron was *declining*.[1] Moreover,
the Peshitta was not readily received in Syria, but only became
dominant at a later period, reaching the height of its influence in
the XI-XIV centuries.[2] Quite obviously, then, Vööbus does not see
the Old Syriac gospels as a dusty antique forgotten on the shelves
of a few libraries, but as the cornerstone of the Syriac textual
tradition based upon the foundation of the Diatessaron.

The views of both Burkitt and Vööbus are probably somewhat
extreme. The evidence presently available concerning the Old Syriac
and Peshitta versions does not seem able to support the weight which
Vööbus places upon it. And yet, it does not appear fair to relegate
the Vetus Syra to oblivion. Even Burkitt admits that up to the V
century, although the Diatessaron was the predominant text of the
Gospels, the Old Syriac gospels were still used.[3] He goes on to say
that "The quotations in Aphraates and Ephraim are the earliest form
of the Syriac Diatessaron that we possess, and these quotations
agree largely with the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*."[4] If the Syriac Diates-
saron was not based upon the Old Syriac gospels (as Burkitt says),
one could legitimately conclude from this either that Aphraates and
Ephraem knew and used the Old Syriac gospels in places,[5] or that their
writings were subsequently corrected to this version. In either case,
is this suggestive of a forgotten library edition of the Syriac gos-
pels? The Old Syriac version may not have been "official," but its
circulation and influence should not be underestimated.

---

[1]*Studies*, p. 171.   [2]Ibid., pp. 56ff., 72ff., 135ff.

[3]*Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:191.   [4]Ibid., 2:200.

[5]Cf. pp. 144, 145 above.

Of course, the significance of the Old Syriac version for scholars today is what it can tell us about the Gospel text of the earliest church in Syria. Relevant to the present chapter is the question of whether it can be used as a tool to trace the Syrian Gospel traditions back into the second century, especially as they circulated independently of, and perhaps prior to, the Diatessaron. If such an investigation returns positive results, then there is a chance that we may be able to understand better the origins of the Gospel of Thomas.

B. Previous Investigations of Thomas' Relationship to the Old Syriac Gospels

Methodologically speaking, the first step must be to ascertain whether the Gospel of Thomas even has any actual textual affinities to the Old Syriac gospels. Prior to the present fresh investigation, the several scholars who have noted and studied such textual affinities should be recognized.

Antoine Guillaumont was the first to note that there were similarities between Thomas and the Vetus Syra.[1] According to him, these textual parallels and the presence of Semitisms in Thomas confirm Thomas' Syrian origin. Although his brief observations are limited to log. 16, 25, and 107, his study marks an important beginning. It is regrettable that he did not identify a precise relationship between Thomas and the Old Syriac gospels, but left this for others to define.

The next writer to concern himself with the textual parallels between Thomas and the Old Syriac gospels is Schippers,[2] although his

---

[1] *JA* 246 (1958):117ff.

[2] *Het Evangelie van Thomas,* esp. pp. 19-20, 133-34.

commentary deals more with the theology of Thomas and the sources of

its ideas than with the sources of its text. Nevertheless, he does

make some very significant observations along textual lines. He

states, for instance, that Thomas used a text of the New Testament

"like that which the Syrian church around the year 200 possessed."[1]

Elsewhere, he says, "In many places where pseudo-Thomas does not

literally follow our biblical text, he rests upon a biblical text

used--at least for a time--in the Syrian church."[2] Unfortunately,

these two enigmatic statements are as clear as he makes his position.

Reading through his commentary, one does, however, receive the im-

pression that the "Syrian text" about which Schippers is speaking

includes both the Old Syriac gospels and, naturally, the Diatessaron.

What Schippers appears to be advocating, then, is that the Gospel of

Thomas is, at least in part, dependent upon the Vetus Syra. The

schematization and consequently, concretization, of another's opinion

is somewhat dangerous, especially if that opinion is poorly under-

stood. Yet it does have the advantage of making a position easier

to grasp and recognize. Hence, Schippers' theory could be repre-

sented thus:[3]

Diatessaron ⟶
⟶ Thomas
Vetus Syra ⟶

---
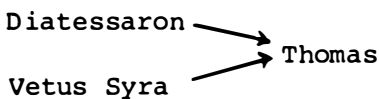
[1] Ibid., p. 134: "zoals de Syrische kerk die omstreeks het
jaar 200 bezat."

[2] Ibid., p. 20: "Op vele plaatseen waar pseudo-Thomas niet
letterlijk onze bijbeltekst volgt, berust hij op een in de Syrische
kerk--althaus een tijd lang--gebruiklijke bijbeltekst."

[3] This may perhaps be the best place to mention Strobel's
study again (*VigChr* 17 (1963):211-24). His precise position is also
unclear. Thus, it is difficult to know for sure, when he speaks of
Thomas' dependence (at least for log. 86) upon "eine syrische Text,"
whether he is advocating dependence upon the Old Syriac gospels or
a Syrian (noncanonical?) gospel *tradition*. The former view may per-
haps be inferred when he suggests that Thomas and the Diatessaron have
influenced each other indirectly, "etwa auf dem Umweg über einen

Schippers may be criticized for not substantiating his state-
ments with verifiable facts. It appears that he almost *assumes* that
Thomas used a Syriac Tetraevangelium: i.e., since Thomas originated
in Syria (a statement open to question), and since Thomas is based
on the canonical Gospels (open to question), then Thomas must have
used the (Syriac) Gospels used by the Syrian church. This recon-
struction is possible, but difficult to maintain. Not only are the
premises disputable, but such a view also demands a rather late date
for Thomas (at least after A.D. 170). Schippers is willing to allow
this late date, but many scholars are not.[1]

The last chapter in Schippers' commentary is written by
Baarda,[2] who does not necessarily share all of Schippers' views. As
we have seen,[3] Baarda proposes a direct dependence of Thomas upon
the Diatessaron. But he also notes textual similarities between the
Old Syriac gospels and Thomas--more than 70 for sy^s alone. This, he
concludes, is an indication of Thomas' contact with a local Syrian

gemeinsamen (syrischen) Text" (p. 216), or when he says "Im Blick
auf die Fassung '*ihr Nest*' (sing.) im Thomas-Evgl 86b bedeutet dies
sehr wahrscheinlich, dass eine Abhängigkeit von der Vetus Syra vor-
liegt" (p. 218), and "Die Fassung des Thomas-Logions 86d muss allem
Anschein nach von einem östlichen Text her erklärt werden wofür sich
im ausgehenden 2. Jahrhundert primär die Vetus Syra anbietet" (p.
222). In this, he would appear to follow, in a general way, Schippers.
And yet, in his conclusion he makes it clear that he is not speaking
of dependence upon the Old Syriac translation of the canonical Gos-
pels, but of another Syrian gospel text or tradition. Consequently,
his actual position approaches that of Haase or Quispel: "hinter
Thomas-Logion 86 eine syrische Tradition und ein syrischer Text
steht. Für den Zeitraum des 2. Jahrhunderts bedeutet dies zugleich,
dass wir es mit einer aramäisch-judenchristlichen Überlieferung zu
tun haben, for welche Überlegung nicht zuletzt das beigebrachte Zeug-
nis des hebräischen Matthäus-Evangeliums ein wenig nachdenklich stim-
men sollte" (p. 224).

[1]See p. 22 n. 3 above.

[2]"Thomas en Tatianus," pp. 135-55.

[3]Pp. 164-65 above.

biblical text with a 'Western' flavour which has ultimately been influenced by Tatian's Harmony. It would appear, therefore, that Baarda is proposing the following relationship:

Diatessaron ⟨ Vetus Syra
             ⟩ Thomas
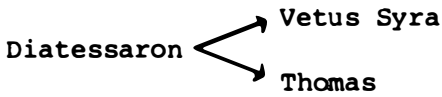
He does not, however, specifically rule out contact between the Old Syriac and Thomas.

The most thorough investigation of the relationship between Thomas and the Old Syriac gospels has been made by Ménard in his recently published commentary.[1] After noting the strong affinity between the text of Thomas and the Syriac versions (the Vetus Syra in particular),[2] he comes to the conclusion that the writer of Thomas knew the Gospels in Syriac translation: "il faut dire qu'il dépend des Évangiles canoniques. Dans son cas particulier, il faut ajouter que ces Évangiles canoniques sont parvenus à lui par l'intermédiaire des versions syriaques."[3] Not only this, but Ménard is also of the opinion that Thomas may be the apocryphal fifth source used by Tatian.[4] Hence, Ménard's views may best be represented as:

Vetus Syra ⟶ Thomas ⟶ Diatessaron

If one is willing to date the Old Syriac gospels prior to the Diatessaron and to allow that Thomas is based on the canonical gospels, this view may not appear uninviting. But a formidable problem is the necessarily early date for the Vetus Syra. If Tatian used

---

[1] *L'Évangile selon Thomas*, NHS 5 (1975).

[2] Cf. ibid., pp. 10ff. He notes especially log. 25, 16, 107, and 86 (cf. Guillaumont and Strobel above).

[3] Ibid., p. 26; cf. p. 12.

[4] Ibid., pp. 22-23. Concerning log. 33, he says, "Tatian aurait mis notre *Évangile selon Thomas* à la base de son remaniement!!!" For log. 25, he asks rhetorically, "Peut-on en conclure que Thomas est la source du Diatessaron?"

Thomas (and this is questionable),[1] we would do well to date Thomas

around A.D. 140, but Ménard prefers "la fin du IIe siècle,"[2] a date

which makes his theory more difficult to accept, even if he dates

the Diatessaron as late as A.D. 180. Further, if Thomas used the

Old Syriac version, the latter would obviously need to be dated be-

fore A.D. 140--an uncomfortable, if not impossible pill for some

scholars to swallow. Nevertheless, Ménard's reconstruction *is* con-

ceivable, and should be kept in mind when comparing Thomas and the

Old Syriac gospels.

Ménard may be further criticized for his methodology, or,

at least, his erroneous reasoning from the facts. For one thing, he

bases his theory that Thomas used the Vetus Syra largely upon the

evidence that both share certain Semitisms.[3] We have seen, however,

that some of this evidence is open to question,[4] and it does not per-

force lead to the conclusion which Ménard draws from it. Moreover,

Ménard places too much weight upon minor common readings (e.g.,

addition/omission of the possessive pronoun, difference of the

singular/plural, repetition of a verb) which may be due to the idiom

of the languages involved or to coincidence.[5] His theory is a viable

one, nonetheless, and in this indispensable commentary he has amassed

a great deal of information which is relevant not only to the present

study, but to any investigation concerning the Gospel of Thomas.

In view of the preceding discussion, we are thus faced with

the three obvious relationships which are possible between Thomas

and the Old Syriac gospels: (a) The Vetus Syra could have been

---

[1]See pp. 166f., 206f. above.   [2]*Thomas*, p. 3.

[3]Cf. ibid., pp. 10ff.   [4]Pages 126ff. above.

[5]Cf. his discussion of log. 86 (*Thomas*, pp. 11-13) and the
discussions of log. 86 above (pp. 104-105, 196-98).

influenced by Thomas. Although no scholar has seriously suggested

this possibility, it could be inferred from Koester's thesis that

the Diatessaron has utilized Thomas, if the Diatessaron is thus

placed prior to the Vetus Syra. The influence exerted by Thomas

would then be indirect. But a direct influence is also plausible,

if readings can be found in the Old Syriac version which are trace-

able back to Thomas. (b) On the other hand, Thomas could be depen-

dent upon the the Old Syriac, as Schippers and Ménard argue. In

Schippers' case, it may be difficult, if not impossible, to dis-

tinguish between a Tatianic reading which passed directly to Thomas

and one which passed through the intermediary of the Old Syriac gos-

pels (assuming Diatessaric priority). (c) Finally, both Thomas and

the Vetus Syra could be dependent upon a common third source. We

have seen that Baarda has nominated the Diatessaron. An interesting

alternative is that of Pelser. He suggests that all three of these

works rest upon a mutually shared source--an unknown Jewish-Christian

gospel tradition which circulated not only in Syria, but also in

Rome.[1]

These are the various forms of the possibilities with which

we have to work. Of course, the contingency of fortuitous agree-

ment and consequently Thomas' complete independence of the Old

Syriac gospels cannot be overlooked. In order to prove conclusively

any relationship between them, one must search for variant readings

shared exclusively by Thomas and the Vetus Syra. This is now our

task.

---

[1]"Syriac NT Texts," pp. 159-62. Pelser's theory is com-
patible with Quispel's, but it is not necessarily the same.

C. A Brief Comparison of Thomas and
the Old Syriac Gospels

Logion 8 (cf. pp. 168-70). (i) Although "wise" is not
mentioned in Mt. 13:47-48, the man in this logion is described as
"wise," like the merchant in log. 76. It is interesting to note
with Schippers[1] that in Mt. 13:33 of sy^c the woman who hid the
leaven in the meal is described as "wise" (cf. log. 96), but since
the fisherman is not so described in any other known textual tradi-
tion, "wise" is probably a tendentious addition here. (ii) A sec-
ond possible point of contact with the Old Syriac is the use of the
finite verb "drew" in place of Matthew's ἀναβιβάσαντες . We have
seen (p. 169) that this reading occurs in the Western tradition,
the Coptic versions, and the Diatessaron, but a textual connection
is unlikely, since Thomas and sy^{sc} are probably just following the
preferred syntax of their respective languages.[2] (iii) Both sy^{sc}
and Thomas make mention of "fish" which is omitted in the Greek of
Mt., but in sy^{sc} it occurs only once (in v. 48--"they chose the fish
(ܢܘܢܐ --pl.)"), while in Thomas "fish" occurs four times. In all
witnesses where this addition occurs (see pp. 169-70), however, it
is most likely an addition from inference, and in Thomas particularly
the addition appears tendentious.[3] (iv) The final major shared
variant is the "chose" of sy^{sc} and Thomas in supposed contrast to
συνέλεξαν ("they collected"). This artificial distinction is
easily exposed by the use of a Syriac dictionary: the word used in
sy^{sc} is ܓܒܝ which is the Pa'el of ܓܒܐ which means "to choose,

---

[1]*Thomas*, p. 68.

[2]The Syriac language prefers parataxis to Greek's hypotaxis;
cf. Sebastian P. Brock, "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek,"
in Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 83-91.

[3]Cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, pp. 89-90.

select, collect, gather."[1] Moreover, συλλέγειν is translated with

the same word in Mt. 13:41. Hence, sy[sc] probably had this word in

their *Vorlage*, and perhaps Thomas did as well. It should be evident,

therefore, that there is little substantial evidence to connect log.

8 and the Old Syriac gospels.

   Logion 9 (cf. pp. 72-73, 159-60, 170-71). This saying and

sy[sc] share three variants of major interest which have been noted

by Baarda.[2] (i) The first is the "gathered them" of Thomas and sy[s]

in Mt. 13:4[3] as opposed to the "ate them" of the Synoptics. The

only other possible witnesses to such a reading here are Ephraem and

Aphraates, and they do not use this word in their quotations.[4] Even

in their commentaries, they only use ⳍ⳱⳯ ("to snatch, seize"),

which is probably due to Mt. 13:19 (sy[sc] have ⳍ⳱⳯ here). Thus sy[s]

is the only witness besides Thomas to have "gathered." Since sy[c]

has evidently been assimilated to the standard text (cf. sy[p]), sy[s]

could represent the original Old Syriac text. Moreover, since this

word is not found in the Diatessaron, sy[s] could preserve a pre-

Tatianic tradition. It is just possible that this tradition is some-

how connected with Thomas. (ii) The formulation "did not cast

(down) a root" in Thomas and sy[sc] of Mt. 13:6b[5] is not all that tell-

ing. We have already seen (p. 73) that this is a natural way for

Coptic to render the Greek μὴ ἔχειν ῥίζαν (cf. Mk.-sa. 4:6).

Thomas could thus have had this phrase in its *Vorlage*. Similarly,

---

[1]Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 58. Cf. Klein, *Wörterbuch*,
p. 36.

[2]In Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 138. Cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 92.

[3]Actually, sy[s] has "gathered *it*" (ⲱⲇⲓⲗⲟⲛ).

[4]See p. 160 above.

[5]Sy[s] and sy[c] are both defective here in Mk.

such a *Vorlage* may also lie behind the Old Syriac's use of ܪܡܐ ("to throw, cast; to cast down; to lay, set, put"), since such a formulation is not unusual in the Syriac biblical tradition.[1] In any case, although the similarity is striking, there is no factual evidence to link the two readings inextricably. (iii) The addition of "in the earth" after "they did not strike root" is another interesting variant shared by Thomas and, this time, sy[c] (sy[s] omits the phrase). The occurrence of such an obvious addition to the canonical saying could easily be a fortuitous scribal addition,[2] however, and the question of a connection between Thomas and the Vetus Syra in this place must remain open. Besides these variants, Schrage notices at least four others.[3] All four, however, could simply be the result of the influence of an alternate Synoptic gospel. (iv) Thus, Thomas and Lk. 8:5 in sy[sc] do omit "of heaven" after birds, but the tradition in Thomas could have been influenced by Mt. or Mk. in which the best MSS also omit "of heaven." (v) Thomas and sy[sc] also omit τὸν σπόρον αὐτοῦ in the same verse, but this phrase is not found in the Matthean or Marcan parallels, either.[4] (vi) Log. 9 also omits διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς, which is omitted in Mt. 13:5 in sy[s]. Two things may be said here. First, the saying in Thomas is obviously shorter in this place than Mt./Mk. and the clause may

---

[1]Cf. Isa. 37:31; 40:24; Hos. 14:6 (ET 14:5).

[2]Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 46. Also, the influence of the wording in a passage like Isa. 40:24 upon a scribe is not impossible. The Syriac Peshitta in this place reads: ܘܠܐ ܢܥܩܪ ܥܩܪܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ("and they will not strike roots in the earth"), which is very close to sy[c] in Mt. 13:6: ܘܡܛܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܩܪܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ("and it did not strike root in the earth").

[3]*Verhältnis*, p. 46.

[4]It is interesting to note that although this phrase *may* have been found in the Diatessaron (cf. Ephraem 11. 12), it occurs nowhere in the Old Syriac. If it did *not* occur in the Diatessaron, how does it come to be found in Ephraem?

have been omitted due to the redactor's condensation of canonical tradition. Second, although the exact phrase is missing in sy^s, earlier in v. 5 it adds, uniquely, ܟܢ ܩ ܪ ܩܐ ܪ ܬ ܕ ܠ ܘ ܡ ("and because it was a shallow place"), thus alluding twice to the fact that there was not much soil on the rocky ground, just as Mt. does. Consequently, log. 9 and sy^s are not exactly parallel here. (vii) The final variant is the omission of ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν which Thomas shares with sy^s in Mk. 4:5. Again, this omission in Thomas could be due to the shorter form of log. 9, or to the influence of Lk., which does not have this phrase, but a connection with sy^s is certainly not provable. Of course, the preceding discussion of these last four variants presupposes on the part of the redactor/ copyist a knowledge of all three Synoptic gospels, whether the variants are viewed as proving Old Syriac influence or not. This would most likely rule out literary dependence, but, if Thomas is indeed dependent at any stage of its transmission, this probably indicates a dependence upon the Synoptic gospels only as they influenced the mind (and hence the wording) of a copyist/redactor. Whatever the case, Ménard's enthusiasm for the proven dependence of this saying upon the Old Syriac gospels[1] is a little premature. In light of the above evidence (particularly i and maybe iii), the most that can be said is that a connection with the Old Syriac version may be possible.

Logion 14c (cf. pp. 75-76). There is scarcely any evidence to connect this saying with the Old Syriac gospels. (i) The only real similarity is the emphatic "that" found in sy^{sc} of Mt. 15:11/ Mk. 7:15, which is parallel to Thomas' N̄ⲧⲟ ϥ, but this could rest

---

[1]*Thomas*, p. 92. Ménard makes an interesting statement here: "La véritable influence araméene sur Thomas est postérieure à l'âge synoptique, comme nous l'avons dit dans l'*Introduction*, pp. 9ss, et elle s'est exercée sur les versions coptes du N.T. comme en notre Evangile par l'intermédiaire des versions syriaques."

upon the τοῦτο of Mt., or be fortuitous. Otherwise, there are
several differences between the two texts. (ii) For one thing,
the first clause is rendered in the Old Syriac with Participles
(= the Syriac Present tense), and (iii) for another, the first
clause of sy[sc] is clearly negated at the beginning (as it is in the
Sahidic version), but the negation in Thomas apparently comes at the
end of the clause (cf. Mt.-bo. 15:11).

   Logion 16 (cf. pp. 171-72). This is one of the sayings
where Guillaumont[1] and Ménard[2] strongly suggest a connection with
the Old Syriac.[3] (i) The first variant of interest is the "to cast,
throw" of Thomas. In general, this saying is, of course, closer to
Lk. 12:51-53 than to Mt. 10:34-35, but this does not exclude a pos-
sible knowledge of Mt. Not only could log. 16 be influenced by Mt.,
but Lk. in sy[s] could have been assimilated to Mt. as well. Thus,
even though sy[s] in Lk. 12:51 agrees with Thomas and has ܐܪܡܝ ("to
cast") instead of δοῦναι, this does not necessarily signify some
relationship between it and log. 16 (cf. p. 171 above). If sy[s] in
Lk. and Thomas have not been influenced by Mt., we could be dealing
with Semitic translation variants. Black has already noted the
Semitic use of δοῦναι to mean (a) "to make" or (b) "to set, place."[4]
In this light, it is significant that the Syriac versions are divided
as to how δοῦναι should be translated in Lk. 12:51. Sy[sp] read
ܐܪܡܝ which normally means "to throw, cast," but frequently "to set,
place."[5] This would appear to follow option (b). On the other hand,

---

[1]*JA* 246 (1958):118-20.   [2]*Thomas*, pp. 11, 103-104.

[3]Cf. Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 76-77.

[4]*Aramaic Approach*, pp. 132-33. He notes this passage in
n. 1 of p. 133.

[5]Cf. Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 542.

sy[c] reads ܐܥܒܕ ("to make"), following option (a). Whether the
Aramaic equivalent to one of these words, or יְהַב ("to give"),
stands behind Luke's δοῦναι, it is difficult to say. In any case,
the fact that log. 16 reads "to cast, throw" in a Lucan context could
be indicative of contact with a Semitic language, or equally, contact
with Matthew. (ii) The only other major variant relevant here is
the omission of the second "will be divided" in sy[s] and Thomas, caus-
ing Guillaumont to postulate that this Coptic logion and sy[s] could
preserve the original syntax of this saying.[1] This, however, may be
somewhat premature, especially in light of the numerous subtle dif-
ferences between the two. For one thing, log. 16 never mentions
"divided" specifically, as sy[s] does (in v. 52). Second, it is pos-
sible that the ⲚⲀϢⲰⲠⲈ ("will be") of Thomas represents the δια-
μερίζειν found in Luke. If this is true, the redactor of log. 16
probably knew a text which was worded and hence punctuated as the
modern printed editions (i.e., διαμερισθήσονται being taken with
v. 52). Third, this is *not* the text of sy[s], which has διαμερίζειν
only once, nor is it the text of sy[cp] which have ܢܬܦܠܓ ("he will
be divided"), which can obviously only be taken with v. 53 and with
"father" as the subject. Consequently, there is actually very little
evidence to link log. 16 with the Old Syriac gospels. (iii) Never-
theless, this does not perforce dissociate the saying from a Syrian
milieu, as variant (i)·and an interesting observation concerning the
"war" of Thomas illustrate. Quispel thinks that both "sword" and

---

[1]*JA* 246 (1958):118-19. Hence, he sees the original Greek
text thus: Ἔσονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν πέντε ἐν ἑνὶ οἴκῳ, τρεῖς
ἐπὶ δυσὶν καὶ δύο ἐπὶ τρισὶν διαμερισθήσονται, πατὴρ ἐπὶ
υἱῷ καὶ υἱὸς ἐπὶ πατρί etc. It should be noted, however, that
(a) log. 16 never specifically mentions "divided"; and (b) the second
"divided" of Lk. (restored here) is the one absent from sy[s].

"war" go back to the same Aramaic root.[1] They could, however, con-

ceivably go back to the same *Syriac* root. As he admits, the Syriac

word ܚܪܒܐ can also mean both "sword" and "war." Alternatively,

the word used for "sword" in Mt. 10:34 of sy[sc] is ܣܝܦܐ, but this

same word (vocalized differently--something not done in sy[sc])[2] can

also mean "slaughter, destruction."[3]

Logion 25. Guillaumont, Quispel, and Ménard have probably

over-reacted to what they see as the Semitic influence upon this

logion (see pp. 172-74 above). (i) The primary evidence for this

influence is the "as your soul" instead of the ὡς σεαυτόν of Mt.

19:19; 22:39/Mk. 12:31/Lk. 10:27. While it is true that "as your

soul" is Semitic, it could also be a biblicism as Kuhn and Haenchen

aver (p. 133 above). (ii) The likelihood of the latter suggestion

is increased when one notes the Imperative "love" of Thomas. Al-

though Hebrew may use the Imperative for a positive command, in

Lev. 19:18 it uses the Future "you will love."[4] In all probability,

this is the reason the Greek, Syriac, Coptic, and other versions of

the Old and New Testaments almost always render this saying in the

Future tense, even though each language is capable of using the

Imperative. Regarding the Vetus Syra, of the seven times this say-

ing occurs,[5] the Imperfect (Future) tense is used six times. Only in

Mt. 19:19 of sy[c] is the Imperative utilized (ܐܚܒ, m. sg. Impv. of

---

[1] *VigChr* 12 (1958):189; cf. pp. 171-72 above.

[2] The vocalization of Syriac MSS did not begin before the
VII century: cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 87.

[3] Cf. Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, pp. 375-76.

[4] Actually, the Hebrew uses the Perfect plus the Waw Consecu-
tive, essentially resulting in the Imperfect (Future).

[5] Four times in sy[s], three times in sy[c] (Mk. 12:31 is not ex-
tant).

ᴶⵡ),[1] and this may be a scribal error, since the change of one let-

ter would give the Imperfect: ᴶⵡⴷⵀ (cf. sy^p and sy^{sp} in Mk. 12:31).

Nonetheless, there is a slight possibility that Mt. 19:19 of sy^c has

some connection with log. 25, but because the "Semitic" flavour of

this saying is ambiguous, a Syrian background to this saying must

remain open to question.

Logion 31. Quispel notes that sy^{scp} have, with Thomas,

"city" instead of πατρίϲ.[2] We have already seen (pp. 80-81) that

Thomas' †ⲙⲉ, though usually meaning city, probably translates

πατρίϲ in this saying. The same may be said for the ⴿⴷⵡ·ⵁⵁ of

the Syriac versions: it normally means "city," but can mean "province,

country."[3] Significantly, every time πατρίϲ occurs in the NT,

sy^{scp} translate it with this word.[4] It must be admitted that this

ambiguous Syriac word could lie behind the "city" of log. 31, but

this is doubtful in view of the common usage of the Sahidic †ⲙⲉ to

translate πατρίϲ.

Logion 32. There is a relatively good chance that this say-

ing has undergone Syrian influence. Unfortunately, this entire case

must rest upon a single variant--Thomas' "built" in place of Matthew's

"set." It was said earlier (pp. 175-76) that although Ta^{ap} witness

to "built," this reading is probably not original to the Diatessaron.

---

[1] Ephraem in his commentary (16. 23), does use the Imperative the second time he quotes this saying, but he uses the synonym ⵉⵡ·ⵉ. This is a testimony to the tendency to put the command in the Imperative, a tendency which may have independently affected the redactor of log. 25.

[2] *Tatian*, p. 179.

[3] Cf. Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 252; and Brockelmann, *Lexicon*, p. 145. Ephraem (11. 25) also uses ⴿ ⴷⵡ·ⵁⵁ. This word is probably why, of all the Tatianic witnesses, only Ta^{ape} have "city," which.is a clear case of misinterpretation of the Syriac word.

[4] Also cf. 2 Chron. 6:32; 9:5; Dan. 8:2.

This can be substantiated by at least two things. First, since "built" is found in no other Tatianic witness but *is* found in sy[scp], the texts of Ta[ap] have probably been influenced by a Syriac Tetra-evangelion. Second, "built" is found in witnesses normally uncon-nected with the Diatessaron: e.g., Augustine, Hilary, and perhaps Pseudo-Clement (*Hom.* 3. 67). The evidence, then, would point more toward the ultimate influence of the Old Syriac version. This would be the source of "built" in sy[p] and, if Vööbus is correct,[1] in arm[vet] georg. It could have also influenced the biographer of Ephraem and the translator of Eusebius' *Theophania*.[2] There could thus be some connection between Thomas and the Vetus Syra. It is unlikely that the latter is dependent upon the former, since the Old Syriac betrays no knowledge of Thomas' much fuller saying. It is possible, however, that a redactor of log. 32 knew the Old Syriac. What is more likely is that Thomas and the Old Syriac have been in-fluenced by an older Syrian tradition.[3] Peters[4] and Quispel[5] would

---

[1] Vööbus believes that the Old Armenian gospels were trans-lated from the Old Syriac gospels, and, in turn, the Old Georgian gospels have an Old Armenian base: *Early Versions*, pp. 138ff., 182ff. Cf. Peters, *Diatessaron*, pp. 63ff.

[2] For the latter, cf. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:166-72

[3] Augustine (*De serm. Dom.* 1. 17; 2. 2; *C. Faust.* 13. 13[10]; 16. 17) and Hilary could have been directly or indirectly influenced by this tradition. In this connection, it is significant that the Old Latin MSS k (African) and f (Italian) also have *constituta*. How is it that a Syrian tradition (not necessarily written in Syriac!) agrees with an Old Latin tradition? Here, we begin to touch upon what may be the greatest enigma of the 'Western' text: the agreements of the Syriac with the Latin tradition (see pp. 265-66, 269-70 below). Let it suffice to say that it is not impossible that a textual tradi-tion circulating very early in Syria could have influenced Thomas, the Syriac versions, and the Old Latin versions. It is even possible that Thomas itself has influenced Augustine (cf. G. Quispel, "Saint Augustin et l'Évangile selon Thomas," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), pp. 375-78), and subsequently Hilary, but this does not seem very likely. Alternatively, log. 32 could agree with them through sheer coincidence.

[4] *AcOr* 16 (1938):284-85, 294.   [5] *VigChr* 13 (1959):108-109.

identify this older tradition as the Gospel of the Hebrews, but if

Tatian used this apocryphal gospel as they believe, and if "built"

is not original to Tatian as demonstrated above, then it has more

likely come from a source other than the Gospel of the Hebrews. And

yet, because we are dealing with so many "ifs" here, the fortuitous

agreement between Thomas and all these witnesses cannot be ruled out.

   Logion 33b (cf. pp. 161-63, 176-78). From the preceding

discussions of this saying, it has been shown that for several vari-

ants, Thomas is not necessarily textually connected because these

"variants" are found in the Greek of a Synoptic parallel or are only

idiomatic Coptic. Thus: (i) "no one" may have come from Lk. 8:16

or Lk. 11:33; (ii) "hidden place" is a natural addition in many

languages, including Coptic; (iii) the repetition of "one puts it"

is also natural to the Coptic language; (iv) "so that" is found in

Lk. 8 and Lk. 11; and (v) "all" may come from Mt. 5:15.[1] Conse-

quently, the fact that sy^{sc} have these readings in one Gospel or an-

other is not significant. (vi) The reading which is significant,

however, is Thomas' "under a bushel . . . in a hidden place." The

only Synoptic parallel which has these two phrases is Lk. 11:33, but

then in the opposite order. An order similar to Thomas' is found in

Ta^{fsnt} Aphr and also in sy^{c}. Just what is the connection, if any?

Perhaps the following schematization on the next page will make the

evidence clearer:

---

[1]Again, if this saying has been influenced by the canonical
Gospels, a knowledge of all three Synoptics is highly likely.

GTh		bushel			hidden place	
Mt. 5		bushel				
sy^s		bushel				
sy^c		bushel				
sy^p		bushel				
Mk. 4 /sy^sc/		bushel		bed		
sy^p		bushel		bed		
Lk. 8			vessel	bed		
sy^s			vessel	bed		
sy^c			vessel	bed	hidden place	
sy^p			vessel	bed		
Lk. 11	hidden place	bushel				
sy^s	hidden place					
sy^c		bushel			hidden place	
sy^p	hidden place	bushel				
Aphr		bushel		bed	hidden place	
Ta^n		bushel		bed	hidden place	
Ta^fst		bushel		bed	hidden place	vessel

From this, the following observations appear justified: (a) The original reading of the Diatessaron is best represented by Aphr Ta^n; the "vessel" of Ta^fst has clearly been appended to include Lk. 8, resulting in a fuller harmonization. (b) There is no direct connection between Thomas and Tatian. All of Tatian's material has come from the Gospels and Thomas' wording betrays no awareness of the Diatessaron's fuller reading. (c) The original readings for Lk. 8 and Lk. 11 of the Old Syriac are best represented by sy^s. It is particularly evident in Lk. 11 that sy^s has been corrected neither to the Greek text, nor to the Peshitta, nor even to the Diatessaron. Significantly, the reading of sy^s for Lk. 11 is shared by, among others, p^{45,75} sa arm geo.[1] It is *possible* that sy^s represents a pre-Tatianic Syriac text of Luke here. (d) The texts of Lk. 8 and Lk. 11 in sy^c, on the other hand, appear to show signs of Tatianic influence. (e) Interest-

---

[1] If log. 33b had this reading, its origin might have also been placed in Egypt; cf. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, 2:251. Burkitt, 2:295, thinks this reading is the original of Luke 11:33.

ingly enough, it is the text of sy[c] in Lk. 11:33, and of sy[c] alone,

which corresponds exactly to the text of Thomas. This may suggest

a connection between the two: i.e., the influence of sy[c] upon Thomas.

The verbal similarity between the two texts is striking:

GTh: For no one lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel, nor does
sy[c]:   No one lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel, nor

GTh: one put it in a hidden place, but one puts it upon the lamp-
sy[c]:   in a hidden place, but one puts it upon the lamp-

GTh: stand so that all who go in and come out will see its light.
sy[c]: stand that those who go in   will see its light.[1]

There are minor differences, but the repetition of the verb in Thomas

may be due to the redactor's Coptic style; "for," "all,"[2] and "and

come out" could also be redactional flourishes. If sy[c] has influ-

enced log. 33b, the following reconstruction would be suggested:

$$sy^s (?) \longrightarrow \text{Diatessaron} \longrightarrow sy^c \longrightarrow \log. \text{ 33b}$$

Alternatively, what if Thomas has influenced sy[c]? This would elimi-

nate the need to postulate Diatessaric influence upon sy[c]. What is

more, such a situation is inviting on chronological grounds. Unfor-

tunately, a textual connection between the Diatessaron and sy[c] is

clearly evident in places where no parallel in Thomas exists.[3] This

fact makes this reconstruction less likely. It is also possible that

---

[1]The addition of the possessive pronoun to Luke's τὸ φῶς
(φέγγος) may be due to mutual influence, but it may be coincidental:
not only does Coptic have a tendency to add the possessive, but Syriac
does as well; cf. Brock, "Limitations," p. 95: "One of the Semitic
features of New Testament Greek is the over-use of the possessive
pronoun αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν). Syriac idiom in fact virtually demands the
use of the suffix with, for example, words denoting parts of the body,
and if there is variation ± αὐτοῦ in the Greek tradition, Syriac
(with the exception of H) cannot be cited as evidence for the presence
of the pronoun in its Greek *Vorlage*."

[2]"All" is, expectedly, found in Mt. 5:15 of sy[sc], but sy[sc]
also add "all" to Lk. 8:16.

[3]Among the examples given by Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*,
2:221-22, are Lk. 11:2-4; 23:43; 19:44; and 8:31, though his interpre-
tation of this evidence may be questioned. Cf. also von Soden,
Schriften, I:2:1575.

both sy[c] and log. 33b have been influenced by the same early (un-known) gospel tradition which read "bushel . . . hidden place." This would satisfactorily explain why "hidden place" is appended to Lk. 8 in sy[c] and why the Tatianic "bed" does not occur in Lk. 11 of sy[c]. But besides being unprovable, there is again the problem of explaining the ostensible Tatianic influence upon sy[c] elsewhere. Whatever the case (and it would be highly irresponsible to make con-clusive generalizations from just one text), it seems probable that sy[c] and log. 33b share the same textual tradition, with perhaps some indirect influence by Tatian's Harmony. Yet, the possibility that Thomas' agreement with sy[c] is purely coincidental prevents this prob-ability from being viewed as a certainty.

Logion 34 (cf. pp. 81-82). The fact that both Thomas and sy[sc] in Mt. 15:14 have the Present "they fall" instead of the Future πεϲοῦνται is no reason to associate the two. As we have seen (p. 82), in such conditional statements, Coptic may quite naturally use the Habitude I (Continuous Present) to render the Greek Future (cf. Mt.-bo. 15:14). Likewise, Syriac usually translates the Greek Future with the Imperfect (as sy[s[c]] does in the parallel in Lk. 6:39), or it may use the Participle, which is normally translated by the English Present tense.[1] The latter is the way πεϲοῦνται is translated by sy[sc]. This is also probably the reason the "Present" is found in the Georgian version, and, possibly, in several Tatianic witnesses. In all these cases, the translation probably rests upon πεϲοῦνται.

Logion 39a. There is a possibility that this saying has Dia-tessaric connections (see pp. 178-80 above), but there may be some relationship between it and the Vetus Syra as well. (i) Thus, the
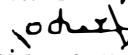
---

[1]Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 90-91.

plural "keys" in place of the singular in Lk. 11:52 could occur in Ta$^{ape^{arm}}$ as the result of assimilation to a Syriac text (sy^{scp}), or "keys" in sy^{scp} could be due to Tatianic influence; it is impossible to be certain.[1] The latter is less likely, however, because "keys" is found in several witnesses, some of them prior to or independent of the Diatessaron: q bo arm geo ClemAl Just Aug. It is also conceivable that Thomas is independent of both Ta and sy^{sc}. (ii) "They have hidden them" finds parallels in D 157 it arm geo eth Orig PsClem as well as in Ta$^{ae^{arm}}$ and sy^{sc}. This is in place of Luke's ἦρατε.[2] But Thomas' reading is fuller than most of the above witnesses which read "have hidden." Thomas has "have received . . . have hidden" which ostensibly harmonizes the canonical and variant readings. Ta$^{ae^{arm}}$ and sy^{sc} do not do this; therefore a connection between Thomas and these witnesses may be questioned. If either of these is the source of "have hidden," then some redactor of log. 39a also knew the canonical text. Interestingly enough, only PsClem[3] and the Ethiopic version are truly parallel to Thomas; they have "take . . . hide." (iii) As far as the Old Syriac is concerned, the only other possible connection with log. 39a is the omission of the word εἰσελθεῖν in Mt. 23:13. But (a) this word may have occurred in POxy 654. 4,[4] and (b) it could also have been in the *Vorlagen* of sy^{sc} and

---

[1] The problem is compounded in Syriac, since the singular and plural forms are spelled the same, with the exception of two dots: ܐܩܠܝܕܐ--key, ܐܩܠܝ̈ܕܐ--keys; cf. Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 98.

[2] Chase, *Syro-Latin Text*, p. 39, suggests that Ta, sy, and the Western witnesses may all go back to the Syriac ܛܫܝܬܘܢ ("ye have hidden") which could itself be the "primitive Syriac equivalent of ἦρατε," but this is mere conjecture.

[3] Cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):190; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 140.

[4] Cf. Fitzmyer, *Essays*, pp. 413-14.

the texts behind Ta[a] Aphr; the Semitic languages are difficult to decipher in this case. In sum, a connection between sy[sc] and this logion is possible, but there is no way to prove it satisfactorily.

Logion 45b (cf. p. 86). On pp. 180-81 above, it was shown that, while there are similarities between this saying and the Diatessaron, the similarities with the Old Syriac gospels are even more remarkable. (i) The addition of "of his heart" in Thomas is not telling, for it occurs in log. 45b only after *"evil* treasure," while in the Tatianic witnesses Ta[apnv] Aphr and in sy[sc] it is found after "good treasure" *and* "evil treasure." (ii) Nevertheless, it is in Thomas and sy[sc] of Mt. 12:35 that only *evil* things are *spoken* (both evil and good are spoken in Aphr), and (iii) it is only in Thomas and sy[sc] of Mt. that from the abundance of the heart the man (or the mouth) *"brings forth"* instead of "speaks." The various similarities and differences become clearer in the following illustration:[1]

```
log. 45b           A good man from his        treasure
Mt.12:35,34b sy[sc] A good man from the good treasures which are in
Lk. 6:45 sy[s,c]  A good man from the good treasure  which is  in
Aphr(Dem. 9. 11)[2] A good man from the good treasures which are in


1.45b             brings forth           good things.      An evil
Mt 12   his heart brings forth           good things.  And an evil
Lk  6   his heart brings forth           good.         And an evil
Aphr    his heart brings forth and speaks good things.  And an evil


1.45b   man from his evil treasure  which is  in his heart brings
Mt 12   man from the evil treasures which are in his heart
Lk  6   man from the evil treasure  which is  in his heart brings
Aphr    man from the evil treasures which are in his heart brings


1.45b   forth evil things and he speaks evil things.  For      from
Mt 12                           speaks evil things.  For      from
Lk  6   forth evil.                                  For      from
Aphr    forth          and     speaks evil things.  Because from


1.45b   the abundance of the heart he        brings forth evil things.
Mt 12   the abundance of the heart the mouth brings forth.
Lk  6   the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.
Aphr    the abundance of the heart the lips  speak.
```

---

[1] For the sake of simplicity, no allowance has been made in the translations for the minor differences in word order.

[2] Cf. *Dem.* 14. 48, which is essentially the same.

It is quite obvious that the text of Thomas is unique. It shares some of the harmonizations of sy^{sc} and some of the Tatianic(?) text; consequently, though log. 45 basically follows Luke's text, a redactor probably was familiar with Mt. as well. But neither log. 45b nor sy^{sc} has a text as full as Aphr. Text-critically, this would point to the text of Aphr as the latest text. Thomas and sy^{sc} could represent texts which have been independently assimilated to and harmonized with various common traditions, but direct contact, though somewhat less likely, cannot be ruled out. If such is the case, it would appear that Thomas influenced sy^{sc}, especially in Mt. 12 where the mouth "brings forth."

Logion 54. An identical situation to the one with the Sahidic version (see p. 88 above) exists in the Old Syriac gospels: i.e., Mt. 5:3 is translated faithfully, but Lk. 6:20 reads "theirs is the kingdom of heaven" instead of "yours is the kingdom of God." Offhand, it would appear that these versions have been assimilated to Mt. Since Thomas seems to mix the two readings--"*yours* is the kingdom of *heaven*"--it is most likely following an independent line here.[1]

Logia 55/101 (cf. pp. 88-90 and 184-85). Just as there is little proof for a textual connection between Thomas and the Coptic versions or the Diatessaron, so it is with the Vetus Syra, and for much the same reasons: (i) The Syriac uses ܕ ܡܢ ("whoever, he who") to translate both the substantive Participle of Mt. 10:37 and the τις of Lk. 14:26, rendering any comparison with Thomas

---

[1]Cf. Dehandschutter, *OLoP* 6 (1975):129. He thinks that "kingdom of *heaven*" is not due to a Syrian tradition (vs. Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):191 and *Makarius*, pp. 96-97), nor is it a "common reading" (vs. Klijn, *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts, Part Two: 1949-1969*, NovTest Suppl. 21, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969, p. 14), but it is a Gnostic avoidance of a reference to the "demiurge" (with Turner, *Thomas*, p. 32). Cf. Wilson, *Studies*, p. 55.

inconsequential. (ii) The addition of the possessive pronoun to the various family members is quite natural both for Syriac[1] and for Coptic. (iii) The order of the family members in Lk. is the same in sy^{sc} as that in Ta^{ap}, but this is relatively insignificant for the reasons mentioned on p. 185 above. (iv) Finally, "disciple *to me*" and "worthy *to me*" are found in sy^{sc} and could be construed to be a Semitic (Aramaic?[2] Syriac?) influence upon log. 55, but because similar readings are found in the Coptic versions, and are thus most likely inherent to the language, such wording should probably be attributed to an independent translation by a redactor of Thomas.

Logion 57. It has been shown (pp. 185-88) that the evidence for connecting this saying with the Diatessaron is very poor; it is even poorer for a connection with the Vetus Syra. (i) The distinction which some see between Thomas' use of σπείρειν and ἐπισπείρειν is artificial; not only do the Coptic versions use the same word to translate both Greek words, but the Syriac of sy^{scp} does as well.[3] (ii) Sy^{scp} do add, with Thomas, "to them" after "he said" in Mt. 13:29, but just as this is natural for Coptic (cf. sa fay), so also is it for Syriac.[4] Such an agreement cannot, therefore, be counted as significant. (iii) Thomas does use ϨⲰⲰⲖⲈ ("to pluck") where Mt. uses συλλέγειν (vv. 29, 30), but ϨⲰⲰⲖⲈ is also used in place of ἐκριζοῦν. The Tatianic testimony is inconsistent (cf. pp. 187-88 above), but it does not appear that any Diatessaric witness does this. Thomas' ϨⲰⲰⲖⲈ could go back to the

---

[1] Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 95.

[2] Cf. Quispel, *NTS* 5 (1959):287; Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 13; and Quecke, *Muséon* 78 (1965):237-38.

[3] Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 83-84.

[4] Cf. ibid., p. 96.

Syriac $\searrow\!\!\!\Box\!\!\lrcorner$ ("to pluck; to gather"), and this is the word used in

sy[sc] for συλλέγειν . The Old Syriac, however, uses a different

word to translate ἐκριζοῦν (ⲓ̇ⲟⲗ), and is consequently not paral-

lel to Thomas. Thomas' independence in translation or tradition

still remains the best explanation for this particular wording.

(iv) The Old Syriac seldom follows Greek word order strictly, espe-

cially where it is awkward for Syriac.[1] It thus cannot be said that

Thomas and sy[sc] (and, e.g. fay bo) had a *Vorlage* which read τὸν

σῖτον ἅμα αὐτοῖς as opposed to Mt. 13:29: ἅμα αὐτοῖς τὸν σῖτον

(cf. p. 188 above).

 Logion 61a. On pp. 90-91, it was demonstrated that there is

a slight possibility of a redactor of this saying having been influ-

enced by Lk.-sa. 17:34, primarily on the basis of the (ⲙ)ⲟⲩⲁ . . .

(ⲙ)ⲟⲩⲁ ("the one . . . the one") construction. It must also be ad-

mitted, however, that a connection with the Vetus Syra is equally

possible. Syriac can translate ὁ εἷς . . . ὁ ἕτερος with . . .ⲗⲱ

ⲕⲩ·ⲗⲱⲕ ("the one . . . the other"; cf. Mt. 6:24/Lk. 16:13; Lk.

18:10), but in Lk. 17:34, it has, with Thomas, ⲓⲗⲱ . . . ⲗⲱ ("the

one . . . the one"; cf. also v. 35 and Lk. 7:41). But in view of

Thomas' obvious independence of Lk. for much of log. 61a, a connec-

tion with either the Sahidic version or Old Syriac version is only

a remote possibility.

 Logion 63. There are two variants of interest here: (i) The

first is the rendering of "the rich man" in the Nominative case in-

stead of using Luke's Genitival construction. The former procedure

is followed not only in log. 63, but also in Ta sa bo and sy[scp] for

Lk. 12:16. It is not particularly noteworthy, however, for the rea-

sons given on pp. 188-89 above. (ii) There is also the use of the

---

[1]Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 83, 89-90.

third person where, in v. 19, Lk. has ἐρῶ τῇ ψυχῇ μου. The use
of the third person is a disputable Tatianic reading (see pp. 189-90
above), but it does occur in sy[C] (sy[S] follows Lk.). Marmardji sug-
gests that sy[C] may not accurately reflect the original Old Syriac
tradition, but has rather been the victim of a scribal error.[1] In
Syriac, the difference between the two phrases is very slight:

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܢܦܫܝ ("and I will say to my soul"--sy[S]) and ܘܐܡܪ ܠܢܦܫܗ
("and he said to his soul"--sy[C]). Even if sy[C] does represent the
original reading, it is hardly Thomas' "these were his thoughts in
his heart." No textual witness has this formulation, and a redactor/
translator was probably acting independently here.

Logion 64 (cf. pp. 91-92). Although this is one of the most
lengthy logia in Thomas, there is relatively little evidence for a
connection with any text of Lk. 14:16-24 (Mt. 22:1-14). This may be
another indication of its freedom from the canonical tradition. Yet
the Old Syriac provides an interesting insight into the wording of
this saying. Two similarities between the Old Syriac and log. 64
which are listed by Baarda and Quispel can be dispensed with quickly:
(i) When the servant brings the replies to his master, Thomas does
read "The servant came, he said," using a finite verb where Lk. 14:21
has the Participle παραγενόμενος, but this is the natural way for
Coptic to render a Participle (cf. sa),[2] and since Syriac prefers
parataxis to hypotaxis,[3] it is not surprising to find in sy[sc] two
finite verbs as well. This, therefore, cannot be construed as a
textual connection. (ii) "He said" in Thomas and sy[scp] as opposed to

---

[1]Marmardji, *Diatessaron*, p. 272.

[2]Also cf. Plumley, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 151; and
p. 92 above.

[3]Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 83, 91.

ἀπήγγειλεν in Lk. 14:21 is inconsequential. The Coptic word Ϫⲱ
is a common way of translating ἀπαγγέλλειν,[1] and the Syriac ⲒⲊⲔ
for this word is also not unusual.[2] This brings us to the interest-
ing insight: (iii) The fourth invitation in log. 64 is rejected
with the excuse "I have bought a ⲔⲰⲘⲎ." The Greek word κώμη
means "village, small town," but the purchase of an entire village
may be considered somewhat unusual. Hence, some translators (e.g.,
the Brill edition) prefer "I have bought a farm." The Syriac lan-
guage provides an explanation for this enigma. Luke (v. 18) does
mention a man who has bought a field (ἀγρόν, cf. Mt. 22:5). Here
sy[sc] use ⲔⲇⲚⲓⲊ. This word can mean not only "field, farm," but
also "town, village," and is commonly used to translate κώμη (cf.
Lk. 9:52, 56; 10:38; 17:12; 19:30; 24:13, 28).[3] Therefore, it may
be postulated that this word ⲔⲇⲚⲓⲊ stood in a Syriac tradition,
which was subsequently incorporated into Thomas, and the Greek trans-
lator, instead of rendering ⲔⲇⲚⲓⲊ with ἀγρός, understandably used
κώμη which found its way into the Coptic of Thomas. This does not,
however, necessarily indicate a connection with the Vetus Syra
(which is unlikely), but merely a possible original Syrian milieu.

Logion 65 (cf. pp. 92-95, 190). There is little evidence
to link this saying with the Old Syriac gospels, but it is interest-
ing to note that Luke's *hapax* ἴσως (cf. p. 92) occurs in all three
parallels (Mt. 21:37/Mk. 12:6/Lk. 20:13) in the Vetus Syra. If log.
65 originated in Syria, and if the redactor knew the canonical gospels,

---

[1]Fourteen of 45 times in the Sahidic NT.

[2]ⲒⲊⲔ ("to say") never translates ἀπαγγέλλειν in Mt., and
it is used only one in 3(5?) times in Mk., but it is apparently the
favourite equivalent of the translator of Lk. in the Old Syriac, since
it is utilized 8 of 11 times for ἀπαγγέλλειν: 7:22; 8:20, 47; 9:36;
13:1; 14:21; 18:37; 24:9.

[3]For additional references, cf. Klein, *Wörterbuch*, p. 91.

this could be the reason Μεϣᴀκ (= ἴσως, "perhaps") is used twice in log. 65.[1]

Logion 68 (cf. pp. 190-91). The first part of this saying has a text remarkably close to Mt. 5:11 in sy[s]. Both texts read: "Blessed are you when they (men) hate you and persecute you." This apparent mixture with Lk. 6:22 may be due to a translation variant of ὀνειδίσωσιν,[2] but it could well testify to some type of a connection between log. 68 and sy[s], especially since a connection with the Diatessaron is unlikely (cf. pp. 190-91 above). Moreover, the other witnesses for this reading which are listed by Quispel (PsClem *Hom.* 11. 20. 2; Polycarp *ad Phil.* 12. 3)[3] are merely paraphrases; even then, they have the reverse order of Thomas: "persecute and hate." It must therefore be considered as rather probable that some textual connection between log. 68 and Mt. 5:11 of sy[s] exists, though fortuitous agreement cannot be excluded.

Logion 69b. The Synoptic parallels to this saying are found in Mt. 5:6/Lk. 6:21a. The Vetus Syra, like the Coptic versions, follows the Greek. But on pp. 96-97 above it was mentioned that in sy[s] (not in sy[c]) of Lk. 15:16, the phrase "to fill his belly" is found. Such phraseology could have influenced Thomas here. This, however, is nothing but guesswork, and since the phrase was also known in Coptic at a relatively early time (cf. Lk.-bo. 15:16), as

---

[1] The observation of Snodgrass, *NTS* 20 (1974/75):142-44, should be mentioned here. While studying the number of "sendings" in this saying as recorded in sy[sc], he concludes that there was a tendency in Syria to harmonize the Synoptic accounts with the two "sendings" (before the son) of Matthew. Regarding the account in Thomas, he concludes: "it is probable that the Gospel of Thomas was dependent on a pre-Tatianic harmonizing tradition" (p. 144).

[2] But sy[c] here uses ܡܚܣܕ (clearly, "reproach," not ܣܢܐ, "hate"); sy[s] translate ὀνειδίσωσιν the same way in Lk. 6:22 and elsewhere.

[3] *VigChr* 12 (1958):191.

well as in various other witnesses, no really plausible case can be made for a connection between sy^s and log. 69b.

Logion 72 (cf. pp. 97-99). Here is a case where Thomas clearly *disagrees* with the Vetus Syra: Sy^{sc} in Lk. 12:14, instead of having "judge or divider," have only "judge." Conversely, Thomas has only "divider."

Logion 76a (cf. pp. 100-101, 191-92). (i) The first common variant between Thomas and sy^{sc} is the ostensibly redundant "a man, a merchant" where Mt. 13:45 has merely ἔμπορος. In and of itself, this is not telling, since the same variant also occurs in quite a number of other witnesses (see p. 101). All that can be said, is that this is certainly not the text of the "neutral" witnesses. (ii) The "one" (ἕνα) at the beginning of Mt. 13:46 is omitted from Thomas and several other witnesses (D Θ pc it sa bo). The Old Syriac is divided: sy^s seems to include "one" and sy^c does not. The omission in sy^c could be due to the fact that the translator read the ἕνα as equivalent to an indefinite article which the Syriac language lacks; hence, its "omission."[1] On the other hand, sy^c could have been textually influenced; Ephraem may have known a text (not necessarily the Diatessaron) which omitted ἕνα.[2] If this text is early, it could have conceivably influenced Thomas, especially since, if the redactor of Thomas knew a tradition with "one" in it, he would surely have included "one," for it would so admirably suit his purpose (cf. 191 n. 4). All of this evidence, however, is terribly obscure. (iii) The only other significant similarity to sy^{sc} is the

---

[1] This could also be the reason for its omission in it sa fay bo.

[2] Cf. Klijn, *VigChr* 14 (1960):159. Louis Leloir, *L'Évangile d'Éphrem d'après les oeuvres éditées*, CSCO 180, Subsidia 12 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1958), p. 28, has the Syriac text and a more accurate Latin translation.

addition of "for himself" at the end of the saying. Again, unfortunately, the same addition also occurs in sa (see p. 101 above), making it impossible to locate specifically the possible textual influences upon this logion. The influence of the Sahidic version or the Old Syriac version is imaginable, with the scales perhaps tipped slightly in favour of the latter in view of the possibility of additional Syrian influences (see the next chapter).

Logion 78 (cf. pp. 101-102, 193). (i) Since the Syriac ܟܠܡܐ can mean either "why?" or "what?" (analogous to the Greek τί), sy[scp] are ambiguous here. They are usually interpreted as reading "What?" instead of "Why?" (vs. Thomas and the Vulgate),[1] probably because the prefix ܠ , the sign of the direct object, is absent before "reed" and "man," where one would expect it to be found if the clause began with the Infinitive "To see." The Old Syriac, at any rate, does not furnish any usable textual clues here. (ii) The Syriac language, however, does provide an interesting point about Thomas' "field" in place of the Synoptics' "desert." Kasser believes this change is due merely to the freedom of the Coptic translator;[2] Ménard attributes it to Gnostic tendentiousness.[3] Schippers, on the other hand, notes that the word ܕܒܪܐ could lie behind this variant.[4] This word can signify both "desert, wilderness" and "field."[5] This is not the word used in sy[sc] (which use ܚܘܪܒܐ), but if ܕܒܪܐ did occur in Thomas' tradition, it could be the cause of the Coptic ⲥⲱϣⲉ ("field").

---

[1] Cf. the translations in Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*; and P. E. Pusey and G. H. Gwilliam, *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum. Juxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem ad Fidem Codicum, Massorae, Editionum Denuo Recognitum* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1901).

[2] *Thomas*, p. 100.   [3] *Thomas*, pp. 178-79.   [4] *Thomas*, p. 119.

[5] Cf. the references in Klein, *Wörterbuch*, p. 39.

Logion 79a (cf. pp. 103-104, 193-94). (i) The variant

"breasts which nourished (suckled) you," shared by Thomas and sy[sc],

as opposed to Lk. 11:27, "breasts which you sucked," has been rather

thoroughly discussed on pp. 193-94 above. There could be a connec-

tion with the Syriac tradition, but not necessarily. (ii) The ad-

dition of "to her" after "he said" is irrelevant; the addition of

the indirect object is somewhat frequent in Coptic (cf. Lk.-bo.

11:28) and even more so in Syriac.[1] (iii) The omission of μενοῦν

in v. 28 of sy[sc] and in Thomas could be significant, but it is a rela-

tively minor word which could have easily been omitted by a redactor.[2]

(iv) Thomas has a Perfect Relative N̄N̄ENTA៧CⲱTM̄ ("those who have

heard") where Lk. has a Present Participle οἱ ἀκούοντες ("those

who hear"). Sy[sp], with Thomas, also have "those who have heard"

(ܩܠܡܕܝܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ).[3] The fact that sy[sp] utilize a finite verb is un-

important; like Thomas, their *Vorlage* probably had a Participle.[4]

What is noteworthy is the use of the Perfect tense. Schrage[5] and

Ménard[6] hypothesize that this is due to the desire to harmonize Jesus'

words with what the woman has said. Whatever the case, this reading

may be the later in the Syriac tradition, particularly in view of

---

[1]Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 96.

[2]Cf. ibid., pp. 84, 93. Here Brock notes that the earliest
Syriac versions frequently did not translate the Greek particles. An
engaging possibility is that a redactor of Thomas knew this saying
only in a Syriac tradition and was therefore unaware the particle
μενοῦν even occurred in this saying.

[3]The Curetonian MS reads ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܫܡܥܘ ܛܘܒܝܗܘܢ. By
itself ܕܫܡܥܘ could be a Pe'al Perfect 3rd f. pl.--"they have heard."
It could also be a Pe'al Participle m. pl.--"hearing." The fact that
ܛܘܒܝܗܘܢ ("blessed") has a 3rd m. pl. ending indicates the latter
interpretation of ܕܫܡܥܘ is correct. Hence: "blessed are those who
hear."

[4]Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 83, 91.

[5]*Verhältnis*, p. 165.   [6]*Thomas*, p. 180.

ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܫܡܥܝܢ ("who hear") in sy^c. On the other hand, the reading in sy^sp could be viewed as the *lectio difficilior* because Luke's second Participle φυλάσσοντες is rendered in these as a Participle (ܢܛܪܝܢ -- "keeping"). Conceivably, sy^c has changed ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܫܡܥ (Perfect Relative) to ܕܫܡܥܝܢ (Present Participle) to harmonize with the second Participle. In sum, there is some evidence to indicate a possible connection between the Old Syriac and log. 79a.

Logion 79b (cf. pp. 103-104, 194-95). This saying has several common readings with sy^sc, and it is no surprise that Ménard sees in this proof of its Syrian milieu.[1] (i) Thomas, sy^sc, and a host of witnesses (p^75 D Φ 476 it Ta^apenv) omit the "behold" of Lk. 23:29. This might indicate a possible connection with what could be a very early text, or the agreement could be fortuitous. (ii) A much more remarkable reading is the "for" in Thomas which seems to be shared only by sy^sc. It is all the more noteworthy because Brock says the Old Syriac frequently adds γάρ even when γάρ does not occur in its *Vorlage*,[2] which increases the probability that Thomas gets its ⲅⲁⲣ from the Old Syriac version itself. Alternatively, a common third tradition could be the reason for the comparatively frequent use of γάρ in sy^sc and Thomas.[3] (iii) Whereas Lk. reads "the days ἔρχονται," log. 79b has ⲛⲁϣⲱⲡⲉ ("will be"). Despite the difference in verb and tense, it is not impossible that ἔρχονται lies behind Thomas, though this is less than likely. At any rate, it is difficult to draw any definite lines between Thomas and sy^sc which

---

[1] *Thomas*, p. 180.

[2] In Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 93.

[3] It is significant that Thomas uses ⲅⲁⲣ where it is not found in the Synoptic parallels in log. 14c, 33b, and 57. ⲅⲁⲣ is also frequently used in the non-Synoptic material: see log. 18, 19, (45a), 85, 101, and 104.

have ⟨ܘܬܐ⟩ ; this is the Imperfect which can mean either "will come" or "are coming." Thus, not only is the verb dissimilar to Thomas, but the precise tense is ambiguous (cf. p. 194). (iv) Thomas and sy[sc] also agree against Luke's ἐροῦσιν by reading "*you* will say." If this is not a coincidence, their reading could be traced back to the Diatessaron (cf. pp. 194-95). But because log. 79b appears generally closer to sy[sc] than to Tatian's Harmony, it is a little more likely that the Old Syriac or the tradition behind it is Thomas' point of contact with this reading. (v) Unfortunately, the ἔθρεψαν/ἐθήλασαν variant is ambiguous; even though sy[sc] support the latter, Thomas' ϯ ⲉⲣⲱⲧⲉ ("to give milk") could support either. Nevertheless, the totality of the evidence would indicate that the probability for a connection between log. 79b and the Old Syriac version is comparatively high.

Logion 86 (cf. pp. 104-105, 196-98). This is a saying where Strobel[1] and Ménard[2] argue strongly for a dependence upon the Vetus Syra. Despite their long list of similarities, only three are worthy of comment. (i) The variant which seems to excite them most is the singular "nest" shared by Thomas and sy[scp] as opposed to Luke's plural.[3] It must be observed, however, that whereas Thomas has ⲛϦⲁⲗⲁⲧⲉ ⲟⲩⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲙ̄[ⲡⲉ]ⲩⲙⲁⲩ ("the birds (pl.) have /their/ nest (sing.)"), sy[scp] have (ܩܢܐ) ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܦܪܚܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ("the bird (sing.) of heaven has a dwelling (or, sy[s] in Lk., a nest--both sing.)"). The similarity is the singular "nest"; the difference is

---

[1]*VigChr* 17 (1963):213ff. Cf. p. 222 n. 3 above.

[2]*Thomas*, pp. 11-13, 187-88. Cf. pp. 224-25 above.

[3]Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963):218, says "bedeutet dies sehr wahrscheinlich, dass eine Abhängigkeit von der Vetus Syra vorliegt"; Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 12, avows "L'*Évangile selon Thomas* dépendrait ici de la Vetus Syra."

the plural "birds" in Thomas and singular "bird" in sy[scp]. Strobel

goes to great lengths to explain this difference as insignificant,

because the Syriac word must be viewed as a collective term, hence

a singular "nest."[1] This is possible, but the difference from

Thomas must at least weaken his conclusion of dependence upon the

Vetus Syra. The problem is further complicated by the fact that in

Syriac, it is only the matter of two dots ($s^e y \bar{a} m \bar{e}$) which distin-

guishes between the singular and the plural form, and sy[sc] are not

always consistent in their use of them.[2] This reading could be

Tatianic, but of the Tatianic witnesses (Ta[pvt]), Ta[p] is the closest

to Thomas, but it could be influenced by sy[p]. No text reads exactly

like Thomas ("foxes," "holes," "birds," "nest"), and its independ-

ence cannot be excluded. Old Syriac influence is, therefore, only

one possibility. (ii) The addition of "his" to "head" in sy[scp] and

Thomas is irrelevant, since Coptic frequently adds the possessive as

does the Syriac, especially to parts of the body.[3] (iii) "And to

rest" may be traceable to the Syriac ѡܳܘ (see pp. 197-98 above),

but this is really not provable. If there is a connection between

log. 86 and the Vetus Syra (and the chances of this are slight, about

equal to those of the Diatessaron), the case must be built upon the

basis of variant (i) with possible support from (iii). The evidence

is certainly not as conclusive as Strobel and Ménard suggest.

Logion 91b (cf. pp. 106-108, 201). It is intriguing that

sy[sc] omit altogether the Matthean parallel (16:3) to this saying,

---

[1]*VigChr* 17 (1963):216-17. Cf. Mt. 23:4 in sy[sc].

[2]Cf. sy[s] in Mt. 8:20 which uses $s^e y \bar{a} m \bar{e}$ on "holes" (ܢܘܩ̈ܐ),
but omits the dots on "foxes" (ܬܥܠܐ).

[3]Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 95. Ménard,
Thomas, p. 13, justifiably criticizes Strobel for making too much
of this variant.

just like the Sahidic version and several other witnesses; only
Lk. 12:56 is included. (i) It is extremely curious that Thomas
uses p̄πιραϲε , an obvious transliteration of πειράζειν ("to
tempt"), when Lk. uses δοκιμάζειν and Mt. διακρίνειν . Why
this particular word? It appears that only Baarda has noted the
most probable answer.[1] In Lk. 12:56, sy[s] translates δοκιμάζειν
with ܩܐ both times; sy[c] uses ܩܐ only the first time. The word
ܩܐ normally means "to try, prove, tempt."[2] It is thus synonymous
with πειράζειν . In fact, of the eleven times πειράζειν occurs
in the Synoptic gospels, the Old Syriac uses ܩܐ to translate it
every time. On the other hand, in the only other instance where δοκι-
μάζειν occurs in the Gospels (Lk. 14:19), sy[sc] use ܩܒ ("to prove,
examine, inquire into").[3] Thus, not only could the use of ܩܐ for
δοκιμάζειν be considered somewhat unusual, but it provides the key
to understanding Thomas' unique p̄πιραϲε --it could well rest upon
the ܩܐ (normally, equal to πειράζειν) as it is found in sy[sc].
Since there is no other witness--not even a Syrian witness--which
has πειράζειν in this saying, a connection between log. 91b and
the Vetus Syra is highly probable; one cannot be certain, for Thomas
could be influenced by the occurrence of πειράζειν in Mt. 16:1/
Lk. 11:16.[4] (ii) Thomas and sy[sc] also have the inverted order of
"heaven . . . earth," but so do p[45,75] ℵ[c] D K L Π Φ pm it vg
sa bo arm eth Mcion. Thomas could thus be independent or under one
of many textual influences. In view of variant (i), however, a long

---

[1] In Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 151.

[2] Cf. Payne Smith, *Dictionary*, p. 341.

[3] In Lk. 12:56, sy[c] translates the second δοκιμάζειν with
ܟܒ which is basically equivalent to ܩܒ; cf. ibid., pp. 51, 52.

[4] Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 175; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 193.

look should be given to sy^{sc}. (iii) Thomas also omits the πῶς of
Lk. 12:56 with sy^{sc} and D 1241 1573 it Mcion, but besides there be-
ing a number of possible influences, the absence of a non-essential
word is not terribly significant. The sum of the evidence, however,
would suggest an increasingly strong case for a connection with sy^{sc},
though the possibility of Coptic-versional influence (see pp. 106-108
above) or some other influence (Marcion?) cannot be excluded.

Logion 93 (cf. pp. 108-110). The only similarity which Thom-
as has with the Old Syriac is the omission of "your" modifying
"pearls" (cf. Mt. 7:6 of sy*⟨s⟩c*). The absence of the possessive
article in a Semitic language is slightly unusual, but it really
cannot substantiate any type of connection between this logion and
the Vetus Syra.

Logion 94. On pp. 201-202, it was seen that a connection
between this saying and the Diatessaron is conceivable, but the in-
fluence of the Coptic versions is much more likely (cf. pp. 110-12).
A comparison with the Old Syriac gospels shows rather clearly that
there can be *no* textual connection with Thomas. (i) In both Mt. 7:8
and Lk. 11:10, sy^{sc} render εὑρίσκει and ἀνοιγήσεται with Parti-
ciples (which are equivalent to the English Present). They thus join
the majority of authorities which harmonize these verbs by making
both Present. Conversely, Thomas utilizes the Future tense in each
case. (ii) The Vetus Syra does read, with Thomas, "it is opened *to
him* (ܠܗ)," but this represents a tendency of both the Coptic (cf.
p. 110) and the Syriac languages,[1] and cannot be counted significant.

Logion 96 (cf. pp. 157-58, 202). (i) Thomas, with sy^{c} of
Mt. 13:33, omits "three measures" (sy^{s} in Mt. and sy^{sc} in Lk. 13:21

---

[1]Cf. Mt. 5:42, where another dative Participle is rendered
the same way.

preserve the phrase). Schrage believes that the omission in Thomas is theologically motivated,[1] but Ménard considers it evidence for Thomas' Syrian origin.[2] Quispel would suggest that both log. 96 and sy^c have been ultimately influenced by the Gospel of the He-brews.[3] Actually, any of these suggestions could be correct, but it must be admitted that there is insufficient evidence to substantiate one opinion or the other. (ii) The case for log. 96 being somehow connected with sy^c of Matthew, however, is severely weakened by the fact that sy^c uniquely describes the woman as "wise," which is ab-sent in Thomas, though it would appear to be ideologically attract-ive (cf. log. 8, 76).

Logion 113 (cf. pp. 203-205). (i) Quispel[4] and, with brackets, Baarda[5] list sy^{scp} as supporting Thomas' Future "will come" in place of ἔρχεται (twice) in Lk. 17:20. But sy^{scp} have ܐܬ݂ܝܐ which is the feminine active Participle of ܐܬ݂ܐ "to come." It would appear that sy^{scp} clearly intend to represent the Present, not the Future tense.[6] (ii) The fact that sy^{cp} repeat "lo" is not too significant (cf. p. 204 above). (iii) Finally, though Thomas' "by observation" could go back to the ܒܚܝܪ̈ܬܐ ("by observings") of sy^{sc}, it could also be an independent translation from Lk. (cf. pp. 204-205 above). It would appear, then, that there is not enough evidence to link log. 113 and sy^{sc}.

---

[1] *Verhältnis*, pp. 184-85.   [2] *Thomas*, pp. 196-97.

[3] Cf. *JBL* 88 (1969):329.   [4] *Tatian*, p. 189.

[5] In Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 153.

[6] Cf. Brock, in Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 90-91.

D. Conclusions

It is now time to sum up the evidence for a connection be-
tween the Gospel of Thomas and the Old Syriac gospels. Taking the
evidence in this chapter by itself, it seems that no logion can be
connected unequivocally with the Vetus Syra, though the evidence for
log. 91b is quite strong. Nonetheless, there is a relatively strong
probability that logia 32, 33b, 45b, 68, 79b, and 91b are somehow
textually linked with the Old Syriac gospels. The same connection is
also possible for log. 9, 25, 39a, 61a, 76a, 79a, and 86. For the
remainder of the sayings in Thomas, a connection is unlikely or the
evidence is insufficient to prove a textual connection.

But these conclusions must be weighed in light of the dis-
cussions in the preceding chapters, especially the one dealing with
the Diatessaron. In this regard, it is interesting to note that two
sayings--log. 39a and 86--show an equal possibility of being con-
nected with the Diatessaron and the Vetus Syra.[1]

Yet, there are a few logia which appear closer to Tatian's
Harmony than to the Old Syriac gospels. We saw in Chapter III that
no saying has a "probable" connection with the Diatessaron. But of
those sayings where a Diatessaric connection is "possible," some are
now seen to have little or no similarity to the Old Syriac: log. 16,
44, 47b, 57, and 94. There are no sayings where a Diatessaric and
Old Syriac connection are both possible, with the former more likely
than the latter.

On the other hand, there are several sayings which have a
closer similarity to sy^{sc} than to the Diatessaron. This happens
where an Old Syriac connection is possible, but a Tatianic connection

---

[1]This and the following comparisons are facilitated by the
use of the Appendix.

is unlikely: log. 9, 25, 61a, 68, 76a, 79a, and 91b. Further, where both connections are possible, in log. 32, 33b, 45b, and 79b, a connection with the Vetus Syra seems more probable than one with the Diatessaron.

It would appear, then, that Thomas is generally closer textually to sy[sc] than to Tatian's Harmony.[1] Yet the fact that a connection with the Diatessaron is possible in log. 16, 44, 47b, 57, 89, and 94 when no relationship with the Vetus Syra is likely would indicate that Thomas is not just related to the Old Syriac gospels, nor is the connection with the Diatessaron only. If the agreements between Thomas and these texts are not fortuitous (and the number of agreements makes coincidence highly unlikely), we must conclude that the same tradition or traditions which influenced Tatian and the translator(s) of the Old Syriac version have also influenced the redactor(s) of Thomas.[2]

Now, it is *conceivable* that the Gospel of Thomas itself is the influence which has worked upon Tatian and sy[sc], but this is less difficult to disprove than it is to prove. We have seen (pp. 206-207) that the influence of Thomas upon the Diatessaron is unlikely. For similar reasons, the theory of Thomas affecting sy[sc] may also be set aside. A striking illustration for this is the use of the addition "wise" in both works. In log. 8 the fisherman is described as "wise" and in log. 76 the merchant is "wise," but such a description is absent in the parallels in sy[sc]. On the other hand, in Mt. 13:33 of sy[c] the woman is called "wise," but log. 96 makes no mention of this.

_____

[1] This would controvert Baarda's purely statistical observations (in Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 154-55).

[2] A redactor of Thomas could have known both the Old Syriac gospels and the Diatessaron, but this requires a date for Thomas in Syria at least as late as A.D. 170 (probably later), and this is generally unacceptable to most scholars.

Here is an indication that not only did Thomas *not* directly influence sy[sc],[1] but also that the Old Syriac as represented by sy[sc] did not directly influence Thomas. Corroboration of these conclusions may be found in the discussion of log. 32 above (pp. 234-36).

It is thus legitimate to say that when Schippers and Ménard suggest that Thomas has used the Old Syriac gospels (sy[sc]),[2] they are probably incorrect. It is safer and more plausible to believe, with Pelser,[3] that the Diatessaron, Vetus Syra, and Thomas have all been influenced in part by a common source. He would identify this source as a Jewish-Christian gospel tradition,[4] although its "Jewish-Christian" characteristics are not always easy to identify. More specifically along these lines, there is always recourse to the ubiquitous Gospel of the Hebrews as suggested by Quispel, but this is probably assuming too much.[5] This common source could be one of, or a combination of, several things: an oral tradition, a "wild" text, an early Syriac Gospel tradition, one or several apocryphal gospels, or a pre-Tatianic Gospel harmony. Whatever the case, it seems more likely than not that this common source had some Synoptic contact,[6] and the theories of Gressmann[7] and Haase[8] concerning the existence of a pre-Tatianic Syriac tetraevangelium are very inviting.

The weakness of this hypothesis is the fact that, if Thomas,

---

[1]Also cf. log. 39a (pp. 239-41 above).

[2]See pp. 221-25 above.

[3]"Syriac NT Texts," pp. 159-62.

[4]Cf. Strobel, *VigChr* 17 (1963):211-24; also see p. 222 n. 3 above.

[5]Cf. pp. 151-56, 217-18 above.

[6]Even Quispel, *NTS* 12 (1966):378f., admits that the Gospel of the Hebrews used Matthew, as Matthew used Mark!

[7]*ZNW* 6 (1905):150-51.   [8]*ThQ* 101 (1920):270-72.

the Diatessaron, and the Vetus Syra have all been influenced by a
common source, there is not more agreement among them. Three rea-
soms can be given for this phenomenon: (a) It is quite obvious that
the dependence upon this unknown source is not literary. In other
words, the source itself *may* have been written, but its traces are
so infrequent, so variable, that it is difficult to think that Ta-
tian, or the redactor(s) of Thomas or the translator(s) of the Vetus
Syra sat down and copied part of it; this unknown source has more
likely influenced the minds of these various authors and scribes.
A scenario like this would imply a pervasive influence for this
source. Hence, it is not surprising to find other Syrian writings
which agree with some of the unique material or unusual readings in
Thomas, the Diatessaron, and sy^{sc} (in addition to the Syrian fathers,
see the next chapter of this thesis). (b) These three works have
most likely undergone various degrees of assimilation to the canoni-
cal Gospel text. Consequently, a greater degree of similarity would
have at one time existed among them which may now be obscured.
(c) For Thomas particularly there is the question of multiple ten-
dentious redactions which may have also destroyed some discernible
traces of this common source. Thus, the lack of agreement among
these three works is explainable.

Points (b) and (c), as far as Thomas is concerned, bring us
to the problem of Coptic-versional influence upon this collection of
sayings. It is extremely interesting and potentially significant to
note that in the vast majority of the cases where Coptic-versional
influence is "probable" or "possible," a connection with a Syrian
text (i.e., a Gospel text which circulated in Syria: the Diatessaron
or sy^{sc}) is unlikely or not demonstrable.[1] This is true for log. 4b,

---

[1]See the Appendix below.

5b/6c, 14b, 14c, 20, 31, 34, 36, 41, 65, 73, and 107. Obviously,
the converse also holds true. It is only in five logia (61a, 76a,
89, 91b, and 94) that a connection with both the Coptic versions and
a Syrian text is possible. In the first two, the chances of contact
with the Coptic versions and sy[sc] (or, more probably, the text behind
them) appear equal. For log. 91b, there is more evidence for the
latter, but some room for the former. For log. 94, a connection with
the Sahidic version and the Diatessaron is possible, but the evidence
is stronger for Coptic-versional influence. For log. 89, the con-
verse is true. Whatever the case, it must be recognized that the
influence of the Egyptian text *does not perforce exclude* the possi-
bility of contact with a Syrian text; the latter could have easily
occurred earlier in the history of the collection.

The impact of these observations should be becoming apparent:
the textual similarities of the various sayings in Thomas may help
elucidate the background, especially the provenance, of each saying
and consequently lead to a better understanding of the collection as
a whole. The evidence gathered thus far would point to a Syrian
provenance for numerous sayings in light of their connection with
a Syrian Gospel text: log. 9, 16, 25, 32, 33b, 39a, 44, 45b, 47b,
57, 61a, 68, 76a, 79a, 79b, 86, 91b, and 94.[1] On the other hand,
there are some logia which show no signs of any textual contact with
a Syrian text, but possibly do have a connection with the Coptic ver-
sions: log. 4b, 5b/6c, 14b, 14c, 20, 31, 34, 36, 41, 65, 73, and 107.
This may be an indication that some or all of these sayings originated,
or at least took their present form, outwith Syrian influence. If we
concede, as the sum of the evidence leads us, that the Gospel of

---

[1] In addition, see the discussions on ⲔⲰⲘⲎ in log. 64 (p.
246) and on Cⲱⲱⲉ in log. 78 (p. 249).

Thomas is a collection of sayings which has undergone a series of redactions by scribes of various viewpoints--that it was a living, growing collection--then it will be seen that the textual study thus far only serves to substantiate such a view. It is not inconceivable that the collection originated in Syria where it was influenced by (a) contemporaneous text(s), and then it made its way southward where further textual influences were felt: all of this, despite the relatively independent stream in which the Gospel of Thomas obviously flowed.

It will be admitted without hesitation that we are dealing in the realm of probability. The evidence thus far can serve only as a guide in the search for the origins of Thomas; the textual investigation must be augmented by the research from other disciplines, which could easily tip the balance in another direction for some sayings. But the textual investigation itself is not complete until we have examined various other texts which have exceptionally strong similarities to Thomas.

V. THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS AND OTHER EARLY TEXTS
OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

For the sake of consistency and completeness, one might now
expect a chapter dealing with the Gospel of Thomas and the Old Latin
gospels, and indeed, the large amount of evidence would not preclude
such a comparison. Baarda, for instance, has noted a strong affin-
ity between Thomas and the Old Latin versions.[1] It is questionable,
however, whether such a detailed comparison would substantially fur-
ther our present task--that being the attempt to discover the earli-
est history of this sayings collection by noting various textual
similarities and the location of these texts. This doubt is ex-
pressed for rather obvious reasons. For one thing, it would be dif-
ficult to connect Thomas in a convincing way with a textual tradi-
tion which probably originated and certainly circulated primarily
in the West. Further, it will be noted from a glance at the lists
of variants by Baarda or Quispel, that almost every time Thomas a-
grees with the Old Latin, it also agrees with the Diatessaron or the
Vetus Syra, and, because Thomas has highly probable Syrian contacts,
a connection with the latter two texts is much more likely than a
connection with the Old Latin. Nevertheless, there are a few cases,
as we shall see, where a saying in Thomas bears a striking resem-
blance to an Old Latin text only. On the face of it, this could
suggest that the saying has possible North African or European con-
nections. This is not inconceivable, but at present appears unlikely.
What is more likely to be true is that such similarities with geographi-

---

[1] In Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 154.

cally distant texts merely point to the popularity and impact which some of the traditions contained in Thomas (perhaps Thomas itself?) had on the early Christian community.

Besides the Old Latin version, several early Christian writers and writings from both East and West bear textual similarities to some of Thomas' sayings. Such connections may assist us in locating the origin, or at least in understanding the early history, of these particular sayings. These various textual parallels will be noted in some detail after a brief survey dealing with the background of the texts and writings to be discussed. In addition, notice will be taken of any previous attempts to connect these Gospel texts with the Gospel of Thomas.

A. A Brief Look at Various Early Writers, Writings, and Versions

The Old Latin Versions

The precise origins of the Old Latin versions[1] are not surprisingly obscure and moot. Most scholars would place the earliest Latin translation of the New Testament anywhere from the middle or end of the II century to the mid-III century. The place of origin, however, is widely disputed.

One obvious choice for provenance is Rome. This city had a rather large and active Christian community, was the centre of the empire, and was the mother of the Latin language. Hence, scholars

---

[1]The critical edition for the Gospels is that of Adolf Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, durchgesehen und zum Druck besorgt von Walter Matzkow und Kurt Aland (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter): I. *Matthäusevangelium*, 2. verbesserte Aufl., 1972; II. *Marcusevangelium*, 2. verbesserte Aufl., 1970; III. *Lucasevangelium*, 2. verbesserte Aufl., 1976; IV. *Johannesevangelium*, 1963.

such as Bardy,[1] Mohrmann,[2] and Peebles[3] suggest this as the venue of

the first Old Latin version. By way of rebuttal, some scholars do

not think the evidence will substantiate this ostensibly early and

wide use of a Latin version in Rome.[4] Other scholars, however,

espouse a Roman origin for entirely different reasons; these scholars

believe that the first Latin gospels were an Old Latin translation

of Tatian's Diatessaron made in Rome while he was still there or

soon after he left. This, it is averred, plausibly explains the

popularity of the Diatessaron in the West and the affinities it has

with the Old Latin versions. This view basically began with von

Soden[5] and stretches through a long line of scholars including

---

[1]Gustave Bardy, *La question des langues dans l'église ancienne*, vol. 1 (Paris: Beauchesne et Ses Fils, 1948), pp. 106-11.

[2]Christine Mohrmann, "Les origines de la latinité chrétienne à Rome," *VigChr* 3 (1949):67-106, 163-83.

[3]B. M. Peebles, "Latin Versions," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 2:437.

[4]Some of the problems with this view are pointed out by Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 286-88. The evidence regarding the "Sator-Arepo" square might also be mentioned here. A brief overview of the discussion is given by F. L. Cross, *The Early Christian Fathers* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1960), pp. 199-201. Though some scholars would use this square to argue for the existence of at least part of the NT in Latin as early as A.D. 79, Cross doubts that this particular evidence can be responsibly used to draw such a conclusion. For further information, cf. Donald Atkinson, "The Sator-Formula and the Beginnings of Christianity," *BJRL* 22 (1938):419-34; *idem*, "The Origin and Date of the 'Sator' Word-Square," *JEH* 2 (1951):1-18; and Hugh Last, "The Rotas-Sator Square: Present Positions and Future Prospects," *JThS* 3 (1952): 92-97.

[5]*Schriften*, I:2:1544-72.

Vogels,[1] Plooij,[2] Burkitt,[3] Baumstark,[4] Peters,[5] and Vööbus.[6]

On the other hand, Sanday,[7] Chase,[8] and Kennedy[9] argue for Antioch of Syria as the place of the first Latin gospels for the following reasons: (1) The Old Latin demonstrates a special acquaintance with the administrative arrangements of Palestine. (2) The translators evidently had a knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic. (3) There are many non-canonical interpolations in the Old Latin versions, and such non-canonical material is more likely to abound in Syria than in the West. (4) The Old Latin has close affinities with the Old Syriac version.

Unconvinced by either of the above possibilities, most modern scholars aver that the Old Latin versions were first made in northern Africa. This opinion was held by Hort[10] and has recently

---

[1]Heinrich Joseph Vogels, *Die Harmonistik im Evangelientext des Codex Cantabrigiensis. Ein Beitrag zur neutestamentlichen Textkritik*, TU 36,1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1910), pp. 46ff.; and *idem, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Diatessaron im Abendland*, NT Abhandl. 8,1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1919), pp. 3ff. Vogels is criticized rather extensively by Fischer, "NT in lateinischer Sprache," pp. 32, 41-42, 45ff.

[2]*Further Study*, pp. 25-69, 73f.

[3]*JThS* 25 (1924):128-30; ibid., 36 (1935):257.

[4]*OC*, 3rd ser., 5 (1930):1-14.   [5]*Diatessaron*, pp. 147ff.

[6]*Early Versions*, pp. 33ff., 44-45.

[7]/William Sanday/, review of *A Study of Codex Bezae*, by J. R. Harris, in *The Guardian* (25 May 1892):786-88.

[8]*Syro-Latin Text*, pp. 138-42.

[9]H. A. A. Kennedy, "Latin Versions, The Old," in *DB(H)*, 3:54-55.

[10]*New Testament*, 2:78. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, pp. 191-214, places the earliest Old Latin of Acts in northern Africa (Carthage?), and appears to prefer this for the Gospels, but he cannot rule out Rome (pp. 226-34). Whatever the case, he is certain that the Old Latin gospels antedate both Tatian and Justin (pp. 176-77, 191-92, 234).

been reaffirmed by Metzger.[1] Metzger gives two reasons for this

belief. First, there is some evidence to indicate that Latin was

used by the common people in northern Africa at a very early period.

Second, in a writing called *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs*, which

describes a persecution around A.D. 180, Speratus, one of the mar-

tyrs, mentions having the writings of Paul. These were probably in

Latin. If the epistles of Paul had been translated into Latin,

then the Gospels presumably had been translated somewhat earlier.

This evidence is confirmed by the fact that the 'African' form of

the Old Latin text is the most primitive (see below).

The many manuscripts of the Old Latin versions are extremely

diverse, giving the impression that different books have been trans-

lated by different translators several times. Indeed, Augustine

complains:

> Those who translated the Scriptures from Hebrew into Greek
> can be counted, but the Latin translators are out of all
> number. For in the early days of the faith, every man who
> happened to gain possession of a Greek manuscript /of the
> New Testament/ and who imagined he had any facility in both
> languages, however slight that might have been, dared to
> make a translation.[2]

Augustine also refers to the "endless variety and multitude of Latin

translators."[3] Jerome has similar complaints.[4]

Nevertheless, since Hort's time,[5] the manuscripts have been

---

[1]*Early Versions*, pp. 288-89.

[2]*De doctrina Christiana* 2. 16; translation by Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 290.

[3]*Retract.* 1. 21. 3.

[4]*Epistula ad Damasum*: There are "almost as many forms of the text as there are manuscripts"; cf. J. Wordsworth and H. J. White, *Novum Testamentum . . . latine secundum . . . Hieronymi . . .* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889-98), 1:2, *ll.* 1-3.

[5]*New Testament*, 2:78-80. The groups are also discussed in Vööbus, *Early Versions*, pp. 42-43; and Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 326-28.

grouped into three geographical categories:

(I) *African.* This is generally recognized as representing the most primitive and pure Old Latin text. As far as the Gospels are concerned, it is best seen in the texts of Tertullian and Cyprian and MSS k e m.

(II) *European.* This group represents a slightly later form, probably an African text partially corrected to Greek MSS. It is more specifically located in northern Italy and/or western Europe (Gaul, Spain). For the Gospels, its representatives are Irenaeus and MSS b (the best) a c ff^2 h i n o s t p r z.

(III) *Italian.* This may be a revision of the European text. Kennedy dates it around the end of the III century.[1] Examples of the Gospel text can be found in MSS f q. It is commonly thought that the "Itala" mentioned by Augustine in *De doctrina Christiana* 2. 22 refers to this type of text. Burkitt, however, in his well-known theory, disputes whether the Italian group of MSS even exists and identifies Augustine's "Itala" with the Vulgate.[2] Popular for a time, his views are normally not followed today.[3]

Despite the diversity of the Old Latin MSS, and even the difficulty with which they are classified into broad categories (since no MS has an absolutely "pure" African, European, or Italian text), there are agreements among them which appear to be explainable only by postulating a common source or archetype behind all the various MSS. Indeed, one would be hard-pressed to find a scholar who does

---

[1]*DB(H)*, 3: 57.

[2]*The Old Latin and the Itala, with an Appendix Containing the Text of the S. Gallen Palimpsest of Jeremiah*, Texts and Studies 4,3 (Cambridge: University Press, 1896), pp. 55-65.

[3]And yet, Fischer, "NT in lateinischer Sprache," pp. 6ff., shows a reluctance to speak of an Italian group. Cf. Metzger, *Early Versions*, pp. 291-93.

not espouse such a theory in one form or another.[1] There are two
major currents of thought. One is the idea that all the Old Latin
versions go back to a single MS or to a single translation. Thus,
for instance, Harris describes the source as a primitive bilingual
MS with a Western type of text.[2] This overall view of a single
source would also include those who trace the Old Latin gospels
back to Tatian's Diatessaron.[3] The other current of thought is
that the common source is not a single MS, but "a workshop of MSS."[4]
According to Sanday, the earliest Old Latin MSS were made in one
area, possibly in one scriptorium, over a period of time, albeit a
rather short period.[5] This would account for the similarities as
well as some of the diversities. In any event, the "source" has not
been satisfactorily identified.

It remains to note briefly the textual affinites of the Old
Latin versions. Noted primarily for their frequent agreements with
the "Western" text,[6] and especially Codex Bezae,[7] they also often
agree with the "Neutral" form of text.[8] A most fascinating enigma
is the similarities between the Old Latin and Old Syriac. How is
the affinity between a western version and an eastern version to be

---

[1] But cf. those mentioned by Kennedy, *DB(H)*, 3:48.

[2] *Codex Bezae*, pp. 191-92, 231, 234, 258.

[3] See pp. 265-66 above.

[4] Sanday, *The Guardian* (25 May 1892):786-87.

[5] Ibid., p. 788. This view is also favoured by Kennedy,
DB(H), 3:56.

[6] Cf. Burkitt, *Itala*, pp. 46-53; Vööbus, *Early Versions*,
pp. 47-48; and Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 325.

[7] Cf. Harris, *Codex Bezae*; and Chase, *Syro-Latin Text*.

[8] Kennedy, *DB(H)*, 3:60.

explained? Harris postulates a shared dependence upon a primitive bilingual,[1] Sanday proposes a Syrian origin for the Old Latin,[2] and Chase thinks the Latin has been directly or indirectly influenced by the Old Syriac.[3] Von Soden, Vogels, Baumstark, and others[4] aver that the link is the Diatessaron: it influenced the Old Latin in Rome before Tatian took it home to Syria where it influenced the Old Syriac. No consensus has been reached as yet. But one thing does seem clear: the history and distribution of sundry gospel traditions and variant canonical readings cannot necessarily be confined to a small geographical area; this material sometimes shows a surprisingly widespread circulation, even as early as the mid-II century. This observation could have significant implications for the Gospel of Thomas.

As far as Thomas and the Old Latin gospels are concerned, Baarda is the only writer to note similarities and draw conclusions.[5] Even then, he only concludes from this evidence that Thomas has a connection with the Western text. Quispel also notes similarities with the Western text, including the Old Latin.[6]

As already noted (p. 264), there are several other early Christian writers and writings, both from the East and the West, which have textual similarities to some of Thomas' sayings. It will

---

[1]*Codex Bezae*, pp. 191, 200, 258.

[2]*The Guardian* (25 May 1892):786-88.

[3]*Old Syriac Element*; and *idem, Syro-Latin Text*.

[4]See pp. 265-66 above.

[5]In Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 154. He notes especially strong affinities with MSS a, b, and e.

[6]"L'Évangile selon Thomas et le „Texte Occidental" du nouveau Testament," *VigChr* 14 (1960):204-15; and *idem*, in *Gnostic Studies, II*, pp. 56-69 (which is a recent reappraisal of the situation).

now be most convenient to survey these witnesses briefly before
embarking on any detailed comparisons between them and Thomas, so
as to avoid unnecessary repetition.

The Ethiopic Version

The first attempt to make an Ethiopic version[1] of the Bible
has been dated as early as the apostolic period[2] and as late as the
XIV century.[3] Most scholars, however, including Guidi,[4] Vööbus,[5]
Ullendorff,[6] and Hofmann[7] prefer a V/VI century date. The language
of the *Vorlage* is a highly disputed question. The standard position
as advocated by Ludolf and Dillmann is that the Ethiopic version is

---

[1]There is no critical edition. The first printed Ethiopic
New Testament is in a volume entitled *Testamentum Novum cum Epistola
Pauli ad Hebreos tantum, cum concordantijs Euangelistarum Eusebij &
numeratione omnium verborum eorundem* (Rome, 1548); see Metzger,
Early Versions, pp. 228-30, for details. This text was incorporated
into the London Polyglot Bible: *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, ed. Brian
Walton, vol. 5 (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1657), accompanied by a
Latin translation. A more recent edition is *The New Testament in
Ethiopic* (Oxford, 1949). A good discussion of the earliest history
of investigation concerning the Ethiopic version may be found in
L. Hackspill, "Die äthiopische Evangelienübersetzung (Math. I-X),"
ZA 11 (1896):117ff.

[2]Walton in vol. 1 of the London Polyglot Bible: *Prolegomena*,
xv, §12.

[3]Paul de Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Leipzig, 1866;
reprint ed., Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1966), pp. 61, 113.

[4]Ignazio Guidi, "La traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e
in etiopico," *Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, classe di
scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, 4th ser., vol iv, part 1[a]
(Rome, 1888), p. 33; and *idem, Storia della letteratura ethiopica*
(Roma: Instituto per l'Oriente, 1932), p. 13.

[5]*Early Versions*, pp. 248-49.

[6]Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, The Schweich
Lectures of the British Academy, 1967 (London: Oxford University
Press, 1968), pp. 38ff. Ullendorff discusses previous studies in
this area in detail.

[7]Josef Hofmann, "Das Neue Testament in äthiopischer Sprache.
Probleme der Übersetzung und Stand der Forschung," in Aland, *Alten
Übersetzungen*, p. 349.

translated from Greek.[1] But in 1882 Gildemeister pointed out some

Aramaic (Syriac) features[2] and Vööbus even suggests a Syriac *Vor-*

lage.[3] In an attempt to reconcile all the facts, some recent schol-

ars suggest both Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen.*[4] To complicate matters,

there is also the question of the influence of the Coptic and Arabic

versions.[5] For this reason, Hofmann concludes, "Die Frage nach der

Vorlage der äthiopischen Evangelien ist also noch offen und wird es

wohl für lange Zeit bleiben."[6]

With such a variety of extraneous influences upon the Ethi-

opic version, one is not surprised that it has, in the words of

Hort, a "composite text."[7] Thus, on the one hand, its text is

strongly "Syrian," but there are also early Western, Alexandrian,

and "Neutral" readings.[8] Metzger provides a good description of the

---

[1]See the synopsis of the discussion in Ullendorff, *Ethiopia,*
pp. 36ff. Cf. also Vööbus, *Early Versions,* pp. 249ff.; and Hofmann,
"NT in äthiopischer Sprache," pp. 349ff.

[2]In a letter to Caspar René Gregory, *Textkritik des neuen
Testamentes* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1900-1909), 2:554ff. H. J.
Polotsky, "Aramaic, Syriac, and Ge'ez," *JSS* 9 (1964):1-10, questions
whether such elements do in fact exist.

[3]*Early Versions,* pp. 249ff. Cf. F. C. Burkitt, "Texts and
Versions," *EB(C),* 4:5012.

[4]Cf. M.-E, Boismard, Review of Vööbus, *Early Versions, RB*
63 (1956):454; and Ullendorff, *Ethiopia,* pp. 38, 56. Cf. also
Burkitt, *EB(C),* 4:5012.

[5]Cf. A. Dillmann, "Äthiopische Bibelübersetzung," in *Real-
Enzyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* eds. J. J.
Herzog and G. L. Plitt, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1877-88),
1: 203-206; Guidi, "Traduzioni," pp. 33-37; and Hackspill, *ZA* 11
(1896):126, 159ff. 187, 367. Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen,*
pp. 61, 113, advocates the position that the Ethiopic version was
translated from Coptic, a position dismissed out of hand by Vööbus,
Early Versions, p. 248, and assessed as "unlikely" by Metzger, *Early
Versions,* p. 222.

[6]"NT in äthiopischer Sprache," p. 359.

[7]*New Testament,* 2:158.

[8]Cf. Hackspill, *ZA* 11 (1896):117-96, 367-88.

situation, at least as far as the Gospels are concerned:

> In short, the chief characteristic of the Ethiopic
> version of the Gospels is heterogeneity. In some passages
> it presents a slavish rendering, so that even the word
> order of the Greek has been preserved. In other passages--
> and these constitute the great majority--one finds a sur-
> prising freedom, involving transposition of parts of clauses,
> simplification of more complicated phrases, abbreviations
> for the sake of simplicity, and many peculiar readings and
> additions.[1]

Marcion

Marcion[2] was probably born and certainly raised in Sinope,

an important Greek city south of the Black Sea in the province of

Pontus, around A.D. 85. It appears that he was brought up in the

Christian church, although Judaism was strong in the area where he

lived. He is noted as the founder of an aberrant form of Christi-

anity which he began in Rome, although he was most likely expounding

his views in Asia Minor previous to his Roman activity. The precise

date of his inevitable break with the "orthodox" church is difficult

to ascertain, but Harnack[3] and Blackman[4] place it about A.D. 144.

Marcion is frequently viewed as a Gnostic, but, though some

of his teachings are found in the classic Gnostic systems of the

second and third centuries, he is best understood apart from Gnos-

ticism.[5] Marcion believed in a radical dualism: on the one hand,

---

[1]Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 234.

[2]The classic work on Marcion is that of Adolf von Harnack,
Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott, 2nd ed., TU 45 (Leipzig:
J. C. Hinrichs, 1924); the most comprehensive in English is that of
E. C. Blackman, *Marcion and His Influence* (London: S.P.C.K., 1948).
See also John Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament* (1942). The de-
tails of Marcion's life may be found in Harnack, pp. 21-30 (cf. pp.
1*-30*) and in Blackman, pp. 1-3.

[3]*Marcion*, p. 26.   [4]*Marcion*, pp. 20-21.

[5]Cf. Blackman, *Marcion*, pp. ix-x, 125.

there is a Creator-God, the lord of the material world, the God of the Jews, and the author of the Old Testament; on the other hand, there is the Saviour-God, who is the "alien," higher being who appeared in Christ.[1] This dualism, for one thing, resulted in a very ascetic view of the world. As far as Christology is concerned, Marcion was a modalist and a docetist.[2] He also taught an extreme form of Paulinism which, in addition to being anti-Jewish, deprecated the Old Testament law while exalting the gospel.[3]

The Bible of Marcion reflects his theological biases: he used one Gospel and ten epistles of Paul.[4] Marcion's Gospel was actually an abridgment of Luke; he omitted the birth story, genealogies, and other material primarily peculiar to Luke. He appears to have added very little material of his own or from non-canonical sources.[5] Sanday reckons that Marcion omitted 309 verses of Luke while adding only 30 words.[6] There is little doubt that Marcion's is the first "canon," i.e., a select list of books. But, as

---

[1]Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, pp. 93ff.; and Blackman, *Marcion*, pp. 66-97.

[2]Cf. Blackman, *Marcion*, pp. 98-102.

[3]Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, pp. 30ff.; and Blackman, *Marcion*, pp. 103-24.

[4]The contents of Marcion's Bible are discussed in detail by Harnack, *Marcion*, pp. 35-73; cf. Knox, *New Testament*; and Blackman, *Marcion*, pp. 23ff. Harnack has reconstructed Marcion's text, primarily from Tertullian's quotations of him: for the Gospel, pp. 183*-240*ff.; for Paul, pp. 67*-127*. Harnack's reconstruction is still the ultimate standard.

[5]Cf. Sanday, *Gospels*, pp. 204ff.; and Blackman, *Marcion*, p. 47. John Knox, "On the Vocabulary of Marcion's Gospel," *JBL* 58 (1939):193-201, thinks that Sanday's study, which most authors follow, is inconclusive as far as the priority of Luke to Marcion's gospel is concerned. Knox wants the question to remain open.

[6]*Gospels*, pp. 229, 214.

Blackman points out, there is a significant difference between a list of books to be read, and a list that is considered exclusively authoritative.[1] Further, Harnack's view that Marcion's canon precipitated the Catholic canon[2] is probably somewhat overstated.[3]

Marcion's text is "conspicuously Western."[4] The problem is identifying its exact relationship to the Western text. There are those who view Marcion's text as partially responsible for a number of typically "Western" readings.[5] On the other hand, Lagrange sees very little or no evidence of Marcionite influence on any text or version.[6] It is probably more correct to admit, with Harnack,[7] Blackman,[8] and others[9] that Marcion has exerted a small amount of textual influence, but by and large the agreements between his text and Tatian's, the Old Latin,[10] the Old Syriac, and other "Western"

---

[1]*Marcion*, pp. 24ff.

[2]*Marcion*, pp. 173*-74*, 442*-44*. Harnack also believes that Marcion's one Gospel prompted Tatian to compose one *complete* Gospel (*Marcion*, pp. 72-73; cf. Blackman, *Marcion*, p. 63).

[3]Cf. Blackman, *Marcion*, p. 32.

[4]Sanday, *The Guardian* (25 May 1892):787.

[5]Cf. Harris, *Codex Bezae*, p. 231; Williams, *Alterations*, pp. 10-18; and Metzger, *Early Versions*, p. 329.

[6]*Critique textuelle*, 2:262-65. He admits that he has become more reluctant to recognize Marcionite influence than he was in *RB* 30 (1921):610-11.

[7]*Marcion*, pp. 156*, 160*ff., 166*f. (Paul); 242*ff., 247*-48* (Gospel); 255* (Tatian).

[8]*Marcion*, pp. 50-51, 60, 126, 156-59, 168, 169.

[9]Cf. Sanday, *Gospels*, pp. 232-33; and especially Pott, *ZKG* 42 (1923):202-23.

[10]H. J. Vogels, *Evangelium Palatinum: Studien zur ältesten Geschichte der lateinischen Evangelienübersetzung*, NT Abhandl. 12,3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1926), pp. 96f., postulates that Marcion's

texts are due to a dependence upon an ancient "Western" text common to them all. Very few tendentious Marcionite readings are discernible in any New Testament text.[1]

The popularity of the Marcionite church and the rapid and widespread dissemination of its teachings understandably alarmed the early "orthodox" church. Justin says that in his time (ca. A.D. 150), while Marcion was still alive, his followers could be found all over the Roman empire.[2] Tertullian later makes a similar observation.[3] Towards the end of the second century, Bardesanes in Edessa thought it necessary to compose several dialogues against the heresy in Syriac.[4] The fact that Marcion's teaching had spread this far east, where it was evidently well-received,[5] could have significant implications for the study of the text of Thomas.

Several scholars have noted similarities between Marcion and the Gospel of Thomas in various areas. Theologically speaking,

---

Latin text lies at the base of the Old Latin versions (he is criticized by Lagrange, *Critique textuelle*, 2:262-63). But, since Harnack's study (*Marcion*, pp. 43*-56*, 178*-81*), it is generally agreed that Tertullian knew and used Marcion's text in Latin, which belongs in the European group, as well as used his own "Catholic" text which represents an independent and early form of the African Old Latin. Cf. Hermann von Soden, "Der lateinische Paulustext bei Marcion und Tertullian," in *Festgabe für Adolf Jülicher zum 70. Geburtstag, 26. Januar 1927*, eds. R. Bultmann and H. v. Soden (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1927), pp. 229-81; Blackman, *Marcion*, pp. 60, 132; and A. J. B. Higgins, "The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian," *VigChr* 5 (1951):1-42. Quispel, *De bronnen van Tertullianus' Adversus Marcionem* (Leiden: Burgersdijk & Niermans, 1943), argues that Tertullian knew only the Catholic and Marcionite Greek text which he translated into Latin himself, but he is refuted by Higgins, *VigChr* 5 (1951):5, 7ff.

[1]Cf. Blackman, *Marcion*, pp. 50-51, 126.

[2]*Apol*. 1. 26: Μαρκίωνα . . . ὅς κατὰ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς τῶν διαμόνων συλλήψεως πολλοὺς πεποίηκε βλασφημίας λέγειν . . . .

[3]*Adv. Marcion* 5. 19.   [4]Eusebius, *H.E.* 4. 30. 1.

[5]Cf. Blackman, *Marcion*, p. 3.

Schippers[1] and Ménard,[2] among others,[3] have noted that in places
Thomas is anti-Jewish, and thus possibly reflects Marcionite influ-
ence. One must be very careful, however, not to assume that just
because a writing is anti-Jewish it is also Marcionite. McArthur
notes Thomas' preference for Luke and possible repudiation of the
Old Testament, similar to Marcion's Bible.[4] As far as text is con-
cerned, authors such as Baarda, Schrage, and Ménard have observed
similarities between Thomas and Marcion's text but, as Baarda says,
these are "not very many."[5] Nevertheless, there may be a connec-
tion, although of what precise type is difficult to determine. If,
as Koester advocates, Thomas was written before Marcionitism came
to Edessa,[6] then it would naturally be initially independent of
Marcionite influence. If, on the other hand, Thomas was written
later in the second century, as Schippers and Ménard are inclined
to believe, Thomas could easily have absorbed some Marcionite teach-
ings and/or texts. In either case, there is sufficient evidence
to indicate that there was a period in the second half of the II
century when at least some sayings in Thomas could possibly have
been textually influenced by a Marcionite text circulating in Syria,
or, for that matter, even in Egypt. But if Harnack is correct,[7] we
should be aware of the high probability that any agreement between
the two texts could be due merely to a common dependence upon an
early "Western" text.

---

[1]*Thomas*, pp. 52-54. Schippers mentions "seeds of Marcion-
itism" as yet undeveloped in reference to log. 47. Cf. his p. 133.

[2]*Thomas*, esp. pp. 144 (log. 43), 155 (log. 52), 156 (log.
53), 168 (log. 66).

[3]Cf. Klijn, *Edessa*, pp. 102ff.   [4]*NT Sidelights*, pp. 52-54, 63.

[5]In Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 154.

[6]In *Trajectories*, pp. 127-29.   [7]See pp. 275-76 above.

Clement of Alexandria

Not much is known about the life of Clement of Alexandria.[1]
He was born to pagan parents in the mid-II century, probably in
Athens, where he later became a Christian.[2] He was an enthusiastic
scholar and travelled all over the world seeking instruction. He
finally came to Alexandria, where he spent a large part of his
life (ca. A.D. 175-202). This is where he received instruction
from Pantaenus, where he himself taught,[3] and where he wrote the
majority of his works which include *Protrepticus, Paedagogus,*
Stromata, Excerpta ex Theodoto, Eclogae Propheticae, and *Quis Dives*
Salvetur.[4] Clement was forced to leave Alexandria during the per-
secution of Septimius Severus, and he died between A.D. 211 and
215.[5]

Clement has been called a Christian philosopher who truly

---

[1]What is known of his life may be found in R. B. Tollinton,
Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Liberalism, 2 vols.
(London: Williams and Norgate, 1914), 1:1ff.; J. E. L. Oulton and
Henry Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of*
Clement and Origen with Introductions and Notes, LCC 2 (London:
SCM Press, Ltd., 1954), p. 16; and E. F. Osborn, *The Philosophy of*
Clement of Alexandria, Texts and Studies, n.s. 3 (Cambridge: Uni-
versity Press, 1957), pp. 3ff.

[2]Tollinton, *Clement,* 1:10-11.

[3]Origen may have been one of his pupils (so assumed by Tol-
linton, *Clement,* 1:15, 20), but this is not clear: cf. M. Spanneut,
"Clement of Alexandria," in *NCE,* 3:943.

[4]The critical editions of Clement's works have been edited
by Otto Stählin in the GCS series: I. Band: *Protrepticus und Paeda-*
gogus, 3. durchgesehene Aufl. von Ursula Treu (1972); II. Band:
Stromata, Buch I-VI, 3. Aufl. neu heraus. von Ludwig Früchtel (1960);
III. Band: *Stromata, Buch VII und VIII, Excerpta ex Theodoto, Eclogae*
Propheticae, Quis Dives Salvetur, Fragmente, 2. Aufl. neu heraus.
von Ludwig Früchtel, zum Druck besorgt von Ursula Treu (1970); IV.
Band: *Register, I. Teil,* 2. bearbeitete Aufl. heraus. von Ursula
Treu (1980).

[5]Osborn, *Philosophy,* pp. 3-4.

"exemplifies the eclecticism of his time."[1] He has a wide knowledge

of the various contemporary philosophical systems and, even though

he is first a Christian, he embraces the ideas of many of them.[2]

He thus has been linked with Platonism and Stoicism;[3] he has also

been called a Sophist.[4] Of more interest to most scholars is his

connection with Gnosticism. On the one hand, the eclectic Clement

is attracted to some of the ideas of Gnosticism; accordingly, he

expounds the "true" gnosis.[5] On the other hand, he is revolted by

some of the tenets of the heretical Gnostics such as Valentinus and

Basilides. This is why on one page Munck can say, "Klemens ist

Gnostiker," while on the next, "Dennoch ist Klemens ein eifriger

---

[1]Spanneut, in *NCE*, 3: 944; cf. Tollinton, *Clement*, 1: 7; Johannes Munck, *Untersuchungen über Klemens von Alexandria*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 2 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933), p. 210; and Osborn, *Philosophy*, pp. 8-9, 13. Salvatore R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism* (Oxford: University Press, 1971), esp. pp. 51-56, questions whether Clement can really be called "eclectic" in the sense that he merely picks and chooses his terms and ideas from the various philosophical systems. Actually, Lilla insists, Clement espouses the Jewish-Hellenistic and Middle Platonic doctrines that human reasoning is divine and that the universal Logos has inspired various Greek philosophers as well as the Hebrew prophets; he is thus attempting to glean the truth and wisdom which has been revealed through the ages.

[2]Among the works discussing Clement's teaching, cf. Tollinton, *Clement*; Munck, *Untersuchungen*, esp. pp. 186ff.; and Osborn, *Philosophy* (with a useful bibliography, pp. 196-99). A summary may be found in Oulton and Chadwick, *Alexandrian Christianity*, pp. 17ff.

[3]Cf. Spanneut, in *NCE*, 3: 944. Munck, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 208-10, questions whether Clement can really be called a Platonist. Lilla, *Clement*, on the other hand, strongly argues that Clement has been fundamentally influenced by Platonic tradition, as well as Jewish-Alexandrine philosophy and Gnosticism. For a good bibliography of the various assessments of Clement's philosophy, see Lilla, pp. 1-3.

[4]Munck, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 205ff.

[5]Cf. Walther Völker, *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus*, TU 57 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952).

Gegner der Gnostiker."[1] Besides being an eclectic philosopher,

Clement is also an allegorical exegete of scripture.[2] In this he

is not unlike Philo. Indeed, Lilla maintains that the similarities

with Philo extend much beyond exegesis; Philo and Jewish-Alexandrine

philosophy are a key influence on Clement's thought. This prompts

Lilla to characterize Clement's thought thus:

> Clement's use of philosophical doctrines goes far be-
> yond the borrowing of some terms which do not influence his
> Christianity at all and which represent only a superficial
> tinge: in ethics, in the theory of *pistis*, in *gnosis*, in the
> question of the origin of the world, and in theology Clement
> has produced a process of Hellenization of Christianity
> which is closely parallel to the process of Hellenization
> of Judaism which is characteristic of Philo's work.[3]

The exact biblical text which Clement uses in his writings

is very difficult to recover. Perhaps even more frequently than

most patristic writers, Clement alludes to passages (sometimes ob-

scurely), quotes from memory, and adapts the Scriptures to his own

specific purposes.[4] One would expect his text to be basically

Egyptian, i.e., that of Aleph-B, possibly along with the Coptic ver-

sions and Origen. Nonetheless, Burkitt says that where his text is

discernible, "Clement's quotations have a fundamentally 'Western'

character. His allies are not B and the Coptic Versions, but D and

the Old Latin."[5] Moreover, Burkitt goes on to observe that this

---

[1]*Untersuchungen*, pp. 197-98. Munck goes on to say (p. 204):
"Klemens dem Gnostizismus nahesteht, indem er selbst Gnostiker ist
und gnostische Quellen benutzt, während er andererseits ein strenger
Kritiker von vielen Einzelheiten der ketzerischen Gnosis ist." Cf.
Lilla, *Clement*, esp. pp. 118ff.

[2]Cf. Munck, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 214ff.; and Lilla, *Clement*,
pp. 228f.

[3]Lilla, *Clement*, p. 232.

[4]Cf. Tollinton, *Clement*, 2:175ff.

[5]Burkitt, in P. Mordaunt Barnard, *The Biblical Text of
Clement of Alexandria in the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apos-
tles*, with an introduction by F. C. Burkitt, Texts and Studies 5,5

branch of the Western text often departs from the Old Syriac while remaining with D and the Old Latin, giving us "a text really and geographically Western."[1] If this is correct, it could have significant import for locating a particular reading or text.

But Lagrange thinks that Burkitt overstates his case.[2] It is true, Lagrange says, that Clement is at times nearer to D than to B, and he probably knew a Western-type text, but Clement, he maintains, uses a basically B-type text.[3] Lagrange also refutes von Soden's contention that Clement has been influenced by Tatian's Diatessaron.[4] As Cerfaux has demonstrated, the second-century Alexandrian text was replete with non-Tatianic harmonization.[5] In sum, it may be said that Clement rarely follows one particular text consistently because he is very free in his citations. Even so, one would not be surprised to find in his written Bible a text which combined elements that were later to be identified with a D-type or B-type of text.

Of all the writers on Thomas, Ménard most frequently notes similarities between the apocryphal gospel and the ideas or text of

---

(Cambridge: University Press, 1899), p. xi. Barnard reconstructs, as far as possible, Clement's text and gives critical notes. Burkitt's statement quoted above would tend to reaffirm the primitiveness of the Western text (*contra* Hort) as well as its very widespread influence.

[1]Ibid., p. xiii.   [2]*Critique textuelle*, 2:177-81.

[3]Cf. M. Mees, "Papyrus Bodmer VII (P[72]) und die Zitate aus dem Judasbrief bei Clemens von Alexandrien," *Ciudad de Dios* 181 (1968):551-59.

[4]*Schriften des NT*, I:2:1597ff. Cf. Harnack, *Geschichte*, 1:488f., who says that Clement was very probably a personal student of Tatian (*Strom.* 1. 1. 11), and he at least used Tatian's Πρὸς ῝Ελληνας.

[5]*EThL* 15 (1938):674-82. Even von Soden, *Schriften des NT*, I:2:1594, admits that Clement sometimes mixes texts independently of Tatian.

Clement of Alexandria.[1] For log. 8, he significantly suggests that

both share a common tradition.[2] He has been preceded in this view

by Quispel.[3]

The Pseudo-Clementines

The Pseudo-Clementines (PsClem) form a group of literature

which purportedly goes back to Clement of Rome. The two major

Pseudo-Clementine works are the *Homilies* and the *Recognitions*. Both

may be generally characterized as the discourses and disputations of

St. Peter chiefly against Simon Magus, but generally against all

"unorthodox" beliefs, as reported by Clement. It is the consensus

of scholars that these works are primarily Jewish-Christian in na-

ture,[4] though some gnosticizing elements are discernible.[5]

The *Homilies* and the *Recognitions* share a great deal of ma-

terial, and a vast amount of energy in the preceding century was ex-

pended in determining just which one was dependent upon the other.[6]

Now, however, it is agreed that both rest upon a common *Vorlage*, or

Grundschrift, and are independent recensions of it. According to

Kline,[7] the first writer to propose this theory was Waitz.[8] Waitz

---

[1]Cf. his index in *Thomas*, pp. 235-36.

[2]Ibid., p. 89.   [3]*Eranos-Jahrbuch* 38 (1969):274.

[4]Cf. Augustus Neander, *General History of the Christian Re-
ligion and Church*, 2nd ed., 9 vols., trans. Joseph Torrey (Edinburgh:
T. & T. Clark, 1847-55), 2:24-37; Strecker, *Judenchristentum in den
Pseudoklementinen*; and Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):181-96. Also cf.
Hom. 2. 19, 20, 38; 3. 4, 47, 50, 51; 5. 2ff.; 18. 17.

[5]Cf. *Hom.* 1. 18, 19; 2. 5, 6, 11, 23; 3. 22ff.; *Rec.* 3. 67;
5. 5, 7, 8.

[6]For a survey of the history of interpretation of this lit-
erature, see Strecker, *Pseudoklementinen*, pp. 1-34.

[7]*Sayings*, pp. 5-6. Cf. Strecker, *Pseudoklementinen*, pp. 14ff.

[8]Hans Waitz, *Die Pseudoklementinen Homilien und Recognitionen.
Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung*, TU 25,4 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs,
1904), esp. pp. 366-75.

believes that the *Grundschrift* was written between A.D. 220-230 in Rome, and that it itself was composed of various sources. The primary source is supposedly what he calls the *Kerygmata Petrou*,[1] written around A.D. 135 in Caesarea. But Hort had independently proposed a similar theory before Waitz.[2] Hort calls the common source of *Hom.* and *Rec.* the Περίοδοι Πέτρου ("Circuits of Peter"). It is his opinion that the Περίοδοι originated in the first or second decade of the third century either in Palestine east of the Jordan River or in the area north of this.[3] Hort connects this *Grundschrift* with the Ebionites.[4] He and Waitz obviously differ in details, and, as of yet, there is no agreement among scholars as to the exact origins of this *Grundschrift*. The only thing we can say is that it probably existed at an early period in the East (Palestine or Syria), where some of its sources surely originated.

But even this has not done much to elucidate the backgrounds of the two recensions of the *Grundschrift*: *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. Since Hort notes, however, that "not a single ancient writer shews a knowledge of both works in any form,"[5] it would appear that their

---

[1]Cf. also Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien und Marcion's* (Halle: C. A. Schwetschke and Son, 1850), pp. 308-17. Credner, *Beiträge*, 1: 331, 348ff., 385, mentions a κήρυγμα Πέτρου, but this should be differentiated from the Κηρύγματα. On both writings, see W. Schneemelcher and G. Strecker, in *NTApo*, 2:58-69 (ET 2:94-127).

[2]F. J. A. Hort, *Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1901), pp. 80ff. Even earlier, Gerhard Uhlhorn, *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus nach ihrem Ursprung und Inhalt dargestellt* (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1854), pp. 349ff., made an extensive probe into this area.

[3]Hort, *Notes*, pp. 81-83, 87.

[4]Ibid., p. 87. Cf. Credner, *Beiträge*, 1: 279, 363ff.

[5]*Notes*, p. 89.

origins are diverse. He suggests that *Hom.* was written in eastern Palestine or Syria and that *Rec.* was possibly written in Rome. Neither of them is as full or long as the original *Grundschrift.*[1] Waitz is more specific, and differs somewhat. He suggests that *Hom.* is a rearrangement and expansion of the *Grundschrift* made by an Arian of Syria in the post-Nicene period.[2] *Rec.* is a reworking of the *Grundschrift* by a Eunomian of Syrian Antioch in the late IV century.[3]

The twenty *Homilies* are all extant in Greek, ostensibly the original language of both recensions.[4] There are two MSS—one from the XI/XII centuries and one from the XIV century.[5] All ten books of *Rec.* survive only in a Latin translation made by Rufinus not long after A.D. 400.[6] Altogether, there are about 100 MSS dating from the VI to XV centuries. In addition, parts of both works are available in two Syriac MSS: Brit. Mus. add. 12150 (A.D. 411, the earliest dated MS known) contains *Rec.* 1. 1. 1 – 4. 1. 4 and *Hom.* 10. 1. 1 – 14. 12. 4, and Brit. Mus. add. 14609 (IX) contains *Rec.* 1. 1. 1 – 4. 1. 4.[7]

---

[1]Hort, *Notes*, pp. 88-90.

[2]Waitz, *Pseudoklementinen*, pp. 368-70.

[3]Ibid., pp. 370-72.   [4]Cf. ibid., pp. 369-71.

[5]Edited by Bernhard Rehm and Johannes Irmscher, *Die Pseudoklementinen, I: Homilien,* GCS 42 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953).

[6]An early edition was made by E. G. Gersdorf, *S. Clementis Romani. Recognitiones. Rufino Aquilei. presb. interprete. Ad librorum mss. et edd. fidem expressae* (Leipzig: Sumtibus Bernh. Tauchnitz, Jr. 1838). The more recent and critical edition used in this thesis is that of Bernhard Rehm and Franz Paschke, *Die Pseudoklementinen, II: Recognitionen, in Rufins Übersetzung,* GCS 51 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965).

[7]One early edition is P. A. de Lagarde, *Clementis Romani. Recognitiones syriace* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1861). The best edition is that of Wilhelm Frankenberg, *Die syrischen Clementinen*

One of the most interesting problems in the study of the Pseudo-Clementines is the source of the material which they have in common with our Gospels.[1] By and large, scholars admit that the writers of PsClem had at least some contact with the canonical gospels.[2] Sanday,[3] and more recently, Kline[4] would identify this source as an early Gospel harmony of the Synoptics only. Along with many others, Semisch[5] and Strecker[6] are convinced that PsClem used all four Gospels; where PsClem differ from the canonical Gospels, this is due to free memory citation.[7] Moreover, most scholars identify an additional, apocryphal gospel behind PsClem. Mill[8] and Waitz[9] identify it as the Gospel of the Ebionites. Hilgenfeld nominates

---

mit griechischen Paralleltext. Eine Vorarbeit zu dem literargeschicht-lichen Problem der Sammlung, TU 48,3 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1937). *Homilies* is available in an English translation made by Thomas Smith, Peter Peterson, and James Donaldson, in ANCL 17:17-340. *Recognitions* has been translated into English by Thomas Smith, in ANCL 3:135-485.

[1]For a brief history of interpretation, cf. Kline, *Sayings*, pp. 1ff. Kline (p. 10) feels that the Synoptic-type material in *Hom.* usually represents a closer form of the *Grundschrift* than *Rec.*, the latter having been assimilated more to the canonical texts. Cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):186.

[2]One notable exception is Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):193-94.

[3]*Gospels*, pp. 185-87.   [4]*Sayings*, pp. 173-75.

[5]Karl Gottlieb Semisch, *Die apostolischen Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justinus. Zur Geschichte und Aechtheit der kanonischen Evangelien* (Hamburg und Gotha: F. und A. Pethes, 1848), pp. 356-64.

[6]*Pseudoklementinen*, pp. 117-36.

[7]Waitz, *Pseudoklementinen*, pp. 361-64, however, represents most scholars who feel that the author of the *Kerygmata Petrou*, and hence the *Grundschrift*, did not use the Gospel of John.

[8]John Mill, *Novum Testamentum Graecum cum lectionibus vari-antibus mss. exemplarium, versionum, editionum, ss. patrum et scrip-torum ecclesiasticorum; et in easdem notis . . . .*, 2nd ed. by Ludolph Kuster (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditsch, 1723), Prol., p. 64.

[9]*Pseudoklementinen*, p. 362; *idem*, ZNW 13 (1912):338-48; ZNW 14 (1913):38-64, 117-32; and *idem*, "Die Pseudoklementinen und ihre Quellenschriften," ZNW 28 (1929):241-72.

the Gospel of Peter.[1] Neander believes *Hom.* used a recension of the

Hebrews.[2] Credner equates all three of these apocryphal gospels and

sees this source behind PsClem.[3] Similarly, Uhlhorn speaks of a

"Hebrew Gospel."[4] On the other hand, Nes says this secondary source

was not the Gospel of the Hebrews, but the Gospel of the Egyptians.[5]

Strecker despairs of identifying this non-canonical source precisely,

but agrees with Nes that it is not the Gospel of the Hebrews, or,

for that matter, any other Jewish-Christian gospel.[6] Orelli provides

little help when he speaks equivocally of an apocryphal tradition

from "the ancients" or a fabricated tradition.[7]

Obviously, a consensus is some time off, but it is signifi-

cant that, in addition to Semisch,[8] Kline, in a very important re-

cent study, has concluded that PsClem probably used the canonical

Gospels exclusively.[9] Whatever the case, there is a trend in the

---

[1]*Kritische Untersuchungen*, pp. 380ff. Cf. *idem, Die apostolischen Väter. Untersuchungen über Inhalt und Ursprung der unter ihrem Namen erhaltenen Schriften* (Halle: C. E. M. Pfeffer, 1853), 288-97.

[2]Augustus Neander, *Genetische Entwickelung der vornehmsten gnostischen Systeme* (Berlin: Ferdinand Dümmler, 1818), pp. 418-19; cf. *idem, General History*, 2:36. With Neander, one may compare Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):181-96, and *NTS* 12 (1966):371-82.

[3]Credner, *Beiträge*, 1:268-414.

[4]Uhlhorn, *Homilien und Recognitionen*, pp. 111-50, esp. 137.

[5]Hendrik Marius van Nes, *Het Nieuwe Testament in de Clementinen* (Amsterdam: De Roever Kröber-Bakels, 1887), pp. 97-100.

[6]*Pseudoklementinen*, pp. 129-30, 136.

[7]Johann Kasper von Orelli, *Selecta patrum ecclesiae capita ad εἰσηγητἰκην sacram pertinentia . . . .*, 4 vols. in 1 (Turici: Typis Orelli, Fuesslini et Soc., 1820-23), p. 22.

[8]*Denkwürdigkeiten*, pp. 356-64. Cf. the scepticism of Strecker, *Pseudoklementinen*, p. 136, concerning a non-canonical written source.

[9]*Sayings*, pp. 169ff.: "The identification of another source (such as a Jewish-Christian gospel) can neither be established nor is it required" (p. 197).

newest investigations of Justin's gospel material to stress the im-

portance of the role of the Synoptics (possibly the use of a pre-

Tatianic harmony),[1] and it is significant that both Bellinzoni[2] and

Kline[3] have suggested that PsClem and Justin used the same (canoni-

cal) source.

This brings us to the possibility of a relationship between

Thomas and PsClem. The similarities between the two were noticed

as soon as the Oxyrhynchus Papyri were discovered. Harnack[4] notes

the affinity between POxy 1. 7 (log. 32) and *Hom*. 3. 67, and

Michelsen[5] observes several parallels, particularly between a frag-

ment of POxy 655 (log. 39) and *Hom*. 18. 15, 16. In contemporary

scholarship, it has been Quispel who has led the way in comparing

Thomas with PsClem. In his major article,[6] he lists several textual

parallels, of which the most noteworthy will be discussed later in

this chapter. From this evidence, Quispel draws or confirms the

following conclusions: (1) Thomas is from a Jewish-Christian milieu;

(2) Thomas is from a Syrian milieu; and (3) Thomas is independent

from the qanonical Gospels. Conclusion (1) is apparently true for

some sayings in Thomas, and a connection with PsClem would tend to

confirm this, but it may not be true for all of Thomas' sayings. As

far as (2) is concerned, this is unproven by the PsClem evidence;

----

[1]Cf. pp. 209f. above.   [2]*Justin Martyr*, pp. 140, 141-42.

[3]*Sayings*, pp. 169ff.

[4]Adolf Harnack, *Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu* (Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1897), p. 22.

[5]J. H. A. Michelsen, "Nieuw ontdekte fragmenten van Evangelien," *Teyler's Theologisch Tijdschrift* 3 (1905):153-64, esp. 162, and "Uittreksels uit het Evangelie volgens Thomas," ibid. 7 (1909): 214-33.

[6]"L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines," *VigChr* 12 (1958):181-96.

let us remember that Waitz places the *Grundschrift* of P sClem in Rome, while Bellinzoni and Kline have recently reaffirmed a textual connection between Justin, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and the earliest and leading source of PsClem. Thus, even if there is a relationship between Thomas and PsClem, whis could point to a possible Roman or Alexandrian provenance for the particular saying in question. Finally, the preponderance of scholars view PsClem as at least partially dependent upon the Synoptics, which, if true, would refute conclusion (3) if a connection with Thomas is found.

The Didascalia Apostolorum

The Didascalia Apostolorum, or as it is more fully entitled in some MSS, "The Catholic Teaching of the Twelve Apostles and Holy Disciples of Our Saviour," is a work primarily of moral instruction and canonical legislation modeled on the Didache.[1] It was most likely written in northern Syria by a convert from Judaism in the first half of the III century.[2] The work was originally composed in Greek of which little survives. It is, however, completely available in a Syriac translation originally made in the IV century (4 MSS from the VIII-XIII centuries),[3] and about two-fifths is extant

---

[1] The most thorough study is that of Hans Achelis and Johannes Flemming, *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechts: II. Die syrische Didaskalia*, TU 25,2 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904). In English, see R. Hugh Connolly, *Didascalia Apostolorum. The Syriac Version Translated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929); cf. also J. Quasten, "Didascalia Apostolorum," in *NCE*, 4:860.

[2] Cf. Connolly, *Didascalia*, pp. lxxxvii-xci; and P. Galtier, "La date de la Didascalia des Apôtres," *RHE* 42 (1947):315-51.

[3] Paul de Lagarde made the first edition, based on the earliest MS: *Didascalia Apostolorum syriace* (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1967; reprint of 1854 ed.); M. D. Gibson made a later edition based on different MSS with an English translation: *Horae Semiticae, I: The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac*; II: *The Didascalia Apostolorum in English* (London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1903).

in a Latin translation made shortly afterward (one palimpsest MS

from the V century).[1] The author of the Didascalia quotes freely

from the Old Testament and from nearly every book in our New Testa-

ment, as well as from apocryphal works and other writers.[2] The

Latin translator appears to have been influenced by the Latin ver-

sions[3] and the Syriac translator by the Syriac versions--for the

Gospels, Mrs. Gibson detects the influence of both the Peshitta and

Old Syriac,[4] but Connolly believes the Old Syriac alone is discern-

ible.[5] The Didascalia has textual similarities to log. 48 of the

Gospel of Thomas, and Puech infers that both may be dependent upon

a common tradition.[6]

Pistis Sophia

Pistis Sophia[7] is a work found in only one Coptic MS--the

Askew Codex. It has been dated anywhere from the IV to X centuries,

with Schmidt preferring the V century for the MS.[8] The MS is written

---

[1]First edited by Edmund Hauler, *Eine lateinische Palimpsest-
übersetzung der Didascalia Apostolorum*, Sitzungsberichte der Kais.
Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophische-historische
Classe, 134,11 (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Son, 1896). Connolly, *Didas-
calia*, re-edits the Latin and gives it parallel with his English
translation from the Syriac.

[2]Cf. Achelis and Flemming, *Didaskalia*, pp. 318ff.; and
Connolly, *Didascalia*, pp. lxxff.

[3]Cf. Connolly, *Didascalia*, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv.

[4]*Horae Semiticae*, 2:vii-ix.

[5]*Didascalia*, pp. lxxiv-lxxv.   [6]*CRAI* (1957):159.

[7]The definitive edition is that of Carl Schmidt (Copenhagen,
1925). It has been recently re-published with an English translation
by Violet Macdermot, *Pistis Sophia*, NHS 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978).
One frequently used English translation before Macdermot's is that of
George Horner, *Pistis Sophia*, with an introduction by F. Legge (Lon-
don: S.P.C.K., 1924). Schmidt, *Pistis Sophia*, pp. x-xiv, gives a
good overview of earlier editions and translations; cf. also Legge,
pp. ixff.

[8]Pages xvii-xviii.

in more than one hand,[1] and the work itself appears to be a compila-
tion of documents.[2] All are agreed that the work was originally
written in Egypt,[3] but the consensus ends here. There has been
general agreement that the work was first composed in Greek,[4] but
there have also been some dissenters who prefer Coptic.[5] Moreover,
the oldest stratum of PS[6] has been traced by Legge and others back
to Valentinus himself, to a period just before A.D. 160; the remain-
der of the work was written by other Valentinians between 245-388.[7]
Schmidt calls Legge's early dates "grotesk."[8] He, following Harnack,
prefers a date in the second half of the third century.[9] Schmidt
also objects to the classical view that PS is Valentinian and be-
lieves it cannot be associated with any one particular Gnostic sect.[10]
The similarity between the quotation of Mt. 7:8/Lk. 10:11 in PS and
the saying in log. 94 of the Gospel of Thomas has prompted Schrage
to posit a connection,[11] but he does not elaborate.

Macarius the Egyptian

The writings attributed to Macarius the Egyptian[12] represent
an enigma which has yet to be solved. Macarius himself was born in

---

[1]Cf. Legge, in Horner, *Pistis Sophia*, p. viii; and Schmidt,
Pistis Sophia, pp. xivff.

[2]Legge, pp. xivff.; Schmidt, pp. xxiiiff.; and Macdermot,
p. xiv.

[3]Cf. Legge, p. xxxviii; and Schmidt, p. xxxii.

[4]Cf. Schmidt, pp. xix-xxiii.   [5]Cf. Legge, p. ix.

[6]Legge calls this Documents I and II, roughly equivalent to
Schmidt's Books I and II.

[7]Legge, pp. xxxviiiff., esp. xlviii.

[8]Page xxxiii.   [9]Ibid.   [10]Pages xxiv-xxxvi.

[11]*Verhältnis*, p. 182.

[12]Cf. Quasten, "Macarius the Egyptian," *Patrology*, (Utrecht:
Spectrum, 1950-60), 3:161-68.

upper Egypt around A.D. 300 and died shortly before 390. He is

sometimes known as one of the Desert Fathers, since he lived his

Christian life as a hermit in the desert. He evidently was well-

respected in some circles. It is probably for this reason that his

name is attached to an entire corpus of pietistic Greek writings,[1]

which include 50 "Spiritual Homilies,"[2] a group of new homilies,[3]

and numerous other letters and discourses,[4] especially since these

writings may have originated in a heretical group of Christians.

Whatever the reason, it now appears highly unlikely that Macarius

had anything to do with these works.

Who, then, is responsible for them? In 1920, Villecourt

noticed connections with Messalianism,[5] which ultimately led to the

idea espoused by Dörries that the author was one Symeon of Mesopo-

tamia, a leader of the Messalians.[6] If this is true, then the writ-

ings probably stem from the late IV century somewhere in the Near

East, most likely Syria. This is the general view accepted by most

---

[1] See Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:162ff., for a good survey; Hermann Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien: Die Überlieferung der messalianischen „Makarios"-Schriften*, TU 55,1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1941), makes a thorough study of much of the "Macarius" material.

[2] Published by J.-P. Migne, *Macarii Aegyptii*, PG 34 (Paris, 1903), 449-822. An English translation has been made by A. J. Mason, *Fifty Spiritual Homilies of St. Macarius the Egyptian* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1921).

[3] Klostermann and Berthold, *Neue Homilien* (see p. 198 n. 3 above).

[4] Several may be found in Migne, PG 34:405ff., including the "Great Letter" (34:409-42). Werner Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954), pp. 231ff., edits a new "Great Letter" which he claims more worthy of the appellation than that published by Migne (cf. pp. 145ff.).

[5] L. Villecourt, "Le date et l'origine des 'Homélies spirituelles' attribuées à Macaire," *CRAI* (1920):250-58.

[6] *Symeon von Mesopotamien*, pp. 4-7.

scholars,[1] but these "facts" have been challenged by some. Völker, for instance, questions the connection of the so-called Macarius writings with the Messalians;[2] Jaeger concedes that the true author may be called Symeon, but doubts that this Symeon was a Messalian leader.[3] Moreover, because of the relationship between these writings and Gregory of Nyssa's *De Instituto Christiano*, Jaeger dates "Macarius" in the V century.[4] And further, Jaeger states that "it must remain an open question where the unknown author lived and whether he had anything to do with Syria,"[5] even though he seems to prefer Syria himself.[6] Similarly, Baker has noticed connections between the Pseudo-Macarius writings and Egypt.[7] He and Quispel[8] also note several parallels with the Gospel of Thomas; Baker infers a connection which he leaves unclear, but Quispel believes that Macarius knew and used Thomas.[9] If there is a connection here, it

---

[1]Including Quispel, *VigChr* 18 (1964):226-35; and *idem*, *Makarius*, pp. 2-3, 9-13.

[2]Walther Völker, "Neue Urkunden des Messalianismus?" *ThLZ* 68 (1943):129-36. He is followed by Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works*, p. 227; and Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:164, 167.

[3]*Two Rediscovered Works*, pp. 151-52, 227.

[4]Ibid., pp. 226, 227. The relationship of the two authors has not yet been solved. Jaeger and Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:167, believe that Pseudo-Macarius is dependent upon Gregory, but Reinhart Staats, "Der Traktat Gregors von Nyssa 'De Instituto Christiano' und der Grosse Brief Symeons," *StTh* 17 (1963):120-28, holds that the opposite is true. He is followed by Quispel, *Makarius*, p. 3; cf. *VigChr* 18 (1964):231-34.

[5]*Two Rediscovered Works*, p. 162.

[6]Ibid., pp. 154-55, 227-30.

[7]Aelred Baker, "Pseudo-Macarius and the Gospel of Thomas," *VigChr* 18 (1964):215-25.

[8]*VigChr* 18 (1964):226-35.

[9]Cf. *Makarius*, pp. 11, 22, 27.

is extremely difficult to locate geographically; some type of con-
nection may have occurred in Syria, but an Egyptian milieu cannot
be dismissed lightly.[1]

Shenoute of Atripe

Shenoute of Atripe[2] was the second abbot of the famous White
Monastery in the desert of Thebes for 83 years (he lived 118 years;
b. ca. 348, d. 466). He exerted a strong influence in the monastic
movement and was known as a strict disciplinarian and an ardent op-
ponent of heresy. Such was his influence that the White Monastery
also bears his name: Deir Auba Chenouda (Monastery of Shenoute).
He also enjoyed great prestige throughout Egypt; in fact, Leipoldt
calls him "the Father of the national Egyptian church."[3] Shenoute
wrote prolifically in Coptic,[4] but so popular were his writings
that many of them were translated into Ethiopic, Arabic, and Syriac.

---

[1]It should be recalled that Baker notices more Egyptian
connections with Pseudo-Macarius than just the Gospel of Thomas.
Thus, if all or part of Thomas originated in Syria, this does not
negate his argument for Pseudo-Macarius.

[2]Most of what is known about Shenoute's life we learn from
the biography of Besa, Shenoute's disciple and successor. Only a
few fragments of the Sahidic original survive, but the Bohairic
translation has been edited by Johannes Leipoldt and W. E. Crum,
*Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia, I. Sinuthii vita bo-
hairice*, CSCO 41; Scriptores Coptici 1 (Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1906;
reprint ed. 1951); a Latin translation has been made by Hermann
Wiesmann, CSCO 129; Script. Copt. 16 (1951). Besa's biography also
exists in Arabic and Syriac editions. Useful articles on Shenoute
may be found in Quasten, *Patrology*, 3:185-87 (with an excellent bib-
liography); and in A. G. Gibson, "Shenoute of Atripe," in *NCE*, 13:
169-70. A detailed study has been made by J. Leipoldt, *Schenute
von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums*,
TU 25,1 (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903).

[3]*Schenute von Atripe*, p. v.

[4]Much of his authentic work has been edited by J. Leipoldt
and W. E. Crum, *Sinuthii archimandritae vita et opera omnia III, IV*,
CSCO 42, 73; Script. Copt. 2, 5 (Paris, 1908, 1913; reprint eds.,
Louvain: L. Durbecq and Secrétariat du CSCO, 1960, 1954); Latin trans.
by H. Wiesmann, CSCO 96, 108; Script. Copt. 8, 12 (Paris, 1931, 1936;
reprint eds., Louvain, 1965, 1964).

One of the variants in his writings has a striking similarity to
log. 47c,d in the Gospel of Thomas.

B. A Brief Comparison of Thomas and Several
Early Gospel Texts

Let it be reiterated that what we are looking for here are
significant variants which Thomas shares with any witnesses besides
those witnesses discussed in the three previous chapters. The focus
will be primarily upon those readings which Thomas and another source
share exclusively, since, for instance, if a variant reading in Thom-
as is also found in both the Old Syriac and the Ethiopic version,
one may quite understandably see a connection with the Old Syriac as
more probable than one with the Ethiopic version, seeing there is
very little evidence otherwise to connect Thomas with the latter.
If, however, a logion and the Ethiopic version share a variant to
which no other witness attests, one *must* reckon with the *possibility*
of a connection (no matter how remote that possibility may be), or
with the alternative, fortuitous agreement; the more substantial the
variant, the less probable coincidence becomes. Following this line
of approach, perhaps the origin, or at least the background, of sev-
eral individual sayings may be further elucidated.

Logion 8. It has been shown (pp. 168-70, 227-28) that there
is very little reason to connect this saying with either the Diates-
saron or the Old Syriac of Mt. 13:47-48. (i) One way in which
Thomas differs from the canonical text is that instead of reading
"the *kingdom* of heaven is like a *net*," Thomas has "the *man* is like a
wise *fisherman*." The occurrence of "man" has been attributed to re-
dactional activity, Gnostic tendentiousness, or scribal error.[1] In

---

[1] See pp. 168-69 above.

any case, "kingdom" could have easily stood in the first part of the
sentence. Of more interest is the comparison to a fisher*man* instead
of to a *net*. It is questionable whether the Diatessaron originally
had this reading;[1] this leaves only Clement of Alexandria.[2] Thomas
habitually compares the kingdom to people instead of things (e.g.,
log. 22, 57, 76a, 96, 97, 98, 107, 109), but this does not appear
to be the case with Clement.[3] (ii) In light of variant (i), it is
not surprising that log. 8 and ClAlex make the man the subject of
"cast" instead of making the net the subject of a passive verb
("which has been cast"). But, while this makes the two all the
more similar, we are really dealing with the same variant, for it
is difficult to see, if the "man" is the subject of the parable, how
"cast" could be used to refer to the net. Variants (i) and (ii) are
thus actually two parts of the same reading. (iii) ClAlex, with
Thomas, does add "fish" (actually, ClAlex has the plural, like most
witnesses which add the word), but this is a natural inference and
easily coincidental (cf. pp. 169-70, 227). (iv) Finally, Quispel[4]
and Baarda (with brackets) list ClAlex as supporting Thomas' variant
"chose," but this is merely a surmise from Clement's $\tau\dot{\eta}\nu$ $\dot{\epsilon}\varkappa\lambda o\gamma\dot{\eta}\nu$
$\pi o\iota o\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\psi$, which is probably just a paraphrase of Mt. (cf. p. 170).
Variant (i) remains the only significant shared reading, but it is
not conclusive. For one thing, ClAlex and log. 8 are not exactly
parallel. For another, the agreement could be fortuitous. And yet,

---

[1] See pp. 168-69 above.

[2] *Strom.* 6. 11. 95. 3, given on p. 169 n. 6 above.

[3] The only other parable of Mt. 13 where ClAlex clearly has
"the kingdom of heaven is like . . ." is, according to Barnard, *Text*,
pp. 17-19, Mt. 13:33 where the kingdom is correctly likened to
leaven, not a woman (log. 96).

[4] *Tatian*, p. 176.

there is some slight room for believing, with Ménard, that ClAlex
and log. 8 share the same tradition.[1] Clement, in his loose and ab-
breviated citation, could have even been influenced by log. 8 it-
self. In any case, there are more textual reasons for associating
log. 8 originally with Alexandria than with Edessa.

   Logion 16 (cf. pp. 171-72, 231-33). (i) Much has been said
about the source of Thomas' "war" (see pp. 171-72, 232-33 above).
In this connection, it is interesting to note the wording of the
Pseudo-Clementine *Rec.* 2. 26. 6: "and he said, 'I have not come to
cast peace upon the earth, but ܩܪܒܐ.'"[2] In the context, Simon
Magus is making a play on words, contrasting "peace" and "war/sword."
This may be an indication that in the original *Rec.*, "war" was meant
to stand as an obvious antonym for "peace." Indeed, Frankenberg
(p. 109), restores the Greek πόλεμον here, just as he does earlier
for ܩܪܒܐ (2. 26. 5). But in Rufinus' translation (Rehm, p. 68) we
find *gladium*. Since the Syriac ܩܪܒܐ can mean only "war," making
it unlikely that the *Vorlage* of the Syriac translator had μάχαιραν,[3]
gladium appears to be either a mistranslation or a correction to the
canonical text. Quispel believes that Thomas' "sword, war" goes
back to the Aramaic word חַרְבָּא which can mean both "sword" and
"war"--a word which also influenced *Rec.*[4] This may be so. Or, the
confusion may be due to the Syriac words ܚܪܒܐ or ܣܝܦܐ.[5] But it

---

[1]*Thomas*, p. 89. Whether this tradition is an independent
Jewish-Christian Aramaic tradition from Palestine, as advocated by
Quispel, *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 38 (1969):273-75, is open to question.

[2]Frankenberg, p. 108: ܐܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܕܐܪܡܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܐܠܐ
ܩܪܒܐ; cf. *Rec.* 2. 28. 2.

[3]Unless the present ܩܪܒܐ ("war") is a scribal corruption of
an original ܚܪܒܐ ("sword" or "war"), the difference being only the
initial letter.

[4]*VigChr* 12 (1958):189.   [5]See p. 233 above.

is also possible, and perhaps preferable, to believe that Thomas harmonized several elements--among them, Matthew's "sword" and the "war" as found in *Rec.* or, more properly, the source behind it. Whatever the case, a probable Semitic (Syriac?) milieu for log. 16 is reaffirmed.

Logion 32 (cf. pp. 175-76, 234-36). (i) One of the most interesting ways in which this saying differs from Mt. 5:14 is the use of οἰκοδομημένη/ϰωτ in place of ϰειμένη. It is noteworthy that the former reading also occurs in *Hom.* 3. 67. 1:[1] . . . τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὡς πόλιν ἐν ὕψει ᾠκοδομημένην. It is possible, since log. 32 and *Hom.* are both potentially linked with Syria, that both have been influenced by the Vetus Syra or, as is more likely for Thomas, an ancient Syrian tradition behind it. This particular tradition may have a rather wide influence.[2] (ii) The ὕψει of PsClem is also similar to the ὑψηλοῦς of POxy 1. 7, but it is not exactly parallel and the agreement could be fortuitous; at best it can only be used as weak confirmatory evidence for an indirect connection between Thomas and *Hom.*

Logion 39a (cf. pp. 178-80, 239-41). (i) The variant of primary interest here is Thomas' "have received . . . have hidden." Quispel avers that this is not part of a secondary harmonization of Mt. 23:13 and Lk. 11:52, especially since Thomas apparently reads λαμβάνειν/ϫι vs. Luke's αἴρειν/ϥι.[3] This is also in agreement with *Rec.* 1. 54. 6-7 (Frankenberg, p. 61; Rehm, p. 39). Quispel traces λαμβάνειν back to an Aramaic word, ܫܩܠ (Syriac ܠܩܫ),

---

[1] Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):187, and in several other places says 3. 37, but 3. 67 is the correct reference.

[2] Cf. pp. 234-36 above.

[3] *VigChr* 12 (1958):189-90.

which is able to translate both λαμβάνειν and αἴρειν.[1] This

word, in an Aramaic tradition, is thus at the root of this variant.

Quispel's explanation is possible, but not provable, and it is curi-

ous that the Syriac *Rec*. has lost sight of this word and uses ܩܒܠ

instead, which is equivalent only with λαμβάνειν. It could be

said that the difference between λαμβάνειν and αἴρειν is unim-

portant; we are dealing basically with synonyms which could have

been confused in a free translation or citation from memory. But

Quispel thinks that "to receive" in place of "to take" is tenden-

tious, emphasizing the legitimacy of the Pharisees as holders of

the keys--a favourite Jewish-Christian theme. This, he says, con-

firms that both Thomas and *Rec*. come from a Jewish-Christian Aramaic

milieu.[2] If Quispel is correct, how interesting that *Hom*. 3. 18. 3

(Rehm, p. 63), the parallel to *Rec*., uses the word κρατεῖν! This

brings into question Quispel's inferences from λαμβάνειν, and in-

creases the probability that we are merely dealing with synonyms.

Nevertheless, *Rec*. and the Ethiopic version do, with Thomas, have

the compound "have received . . . have hidden." *Rec*. 1. 54. 6-7,

however, is clearly an adapted paraphrase or allusion and can be

viewed as a textual witness only with some scepticism. It is also

noteworthy that: (a) for "to hide" *Rec*. has the Imperfect ܢܛܫܘܢܝܗܝ

("that they (may) hide it"), which is not the Aorist of the Western

text or the Perfect I of Thomas, not to mention the change from 2nd

pl. to 3rd pl., and (b) the word "to hide" does not occur in the

parallel *Hom*. 3. 18. 3.[3] The Ethiopic version of Lk. 11:52, on the

---

[1]Cf. Klein, *Wörterbuch*, p. 102.

[2]Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 67, objects to this conclusion re-
garding log. 39.

[3]The word does occur in *Hom*. 3. 19. 1, which follows im-
mediately, but in an obscure paraphrase that can in no way be claimed
as a quotation of Lk. 11:52.

other hand, reads very similarly to Thomas: "you have taken (re-

ceived)[1] . . . you have hidden." This reading is almost without a

doubt a harmonization of the canonical reading of Lk. 11:52 (ἤρατε)

and the Western variant (ἐκρύψατε). A connection with Thomas is

doubtful, since the Ethiopic speaks of "the key of justice" and

log. 39a has "the keys of knowledge." What does seem rather certain

from all of this is that log. 39a is a harmonization of canonical

texts[2] in the form of a free citation which is paralleled by the

practice of the Ethiopic translator. It must be admitted, however,

that log. 39a could have been influenced by an independent tradition

which had "hidden" and which itself influenced the Western text, but

even then contact with Luke's ἤρατε seems likely, despite the syn-

onym ostensibly used in POxy 655. 4 (ἀπ̣]ελ̣[αβον).   (ii) Brief

mention may be made of the "those who wish to enter" of *Hom*. 3. 18. 3.[3]

This is parallel to log. 39a, but no connection may be established

for the reasons given on p. 179 above. In addition, there are sev-

eral other *differences* between log. 39a/POxy 655. 4 and PsClem:

(a) The former have "Pharisees and scribes," but the latter have the

opposite order.   (b) Thomas has "keys," but *Hom./Rec*. have "key."

And (c) POxy 655. 4 has οὔτε . . . ἀφῆκαν,[4] but *Hom*. has οὐ

παρέχουσιν, which is also in a different tense. For these rea-

sons, there is probably no connection between log. 39a and PsClem.

---

[1]The exact Greek (?) word behind the Ethiopic is difficult
to determine, but Tischendorf gives ἤρατε.

[2]Against Quispel, but with Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 97; Haenchen,
Botschaft, p. 67; Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 92; and Ménard, *Thomas*,
p. 139.

[3]Rehm, p. 63: τοῖς δὲ βουλομένοις εἰσελθεῖν οὐ παρ-
έχουσιν.

[4]Fitzmyer, *Essays*, pp. 413-14. Cf. Robert A. Kraft, "Oxy-
rhynchus Papyrus 655 Reconsidered," *HThR* 54 (1961):259.

Logion 47a (cf. pp. 86-88, 181-82). (i) On p. 87 the suggestion of some scholars--that the clause ἢ γὰρ . . . ἀγαπήσει is omitted in this saying due to scribal error--was noted. It is highly interesting to note that no other textual witness does likewise except Marcion. One wonders, then, whether Marcion's gospel could have affected the wording of log. 47a. This is possible. Marcion's reading could be due to an independent scribal error,[1] but the coincidence would be amazing. (ii) Another possible agreement is with Thomas' ϥⲛⲁⲣ̄ϩⲩⲃⲣⲓⲍⲉ ("he will insult") in place of the canonical καταφρονήσει ("he will despise"). Marcion's Bible may have had καταφρονήσει, but this is not altogether clear; Harnack suggests that Marcion's text may have had another word.[2] One may wonder whether the word is the same as Thomas', but this is entering the realm of pure conjecture. Nevertheless, on the face of it, there would appear to be a strong probability of Marcion's influence on the text of log. 47a.[3] But there are some differences which would indicate that this conclusion is premature. For one thing, Marcion omits οἰκέτης,[4] which Thomas includes. Second, Marcion apparently reverses the canonical (and Thomas') order to (καταφρονήσει) . . . ἀνθέξεται. Finally, Marcion's ἀνθέξεται (Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4. 33, gives *defendi*) is not necessarily Thomas' ϥⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲧⲓⲙⲁ. Because of these differences, the influence of Marcion upon the wording of log. 47a is not probable, but only possible.

---

[1]Cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, p. 220*.   [2]Ibid.

[3]Schippers, *Thomas*, pp. 52, 104, postulates that this saying has been influenced by the Marcionite belief of the impossibility of serving two masters--the Old Testament and the New Testament. But cf. Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 149.

[4]Harnack, *Marcion*, p. 220*, suggests that this is due to Matthean influence.

Logion 47c,d (cf. pp. 183-84). The most noteworthy variant in log. 47c,d is the reversal of the Synoptic (especially Lucan) order: Lk. 5:39; Lk. 5:37 (Mt. 9:17/Mk. 2:22); Lk. 5:36 (Mt. 9:16/Mk. 2:21). Of all the witnesses to these sayings, only Marcion and Shenoute reverse Luke's order of the last two just as Thomas does: Lk. 5:37, 36.[1] Shenoute's citation is:

ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ϯⲛⲁϫⲉ ⲡⲉϥϫⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, ⲛⲑⲉ ⲛⲧⲁⲡϫⲟⲉⲓⲥ
ϣⲁϫⲉ ⲉⲧⲃⲏⲏⲧϥ, ⲉⲧⲉⲡⲁⲓⲡⲉ ϫⲉⲙⲉⲩⲛⲉϫⲏⲣⲡ ⲛⲃⲣⲣⲉ
ⲉϩⲉⲛⲁⲥⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲥ· ⲙⲉⲩⲥⲉⲗⲡⲟⲩⲧⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲟⲛ ϩⲓⲟⲩϩⲟⲓⲧⲉ
ⲛϣⲁⲓ, ⲛⲥⲉϫⲟⲗⲕⲥ ⲉϫϩⲟⲓⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲗϭⲉ.[2]

This may be translated:

> But I will speak everything concerning it, as the Lord has spoken concerning it, which is this: "They do not put (cast) new wine into old skins; neither do they cut off a patch from a new garment in order to sew it upon an old garment."

This is most likely an abbreviated citation of the Gospels from memory. It demonstrates a familiarity with Lk.-sa (note esp. "cut off"), and possibly with Mt. ("they do not put/cast"), though Shenoute uses some different words: e.g., ϩⲟⲓⲧⲉ for "garment" instead of ϣⲧⲏⲛ. It is unclear why the Synoptic order is reversed, but this is easily done with two sayings which make the same point in a similar way. It is therefore unlikely that Shenoute's written text read this way, or that he was influenced by Marcion's gospel or the Gospel of Thomas as used in Gnostic circles, since Shenoute would seem opposed to the use of such heretical writings.[3] As for Marcion's

---

[1] Marcion's gospel probably omitted v. 39 (Harnack, *Marcion*, p. 190*), and Shenoute makes no reference to this verse here.

[2] 36. *De actis Archelai*, CSCO 42, p. 109, 7ff.

[3] Nonetheless, if the Nag Hammadi collection was made by orthodox Christians for heresiological purposes (i.e., to combat heresy), it could have been the work of the White Monastery which is some 50 miles away. Conceivably, Shenoute could have been unwittingly influenced by the Gospel of Thomas in this or some similar collection.

text, it is probable, though not certain, that he also reverses Lk. 5:36 and 5:37-38.[1] Harnack thinks that the evidence is too scant to restore the text properly; nevertheless, he refers us to Zahn's restoration:[2]

> Οὐ βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιούς,
> (ἀλλὰ) βάλλουσιν οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς νέους, καὶ
> ἀμφότεροι συντηροῦνται· (καὶ) οὐδεὶς ἐπιβάλλει
> ἐπίβλημα ῥάκους ἀγνάφου ἐπὶ ἱματίῳ παλαιῷ· εἰ δὲ
> μήγε καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αἴρει καὶ τῷ παλαιῷ οὐ συμ-
> φωνήσει· μεῖζον γὰρ σχίσμα γενήσεται.

Log. 47c,d could have been influenced by Marcion's gospel, but this is really questionable, when one sees the major differences between them: e.g., Thomas omits 5:38, included by Marcion, and Marcion omits 5:39, included by Thomas (log. 47b).[3] And yet, the number of major unique agreements between Marcion and log. 47 as a whole nearly forces one to keep open the possibility of the influence of Marcion's text upon a redactor of log. 47. Otherwise, it is very difficult to understand why the three sayings of log. 47b,c,d are grouped together as in Luke, but in the opposite order--unless the redactor knowingly followed Luke but altered the order for the sake of originality or to make a new point. In any event, it is not likely that an older text or tradition read in this way, for if such a tradition existed, we would expect to see more evidence of it in other Gospel texts.[4]

---

[1]Harnack, *Marcion*, pp. 189*-90*. Cf. esp. Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 4. 11 and 3. 15 (where in the latter the order is canonical).

[2]*Marcion*, p. 189*.

[3]Also, we have already noted that Shenoute is closest to Luke, with some possible Matthean influence; the same is true of Marcion (cf. Harnack, *Marcion*, pp. 189*-90*). But according to Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 113, log. 47 is closer to Mt. than to Lk.

[4]It would thus appear more probable that log. 47c,d has had some contact with the Gospels (with Bartsch, *NTS* 6 (1960):251-53; Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 51; Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 76; Schrage, *Verhält-nis*, pp. 112-15; and Ménard, *Thomas*, pp. 148-49) than that these sayings represent an older and independent tradition (against Quispel, *VigChr* 11 (1957):194-95; W. Nagel, "Neuer Wein in alten Schläuchen (Mt 9,17)," *VigChr* 14 (1960):1-8; and Montefiore, *NTS* 7 (1961):238).

Logion 48: "Jesus said: If two make peace with one another in this one house, they shall say to the mountain, 'Be moved,' and it shall be moved" (cf. log. 106, which appears to be a more gnosticized version of this saying).[1]   (i) This saying appears to be a combination of the sayings found in Mt. 18:19 and in Mt. 17:20/ Mt. 21:21; Schrage[2] and Ménard[3] agree that log. 48 is closer to Mt. 17:20 than to Mt. 21:21.[4] Wilson has postulated that this logion could be dependent upon a pre-Tatianic harmony, but not the Diatessaron itself.[5] It is noteworthy that the closest parallel to Thomas' harmonization is found in chapter 15 of the Syriac Didascalia:[6]

> For it is written in the Gospel: "If two shall agree together,[7] and shall ask concerning any thing whatsoever, it shall be given them.[8] And if they shall say to a mountain that it be removed and fall into the sea, it shall so be done."

Quispel notes in passing that (ii) both works, among others, omit the "of you" found in Mt. 18:19 and (iii) both omit "on the earth" from the same verse,[9] but two minor omissions are not nearly enough to link log. 48 and the Didascalia together. Nevertheless, Puech,

---

[1]Haenchen, *Botschaft*, p. 39; Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 117; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 150.

[2]*Verhältnis*, p. 116.   [3]*Thomas*, p. 150.

[4]Interestingly enough, Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 117, thinks log. 106 is reworked material from Mt. 21:21.

[5]*Studies*, p. 79.

[6]Translation by Connolly, *Didascalia*, p. 134, who is following Codex Sangermanensis (S), which he considers the most trustworthy copy (p. xi). The Latin abbreviates the saying: Duo si convenerint in unum et dixerint monti huic: Tolle et mitte te in mari, fiet (ibid., p. 138).

[7]Or, "as one" (ܟ̈ܝ ܐܝܟ); Codex Harrisianus (H), printed by Gibson, *Horae Semiticae*, I, omits "as one."

[8]MS H reads ܠܟܘܢ ("to you").   [9]*Tatian*, p. 182.

because of the similar harmonization, suggests that both log. 48 and the Didascalia could be dependent upon a common distinct tradition.[1] This is an inviting possibility. Yet, one must also consider the differences between the two: (a) "if two make peace" (log. 48) or "if two become one" (log. 106) is not exactly the same as "if two shall agree as one"; (b) although Thomas and the Latin Didascalia shorten Mt. 18:19, the Syriac Didascalia gives nearly the entire verse; (c) Thomas omits the "fall into the sea" of Didascalia; and (d) Thomas ends with "it shall be moved" (cf. Mt. 17:20), but Didascalia with "it shall be done" (cf. Mt. 21:21). A dependence upon the same common tradition is only a possibility, but we must reckon with a possible Syrian origin for log. 48 in light of the absence of the contrary textual evidence.

Logion 63 (cf. pp. 189-90, 244-45). One particularly curious way in which this saying deviates from the one recorded by Luke (12:16-20) is the use of Ⲭⲣⲏⲙⲁ ("possessions") in place of $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$. One may ask where Thomas gets this variant. It could be a scribal error, since the words are spelled similarly, or it could be due to the occurrence of $\chi\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha$ elsewhere in the sayings of Jesus (cf. Mk. 10:23/Lk. 18:24). It may also be that a redactor purposefully changed "field" to "possessions" because the former was too specific[2] (or for some other tendentious reason). But it could be due to a textual influence; if so, we have only the Old Latin MSS b e ff[2] q i l as possible parallel witnesses. Instead of "field" (*ager*) found in many Old Latin MSS, these MSS have *possessio*.[3] At first glance, this is an impressive similarity, but there is a telling difference between

---

[1]*CRAI* (1957):159.   [2]Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 89.

[3]As observed by Baarda, in Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 147; and Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 131-32. MS d has *regio*.

Thomas' Ⳮⲣⲏⲙⲁ and the Old Latin's *possessio*: While *possessio* can mean "possessions," it can also mean "estate" or some large land holding.[1] The fact that in the Old Latin the *possessio* of the rich man "brings forth much fruit" clearly indicates that the latter definition is intended. Such a definition conflicts with the broader connotation of "wealth, money, riches" which Thomas' use of Ⳮⲣⲏⲙⲁ evokes. It is therefore unlikely that a redactor of log. 63 has been influenced by the *possessio* of the Old Latin versions.

Logion 76a (cf. pp. 100-101, 191-92, 248-49). In this saying, the merchant is called "wise" (ⲥⲁⲃⲉ), but he is not so described in Mt. 13:45-56. No MS of the Bible has a similar variant, but in an apparent allusion to Matthew's parable in the Latin *Rec.* 3. 62. 2 (Rehm, p. 137),[2] the one who "sells all that he has, and buys the one true pearl" is described as "wise" (*prudentem*). But this allusion is absent in the Syriac *Rec.* (Frankenberg, pp. 220-21), and is therefore probably traceable to Rufinus. Rufinus was active in Rome, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, so it is impossible to locate this reading geographically; it may have had a wide influence. Whether it originated with Thomas or not is open to question. One point in favour of locating such a tradition in the east is the fact that the merchant is also described as "wise" by Ephraem in *De Thoma Apostolo* (IV century, Syria)[3] and in the Biography of Rabbula (V century, Edessa).[4] There could well have been, as Baarda suggests,[5] an ancient

---

[1]Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary Founded on the Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), p. 1403.

[2]Noted by Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):191.

[3]Cf. Klijn, *VigChr* 14 (1960):158-59.

[4]Cf. Baarda, *VigChr* 14 (1960):112-13. Baarda, disagreeing with Burkitt and Vööbus, says that the biographer did not quote the

Syriac tradition which stressed "wisdom" in the parables of the king-
dom (cf. p. 256 above)--a tradition which influenced these authors
and the redactor of log. 76a. But whether this tradition can be
identified with the Gospel of the Hebrews, and whether it influenced
the whole of Thomas,[1] as Baarda avers, are other matters entirely.

Logion 79a (cf. pp. 103-104, 193-94, 250-51). Baarda and
Quispel list Marcion as supporting Thomas' "breasts which nourished
you" as opposed to "breasts which you sucked" (Lk. 11:27). It is
true that Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* 4. 26. 13) has "ubera quae illum
educassent," making "breasts" the subject of the relative clause,
but this is in what appears to be an indirect quotation and is not
conclusive. Even Harnack restores Marcion's text as μαστοὶ (οὒς
ἐθήλασας), with Lk.[2] Moreover, the Greek behind log. 79a could
also be the same as Lk. (see pp. 193-94 above). Therefore, a con-
nection between log. 79a and Marcion is unlikely.

Logion 86 (cf. pp. 104-105, 196-98, 252-53). On pp. 197-98
particularly, the similarity between Thomas' "but the Son of Man has
no place to lay his head and rest" and Macarius has been noted. The
latter reads just like Mt. 8:20, but after κλίνῃ one of the two
extant MSS (MS C from the XI century) adds καὶ ἀναπαῇ.[3] Thus we
have the only true parallel to this variant in log. 86. The ques-
tion is: Is there a connection? Since Quispel avers that Macarius

---

Peshitta, but used a text with some elements more archaic than the
Peshitta and even the Old Syriac (pp. 122ff.).

[5](From p. 305) Baarda, *VigChr* 14 (1960):112-13.

[1]Even in log. 8, where the fisherman is uniquely described
as "wise," there may be more of a chance of an Alexandrian connec-
tion than an Edessene one (see pp. 294-96 above and the Appendix).
This could indicate a wider circulation for our "wisdom" tradition
than just Syria.

[2]*Marcion*, p. 209*.   [3]See p. 198 n. 3 above.

knew and used the Gospel of Thomas,[1] one might justifiably conclude

that this variant is another indication of that fact. Not only is

this premise questionable, however, but there are also alternative ex-

planations. Thomas' variant could independently rest upon the Syriac

word ⲱⲌⲰ ("to lean, support; to rest"; see pp. 198, 253 above), or

it could be a tendentious addition made by a redactor[2] which agrees

fortuitously with Macarius. Nonetheless, the idea of Macarius being

influenced by this logion of Thomas is inviting, in which case a

possible Syrian origin for this saying becomes more likely.

   Logion 89 (cf. pp. 105-106, 198-200). (i) On pp. 198-200,

it was shown that there is some similarity between this saying and

the Diatessaron, especially in regard to the variant "wash" in place

of the canonical "purify, cleanse." This similarity, however, is

not conclusive. In fact, from the material discussed by Baker,[3]

there would appear to be a good chance that this variant did not

originate with Tatian's Harmony, but with a wider Syrian tradition.

This theory is confirmed by the fact that in more than one place in

the writings of Macarius--which have not been associated with the

Diatessaron, but may originate in Syria--the variant "wash" occurs.[4]

The most striking parallel is in Type III, Hom. 8. 1:

> ὡς φησὶν ὁ κύριος· φαρισαῖε τυφλέ, τὸ ἔσωθεν τοῦ
> ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος πλῦνον, ἵνα καὶ τὸ
> ἔξωθεν ᾖ καθαρόν. ὁ γὰρ ποιήσας τὸ ἔσωθεν καὶ τὸ
> ἔξωθεν ἐποίησεν.[5]

---

[1]*VigChr* 18 (1964):226-35; and *idem, Makarius*, pp. 11, 22, 27.
Cf. Baker, *VigChr* 18 (1964):215-25; for log. 86, pp. 219-20.

[2]See p. 197 n. 6 above.

[3]*JThS* 16 (1965):449-54.   [4]Cf. ibid., p. 453.

[5]Klostermann and Berthold, *Neue Homilien*, p. 38, ll. 27-30.

Here, as elsewhere,[1] Macarius uses πλύνειν ("to wash"), just as

Thomas does. In this place it is particularly significant because

the author is speaking of spiritual purity using καθαρίζειν,

καθαρός, etc. prolifically, and then all of a sudden, in this

(albeit free) quotation, he uses πλύνειν. It could well be that

Macarius is here dependent upon Thomas, or he may be drawing from a

common (Syrian?) tradition.[2] (ii) Macarius also prefers the order

"inside . . . outside" as opposed to Luke's (11:40) "outside . . .

inside." The former is the order of log. 89 and p^{45} C D Γ 243 251

a c d e sax Cyp Ta^n.[3] The dependence of Macarius upon Thomas or a

common tradition again appears possible, but for this variant he

could have just as easily been influenced by a very early Western

variant. The chances that Macarius is independent of Thomas here

are increased when the context of this particular quotation is noted.

The author is a pietist and therefore concerned with inward purity.

In new Hom. 8 he is advocating the inward (ἔσωθεν) cleanliness of

a pure heart and a good conscience which in turn will be reflected

in an outward (ἔξωθεν) cleanliness. This is exactly the thought

in his slightly modified harmonization of Mt. 23:25-26/Lk. 11:39-40.

What could be a tendentious modification could also agree with log.

89 fortuitously. For both variants, there are too many other pos-

sible influences to say definitely that Macarius used Thomas, but it

[1]Type III, Hom. 28. 4 (ibid., p. 168, *ll*. 17-19); and in
the new "Great Letter" (Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works*, p. 263,
ll. 16-18).

[2]It is almost ironic that Quispel, *VigChr* 18 (1964):232,
suggests that Macarius got his πλύνων from the Diatessaron, when
in the same article he expressly states that Macarius is dependent
upon Thomas.

[3]On this variant, cf. p. 200 n. 1 above.

surely seems that the works of the former and log. 89 come from the same or a similar milieu.

Logion 91b. From previous discussions of this saying, it appears that the influence of the Coptic versions is possible (pp. 106-108), while there is more evidence for Syriac-versional influence (pp. 253-55). A connection with the Diatessaron is unlikely (p. 201), but there does seem to be something to say for a possible connection with Marcion's text of Lk. 11:56.[1] He, with Thomas, (i) has the opposite of Luke's order: "heaven and earth"; (ii) omits "you know" in the first clause, and adds it in the second; and (iii) omits "how." For this saying, Marcion's text is not unlike the text of the Sahidic version. It is thus possible that Marcion's text (or more likely, the text behind it)[2] has influenced Thomas here. Yet, there is still stronger evidence to link log. 91b with the Vetus Syra, especially since it explains so well Thomas' p̄πιρλϛε (=πει-ραζειν--Marcion has Luke's δοκιμάζειν).[3]

Logion 93 (cf. pp. 108-10, 255). (i) There are those who see the omission of "your" before "pearls" (cf. Mt. 7:6) as textually significant,[4] but there is a good deal of evidence to indicate that it was tendentiously motivated. There appear to have been a large number of Christian and heretical groups who interpreted the "pearls" as the words of Jesus or his "special revelation."[5] The pearls thus

---
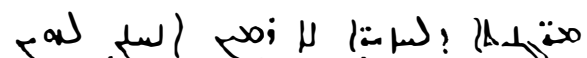
[1]Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 175-76.   [2]Cf. pp. 275f. above.

[3]According to Harnack's reconstruction: *Marcion*, pp. 216*-17*.
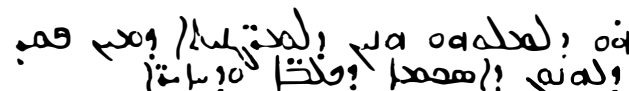
[4]Cf. Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):186-87; Baarda, in Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 152; and Schrage, *Verhältnis*, p. 180. Some of the witnesses which omit "your" are sy⟨s⟩cp(3 MSS)pal bo(N) Ta^v Chrys Bas Orig PsClem.

[5]Cf. Grant, *VigChr* 13 (1959):178; Grant and Freedman, *Secret Sayings*, pp. 175-76; Kasser, *Thomas*, p. 107; and Ménard, *Thomas*, p. 194.

became less "theirs" and more "his" (or "*the* pearls"). This may be
the case in *Rec.* 2. 3. 5:

> Syr (Frank., 82): ܡܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܪܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܝܕ ܡܢ (ܠܣܘ ܠܠܣ) ܠܘ ܚܝܪ
> Gr? (Frank., 83): μὴ μαργαρίτας τοῖς χοίροις προ-
> βάλλωμεν
> Lat (Rehm,   53): ne margaritas nostras mittamus ante porcos

It is even more clear in *Rec.* 3. 1. 5:

> Syr (Frank., 154): ܗܘ ܕܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܘ ܕܐ ܘܗܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܘܠܟܠܒܐ ܘܠܚܙܝܪܐ ܕܕܡܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ
> Gr? (Frank., 155): ὅς τοὺς τῶν λόγων αὐτοῦ μαργαρίτας
> τοῖς κυσὶ καὶ χοίροις ὁμοίοις μὴ
> μεταδοῦναι ἐκέλευσεν.
> Lat (Rehm,   95): a quo et mandatum accepit, ne mittat
> verborum eius margaritas ante porcos
> et canes.

If a similar meaning was attached to "pearls" by the original re-
dactor of log. 93, and there is much to suggest this, then the agree-
ment with other texts in the omission of "your" could be coincidental.
Alternatively, the omission could merely be an effort to maintain the
parallelism with the pronoun-less ⲡⲉⲧⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ("what is holy").

(ii) The latter statement may also apply to the "to the swine" of
log. 93 in place of "before the swine" of Mt.[1] It could also easily
be due to a free citation from memory. This can be said of the al-
lusion in *Rec.* 2. 3. 5. In *Rec.* 3. 1. 5, "swine" is combined with
"dogs" without a preposition of its own,[2] so one can only *infer*,
with Frankenberg, that the original Greek was in the Dative case. It
is interesting that Rufinus translated the phrase with *ante* before
both nouns.[3] In each case, the passage from Mt. has obviously been
adapted (note the change to 1st person and the indirect quotation).

---

[1]Cf. Schrage, *Verhältnis*, pp. 179-80.

[2]Actually, both are part of a relative clause. The Syriac
literally says, "to them (which are) of the appearance (or, manner)
of dogs and of swine."

[3]Probably being influenced by the Latin versions. But note
that he reverses the terms!

It is thus questionable whether there is a connection between these two readings and Thomas.[1] (iii) Brief mention might also be made of the "dung-heap" of log. 93. There is an allusion to "dung" in *Rec.* (3. 1. 6) noted by Quispel[2] and included in brackets by Baarda.[3] The exact phrase used is the obscure ܟܐ ܝܐܝ ܠܡܫܚܠܦ ܡܢ which Frankenberg (p. 155) restores with τέχναις κόπρου εὐτελεστέραις.[4] Although it occurs in the general context of 3. 1. 5, there is little to link it with the citation of Mt. 7:6 earlier and, again, any connection with log. 89 is doubtful; the readings of this saying which agree with *Rec.* are better explained as products of style or tendentious modification.

Logion 94 (cf. pp. 110-12, 201-202). On pp. 111-12, several similarities between this saying and Pistis Sophia were noted, and Schrage's suggestion[5] that there is some connection between them should be given consideration. If one has been influenced by the other, it is impossible to say which did the influencing, since both works may have been translated into Coptic about the same time (with the edge perhaps being given to Thomas as the earliest). But a more likely connection is the Sahidic version, for both log. 89 and PS are closer to Lk.-sa. than they are to each other. There seems to be good reason for believing that each has been influenced by the canonical translation, but this still does not satisfactorily explain the shared adverbial ⲉϩⲟⲩⲛ. In any case, the textual affinities of log. 89 are strongest in Coptic circles. And, while this does not

---

[1]Against Quispel, *VigChr* 12 (1958):186-87.

[2]Ibid., p. 187.   [3]In Schippers, *Thomas*, p. 152.

[4]Rufinus (Rehm, p. 95) has *caeno intellegentiae carnalis.*

[5]*Verhältnis*, p. 182.

exclude a Syrian origin for the saying, there are no textual reasons for looking for its roots outside of Egypt.

C. Conclusions

The treasury of textual variants which Thomas shares with other early Gospel texts has by no means been exhausted. In fact, the selection discussed in this chapter has been rather limited. The purpose has been to identify primarily the readings which Thomas uniquely shares with a single witness or a single group of witnesses. In this way, the relationship between the two readings, if indeed there is one, could be studied without the distraction of other possible extraneous influences. The results will assist us in geographically locating the circulation, perhaps origin, of certain logia, thus confirming, denying, or further elucidating our previous results. But the task in this chapter has been complicated somewhat by the uncertainty of a specific text's geographical sphere of influence. Marcion, for instance, had many followers in Syria, but he cannot be entirely dissociated from Egypt. The same might be said of the Pseudo-Macarius writings. Nevertheless, these two may be tentatively identified with Syria (or even Mesopotamia, in the case of the latter).

A comparison with some witnesses produced negative results.[1] Thus, a connection between some sayings in Thomas and the Old Latin versions (log. 63), the Ethiopic version (log. 39a), and Shenoute (log. 47c,d) is unlikely.

On the other hand, some comparisons had varying degrees of success. Despite, for example, the ostensibly large number of similarities between Marcion's text and Thomas, an influence upon

---

[1]Cf. the Appendix.

Thomas is only possible for log. 47a, 47c,d and 91b; the comparison

with log. 79a resulted in a verdict of "unlikely." There is also a

possibility that log. 8 and Clement of Alexandria share the same

tradition. A shared tradition with the Pseudo-Clementines is also

possible for log. 16, 76a (*Rec.*), and 32 (*Hom.*); it is unlikely for

log. 39a and 93. Log. 48 and the Didascalia may also be influenced

by the same textual tradition. It seems rather probable that log.

94 and Pistis Sophia have both been influenced by the Sahidic ver-

sion. In addition, for log. 86 and 89, a possible connection with

Pseudo-Macarius is demonstrable; it may be that the anonymous author

was influenced by Thomas.

What effect does all of this have on our previous results?

For some logia (e.g., 63 and 93), very little, since nothing is

learned, from a textual point of view, about their possible milieux.

On the other hand, some logia which previously defied a textual loca-

tion can now be given a possible milieu. Thus, log. 8 may have con-

nections with the region of Alexandria, while log. 47a, 47c,d and

48 may tentatively be placed in an original Syrian environment.

Some previous suggestions have not been confirmed, nor have

they been denied. Thus log. 39a and 79a had provisionally been

linked textually with Syria, but nothing substantially new was

learned in this chapter about them. The verdict that other logia

should be placed in Syria--16, 32, and 86--was upheld by the investi-

gations here. For three logia (76a, 89, and 91b) the previous re-

sults had been ambiguous; i.e., there was evidence to link them with

both Egypt and Syria. This still may be true; these sayings may have

originated in Syria and also been textually influenced in Egypt. But

in this chapter their Syrian connections have been strengthened,

which could indicate exclusively Syrian influence.[1] Finally, there

had been a little stronger evidence for connecting log. 94 with

Egypt than with Syria, and this has been confirmed by its strong

textual affinity with Pistis Sophia.

---

[1]This is especially the case for log. 76a, with similarities not only with Latin *Rec.*, but also with the Biography of Rabbula and with Ephraem's *De Thoma Apostolo*.

VI. CONCLUSION

This has been a study concerning the origins of the Gospel
of Thomas. We noticed from the outset the miscellaneous nature of
this sayings collection. This diversity is evident, first of all,
from its literary characteristics. Although all the sayings are at-
tributed to Jesus, they range in probable authenticity from those
whose genuineness is confirmed by the canonical Gospels to those
which have been obviously placed on Jesus' lips by some redactor.
There is also a lack of discernible order or literary plan in Thomas.
It is obviously different from the canonical Gospels, since the mate-
rial it has in common with them is completely rearranged. Many
scholars note the catchword arrangement of the sayings, but even this
arrangement cannot be traced throughout the collection. Moreover,
some catchwords occur only on the Coptic level, again pointing to the
fact that Thomas was at least thoroughly re-edited once and was prob-
ably a growing tradition. Also, there are the doublets which again
may be evidence of the hands of more than one redactor.

A second area which lends credence to the theory that Thomas
was a growing collection is the relationship of the Coptic Gospel of
Thomas to POxy 1, 654, and 655. In all likelihood, they represent
the same work, but with significant differences due to the work of
one or more translators/redactors.

Third, the origin of Thomas is inexplicable from one view-
point. As far as original language is concerned, there are those
who argue that the collection was originally written in Aramaic;
others argue for Syriac; others for Greek--all with some cogency.

As to place, there is further disagreement. There is evidence for
a Syrian origin, but others say it is insufficient and opt for an
Egyptian origin. Further, some see a rural backdrop behind some say-
ings, while different scholars point to the urban flavour of other
logia. This once more suggests a diversity of origin for Thomas.

Fourth, the original purpose and *Tendenz* of Thomas are un-
clear. Many students have suggested that it was originally Gnostic.
But not all of its sayings can be adequately explained from a Gnos-
tic viewpoint, and yet other logia may have an alternative explanation
as well. Consequently, a Jewish-Christian or Encratite origin has
been postulated. It may well be that this disagreement is due to
the fact that the collection was used by various groups for different
theological purposes and thus edited continually during the course of
its transmission.

Finally, there is the enigma of the source or sources used
by the redactor(s) of Thomas. Some writers adamantly believe the
canonical Gospels were used; others deny this. The Gospel of the
Hebrews has been postulated as the primary source, but there is in-
sufficient evidence to prove this. Suggestions have been made for
sources which circulated anywhere from Egypt to Corinth, and pos-
sibly in Rome, but the question has yet to be answered satisfactorily.

From these observations, then, it was proposed that the Gospel
of Thomas as we know it is not of one specific origin, but of various
origins. Thus not only is the Gospel of Thomas composed of various
types of material, but various sayings in it may also have originally
been written in different languages, in different places, and at dif-
ferent times for different purposes. This scenario would be consis-
tent with the idea that Thomas was a living, growing collection of
sayings. While not by any means original with this thesis, this

theory has never been uniformly applied to the totality of the sayings collection.

Even in this study, the theory has been applied only to the sayings with rather close parallels to the Synoptic gospels, since the latter provide the best control group for determining the origin of at least some of the logia in Thomas. Having selected this type of sayings, they were then compared to their Synoptic parallels as they occur in the numerous early versions and patristic citations. Special attention was given to the *peculiarities* of the latter sources which were shared with the Gospel of Thomas. In this way, it was hoped that the various affinities which a given logion might have with the peculiarities of a specific version or text might reveal something of its origin. For example, if a certain saying has a reading found only in the Old Syriac version, one might seriously consider a Syrian origin for that saying. On the other hand, if a logion has an affinity with the Coptic version and no other text, a Syrian origin for that particular saying may be questionable.

Throughout the study, the question of whether Thomas is dependent on or independent of the Gospels has not been emphasized, for the question is surprisingly not integral to the conclusions reached. Because this study focuses primarily on the *peculiarities* or variants which a particular canonical text shares with Thomas, this does not necessarily mean that the *variant* itself is canonical; it could have been inspired by an independent oral tradition. Thus, any variant (or the entire Synoptic parallel) in Thomas *could* be based on an independent tradition which also influenced the canonical text. Nevertheless, the fact that the canonical text, or version, contains this particular variant would suggest that the parallel saying in Thomas circulated in approximately the same time and place as

the canonical text or version, since both have apparently had contact
with the same source or with each other.

A rule of thumb stressed throughout is that *each saying must
be studied individually* and as objectively as possible. After all,
if Thomas was a living, growing sayings collection, who knows when
and where a particular saying may have been added? In essence, then,
what this study seeks to do is to cut the moorings with which some of
Thomas' sayings have been too hastily tied, and to cast each saying
adrift upon the sea of uncertainty, and then to wait and see upon
which shore each saying washes. All the evidence needs to be studied
carefully, but the chances are good that this shore (if one can be
specifically identified) represents the probable place of origin for
each saying.

Faced with such a mass of information--some of it conflict-
ing, some of it meagre, much of it insufficient--we can only hope for
general directions or indefinite indications. The conclusions for
this study, as the Appendix demonstrates, can be expressed only in
varying degrees of probability. But these general directions are not
unimportant if they can bring us a step closer to understanding the
origins of the Gospel of Thomas.

In Chapter II , therefore, several logia were compared with
the Coptic versions of our Gospels. The Coptic versions were selected
for study first primarily because of the extensive work which Schrage
has done in this area. This investigation revealed some evidence
that log. 4b, 5b/6c, 14b, 14c, 20, 31, 34, 36, 41, 61a, 65, 73, 76a,
89, 91b, 94, and 107 may have been influenced by the Coptic versions.
The influence is only indirect, however. The inconsistency of this
influence may be explained by one or more independent sayings, al-
ready influenced by the Coptic versions, being added to the collection

at a relatively late time in its history, or, more probably, by a
Coptic-speaking scribe presumably well versed in the Coptic gospels
who was subconsciously and sporadically influenced by their wording
as he translated from Greek (or copied) this new gospel which con-
tains somewhat similar wording. The latter suggestion would also
help to explain why Thomas, which is in these places primarily clos-
est to the Sahidic version, is at times closer to the Bohairic or
Fayyumic versions; a Coptic translator/copyist may conceivably have
been familiar with the Gospels in more than one dialect.

But there are other possible significant connections to be
considered. There are many who say that the Thomas collection origi-
nated in Syria. If so, one would not be surprised--one would perhaps
even expect--to find some connection between it and the earliest
Syriac versions of the Gospels: the Diatessaron and the Old Syriac
version.

According to the results of Chapter III, there is a possible
connection between Tatian's work and log. 16, 32, 33b, 39a, 44, 45b,
47b, 57, 79b, 86, and 94. This connection is best explained by the
common dependence upon a very early tradition. The identification
of this common tradition is almost impossible. It could have been
oral tradition dependent upon or independent of the Gospels, an apoc-
ryphal gospel (not necessarily the Gospel of the Hebrews!), a wild
Greek text, an early Gospel harmony, a lost canonical Syriac Gospel
translation, or the Old Syriac version itself.[1] The important thing
to note is that for part of Thomas at least, a Syrian origin is text-
ually possible.

This is further substantiated by the results of Chapter IV

---

[1]For additional information regarding these suggestions, see
pp. 208ff. above.

where possible connections between the Old Syriac version and log. 9,
25, 32, 33b, 39a, 45b, 61a, 68, 76a, 79a, 79b, 86, and 91b were dis-
covered. This would indicate that Thomas is even closer textually
to the Vetus Syra than to the Diatessaron. Nevertheless, there are
cases (see p. 257) where Thomas is closer to Tatian's work. All in
all, the evidence would suggest that a common source influenced all
three works: Thomas, the Diatessaron, and the Old Syriac gospels.
This confirms the conclusions of Quispel, but only in part. Quispel
would identify this source as "the Gospel of the Hebrews,"[1] but there
is scarcely enough evidence to substantiate this claim. Pelser sug-
gests a Jewish-Christian gospel tradition which he does not specif-
ically identify,[2] but the "Jewish-Christian" characteristics of this
source are not altogether apparent. Actually, this common source
could be a number of things either oral or written, as mentioned in
the preceding paragraph, but at the moment the suggestion of a pre-
Tatianic Syriac tetraevangelium, or perhaps a pre-Tatianic, canonical
Syriac Gospel, is most inviting.[3]

The results of Chapters III and IV also precipitated another
interesting observation: in the majority of cases where Coptic-
versional influence upon Thomas is possibly discernible, the influ-
ence of a Gospel text which circulated in Syria (i.e., the Diates-
saron, Old Syriac, or the common source behind them) is unlikely or

---

[1] Cf. *VigChr* 11 (1957):189-207; *VigChr* 13 (1959):87-117; and
NTS 12 (1966):371-82. The "Gospel of the Hebrews" is discussed on
pp. 153ff. and 217-18 above.

[2] "Syriac NT Texts," pp. 159-62.

[3] On the possibility of a pre-Tatianic tetraevangelium, see
the suggestion of Gressmann, discussed on pp. 139-40 above. Simi-
larly, Haase and Strobel speak of a pre-Tatianic Syriac Gospel (see
p. 140 n. 2 above). We should also not overlook the evidence which
points to a possible pre-Tatianic harmony of the Gospels (see the
discussion on pp. 208ff. above).

not demonstrable. This is so for log. 4b, 5b/6c, 14b, 14c, 20, 31, 34, 36, 41, 65, 73, and 107. This *may* indicate that these sayings originated outwith Syrian influence. This is not the only possibility, however, since these logia could have originated in Syria and then been subjected to extreme revision in Egypt. This may be especially true for the few logia which show signs of both Syriac and Coptic influence: 61a, 76a, 89, 91b, and 94 (but see below). Nonetheless, the textual evidence for the first group favours an Egyptian provenance or sphere of influence and those who would prove otherwise for these sayings must shoulder the burden of proof.

Chapter V is basically a catch-all section. Here, Thomas was compared with other early Gospel texts as found in various early versions and Christian writers, but only where both shared a rather unique reading (i.e., a variant not readily found elsewhere). Consequently, several logia, whose possible provenance was previously unknown due to the insufficient evidence provided by the comparison with the Coptic and Syriac versions, now can be tentatively located. Thus, log. 8, because of its Alexandrian connections, may be placed in that area; log. 47a, 47c,d, and 48 probably originated in Syria, largely because of their similarities with Marcion's text and the Didascalia. Some of the evidence in this chapter was merely confirmatory: log. 16 and 32 (similar to the Pseudo-Clementines) and log. 86 (similar to Pseudo-Macarius) probably originated in Syria. Finally, some evidence helped to sway the balance in the direction of either Syria or Egypt when the results of previous chapters had been ambiguous: log. 76a, having affinites with the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, log. 89, with parallels in Pseudo-Macarius, and log. 91b, with Marcionite parallels, may well have originated in Syria. On the other hand, since log. 94 has a strong textual affinity with Pistis

Sophia, there is more evidence for an Egyptian provenance than a Syrian one.

According to the textual evidence considered in this study, then, the following logia of the Gospel of Thomas are more likely to have originated in Syria than anywhere else: 9, 16, 25, 32, 33b, 39a, 44, 45b, 47a, 47b, 47c,d, 48/106, 57, 68, 76a, 79a, 79b, 86, 89, and 91b. Those logia which have closer affinities to Egyptian texts include log. 4b, 5b/6c, 8, 14b, 14c, 20, 31, 34, 36, 41, 65, 73, 94, and 107. This means that these sayings may have been added to the sayings collection only after it came to Egypt. Yet, if other information points to another provenance (cf. log. 94), this evidence would indicate some rather extensive revision by an Egyptian redactor. For log. 61a there is about equal evidence for either a Syrian or Egyptian provenance. This could also indicate a Syrian origin with later Coptic redaction.

It is regrettable that these conclusions are not more clear and definitive, but the scarcity and ambiguity of the evidence prohibits more concrete conclusions. It should be apparent, however, that this study again illustrates the diverse nature of this sayings collection and confirms the thesis that the Gospel of Thomas was a growing collection of sayings which was continually undergoing revision as it passed from hand to hand. This means that though we can study the present Coptic document as a whole, when we begin talking about its predecessors, we must speak not of *an origin*, but of *origins*. It may be, for instance, impossible to speak of a Jewish-Christian origin *or* a Gnostic origin. Perhaps we should ask: at which stage, if any, was it Jewish-Christian? At which stage was it Gnostic? Then, what was the collection's form when it was Jewish-Christian? When it was Gnostic? Concerning original language, the

question should be: In which language was a particular *logion* first written? The same must be asked regarding the date of origin. Such a perspective also makes it possible that one redactor was familiar with the canonical Gospels while another was influenced by one or more apocryphal gospels.

If these questions are difficult to ask, they may be impossible to answer satisfactorily. But in order to understand properly the background of the Gospel of Thomas, the attempt must be made. This is why it is imperative that scholars from other disciplines or with other interests begin to ask their questions with the idea of Thomas' *diversity* in mind. Perhaps the conclusions concerning the origin of a particular logion discussed in this study will be confirmed; they may be refuted. The latter would not be terribly alarming, since the conclusions reached are only tentative; they must be since only one viewpoint--the textual--has been considered. Even then, the textual evidence is hardly conclusive. The point is that this study represents only a small part of the work that lies ahead. Only by bringing several disciplines to bear upon *each individual logion* can we ever hope to understand the Gospel of Thomas properly.

Notice should also be given here to the possible value of the Gospel of Thomas for the textual criticism of our Gospels. As has been said before,[1] the relationship of Thomas to the canonical Gospels is integral to the problem.

According to this investigation, there seems to be no substantial reason for doubting the possible dependence of at least parts of Thomas upon the Gospels. The similarities in some logia are far greater than the differences. It may be that the differences have been over-emphasized, for we need to keep in mind the period in

---

[1] Cf. Wilson, in *StEv*, p. 456; and pp. 34-35 above.

which Thomas originated--the second century. As we have seen,[1] in

many cases the Synoptic-type sayings in Thomas are not unlike some

of the quotations from the second-century fathers. If the fathers

deserve to be included in our textual footnotes, then perhaps con-

sideration should also be given to Thomas as a textual witness.

It must be admitted, however, that Thomas contains some Gos-

pel variants which are most perplexing, even haunting. We find

unique words and phrases, unusual harmonizations, and inexplicable

inversions in order. Many of these are shared by a few other textual

witnesses, and it could well be that we are seeing the influence of

an unknown common third source here. Yet even if this is true, it

does not necessarily preclude the partial dependence of Thomas upon

the Synoptics.

But if it is concluded that Thomas is independent of our

Gospels, then it is obviously not a text-critical source. Rather,

it is more a form-critical source, a valuable witness to how the

traditions concerning Jesus evolved to meet the different environ-

ments and needs of those who claimed to follow his teachings.[2] It

would thus be useful for explaining *why* textual variants arose, and

as an example of how extra-canonical forces worked upon some of the

traditions contained in the Gospels. In other words, we may be see-

ing in Thomas the results of influences which worked upon gospel

traditions in a free and uncontrolled atmosphere--influences which

at times infiltrated the relatively controlled and standardized en-

vironment of the canonical Gospels. So even if Thomas is independent

---

[1]Pages 27ff. above.

[2]Along these lines, see especially the studies of Koester:
"GNOMAI DIAPHOROI," and "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," in
Trajectories, pp. 114-57, and 158-204; and "Gnostic Writings as Wit-
nesses for the Development of the Sayings Tradition," in *Rediscovery
of Gnosticism*, 1: 238-61.

of the Gospels, it is not totally without text-critical value,
though its potential usefulness in this area is greatly reduced.

Unfortunately, the relationship of Thomas to the Gospels
cannot conclusively be proven one way or the other. But then,
even after decades of discussion, one cannot be sure that the early
fathers are entirely dependent upon the Gospels![1] It appears that,
though they are probably dependent in the main, their relatively
loose method of quotation from memory has multiplied textual vari-
ants, and some of these are most likely due to the influence of non-
canonical sources.

The practical question regarding all of this again arises:
Should Thomas be included in our textual apparatus? In some cases,
perhaps it should. For instance, in Lk. 12:56 we read the order
"the earth and the heaven" in most printed Greek texts, but several
witnesses have the order "the heaven and the earth": $p^{45,75}$ $\aleph^c$ D K
L .Π 28 33 157 1241 pm it vg sy^{sc} sa bo arm eth Ta^a Mcion, in ad-
dition to log. 91b of Thomas. The source of this variant is unknown,
though scribal error, the influence of oral tradition, or the influ-
ence of a written non-canonical gospel may be suggested. It is un-
likely that the variant originated with Tatian, since only the
Arabic Diatessaron has it (not to mention the fact that it is found
in the papyri), but his witness is included nonetheless. Yet, if
the Diatessaron, and even Marcion, are placed in the apparatus, why
not also the Gospel of Thomas?[2] Some may say that we have no guaran-
tee that Thomas is dependent upon the Gospels here and in other
places, but this is also said of Justin, the Didache, the Gospel of
the Nazarenes, the Gospel of the Ebionites, the Diatessaron, the Acts

---

[1]Cf. the discussion on pp. 27ff. above, and the modern works
noted therein.

[2]One may note the exception of K. Aland, *Synopsis Quattuor Evan-
geliorum* (Stuttgart, 1973), who does cite Thomas' parallel logia in an
apparatus.

of Thomas, the Didascalia, the Pseudo-Clementines, etc. Neverthe-
less, these are frequently placed in the apparatus. At the very
least, then, Thomas might be footnoted in parentheses or brackets
here and in other places where it parallels the canonical text
rather closely.

Even so, the information given by Thomas in the apparatus
would not be as useful as that of a church father. The great advan-
tage of finding a variant in a church father's text is that the vari-
ant can be dated and located with convincing accuracy.[1] As we have
seen in this thesis, a canonical variant found in Thomas can neither
be dated nor located accurately. In fact, instead of using a wit-
ness to date and locate a variant as with the fathers, what this
study has attempted is the converse--to use a textual variant in an
effort to determine the provenance of a particular logion. If this
can be accomplished with any success at all, a general date of origin
for that logion might be postulated. If we then turn around and seek
to use Thomas as a witness to date and locate a textual variant, we
appear to be precariously close to circular reasoning. If, on the
other hand, the findings of this thesis regarding a particular logion
can be substantiated through the study of Thomas in other fields,
then the usefulness of Thomas as a textual witness will be established
and enhanced.

Once more, we are forced to admit that our present informa-
tion is scarce and we can go only so far. Thus, we sorely need
further investigation and, hopefully, additional information. Who
knows? Maybe one day another copy of this sayings collection will be

---

[1]For discussions concerning patristic evidence and New Testa-
ment textual criticism, see Suggs, *NTS* 4 (1958):139-47; and Metzger,
NTS 18 (1972):379-400.

discovered to help us on our way. But if such should ever happen,
one would be surprised if it completely agreed with the copies we
currently possess.

APPENDIX

The relative probability of a textual connection with the following Gospel texts is indicated by these signs (patterned after the apparatus of the UBS Greek New Testament):

A--a textual connection with Thomas is almost certain

B--a textual connection with Thomas is probable
    (more certain than C)
C--a textual connection with Thomas is possible

D--a textual connection with Thomas is unlikely; insufficient evidence

These signs are placed only under those chapters in which the particular logion has been discussed. The absence of a sign indicates that a connection with the text above is improbable.

Logion	II Copt	III Diat	IV OSyr	V Other		Logion	II Copt	III Diat	IV OSyr	V Other
4b	B					31	C		D	
5b/6c	B					32		C	B	C *Hom.*
8		D	D	C ClAlex		33b		C	B	
9	D	D	C			34	C		D	
10	D					35	D	D		
14b	C					36	C			
14c	C		D			39a		C	C	D PsClem D Eth
16		C	D	C *Rec.*		39b	D			
20	C					41	C			
25		D	C			44		C		
26	D					45a	D			
30		D				45b	D	C	B	

Logion	II Copt	III Diat	IV OSyr	V Other
46				
47a	D	D		C Mcion
47b		C		
47c,d		D		C Mcion D Shenoute
48/106				C Didasc.
54	D		D	
55/101	D	D	D	
57		C	D	
61a	C		C	
61b				
62b				
63		D	D	D OLat
64	D		D	
65	B	D	D	
66	D			
68		D	B	
69a				
69b	D		D	
72	D		D	

Logion	II Copt	III Diat	IV OSyr	V Other
73	B			
76a	C	D	C	C *Rec.*
76b		D		
78	D	D	D	
79a	D	D	C	D Mcion
79b	D	C	B	
86	D	C	C	C Macar.
89	C	C		C Macar.
90		D		
91b	C	D	B	C Mcion
93	D		D	D *Rec.*
94	B	C	D	B PS
96		D	D	
99	D			
100		D		
107	C			
109				
113		D	D	

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Sources

Achelis, Hans and Flemming, Johannes. *Die ältesten Quellen des ori-
    entalischen Kirchenrechts: II. Die Syrische Didaskalia.*
    TU 25,2. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904.

Burkitt, F. Crawford. *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.* 2 vols. Cambridge:
    University Press, 1904.

Ceriani, Antonio Maria. *Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti
    ex codice Ambrosiano sec. fere VI. Photolithographice edita.*
    London: Williams and Norgate, 1876.

Ciasca, P. Augustinus. *Tatiani Evangeliorum Harmoniae Arabice.* Rome,
    1888.

Clemens Alexandrius. Heraus. Otto Stählin. GCS ed. Berlin: Akademie-
    Verlag. I. Band. *Protrepticus und Paedagogus.* 3. durchgesehene
    Aufl. von Ursula Treu. 1972. II. Band. *Stromata. Buch I-VI.*
    3. Aufl. neu herausgegeben von Ludwig Früchtel. 1960. III.
    Band. *Stromata. Buch VII und VIII, Excerpta ex Theodoto,
    Eclogae Propheticae, Quis Dives Salvetur, Fragmente.* 2. Aufl.
    neu heraus. von Ludwig Früchtel, zum Druck besorgt von Ursula
    Treu. 1970. IV. Band. *Register. I. Teil.* 2. bearbeitete Aufl.
    heraus. von Ursula Treu. 1980.

Connolly, R. Hugh. *Didascalia Apostolorum. The Syriac Version Trans-
    lated and Accompanied by the Verona Latin Fragments.* Oxford:
    Clarendon Press, 1929.

Eusebius. *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Heraus. von. Eduard Schwartz.
    GCS ed. *Eusebius Werke,* 2. Band: *Die Kirchengeschichte,*
    Erster Teil, die Bücher I bis V. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs,
    1903.

The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Codex II. Published
    under the Auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the
    Arab Republic of Egypt. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

Frankenberg, Wilhelm. *Die syrischen Clementinen mit griechischem
    Paralleltext. Eine Vorarbeit zu dem literargeschichtlichen
    Problem der Sammlung.* TU 48,3. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1937.

Genzmer, Felix. *Heliand und die Bruchstücke der Genesis aus dem
    Alsächsischen und Angelsächsischen übertragen.* Stuttgart:
    Philipp Reclam, 1956.

Gibson, Margaret Dunlop. *Horae Semiticae*, I: *The Didascalia Aposto-
lorum in Syriac*, II: *The Didascalia Apostolorum in English*.
London: C. S. Clay and Sons, 1903.

Goates, Margery. *The Pepysian Gospel Harmony*. Early English Text
Society 157. London: Oxford University Press, 1922.

Guillaumont, A., Puech, H.-Ch., Quispel, G., Till, W., and Masih,
Yassah 'abd al. *The Gospel According to Thomas: Coptic Text
Established and Translated*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.

/Horner, George, ed.7 *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the
Northern Dialect, otherwise called Memphitic and Bohairic*.
4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898-1905.

_____. *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern
Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic*. 7 vols. Ox-
ford: Clarendon Press, 1911-24.

Jülicher, Adolf. *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Über-
lieferung*. Durchgesehen und zum Druck besorgt von Walter
Matzkow und Kurt Aland. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. I. *Matthäus-
evangelium*. 2. verbesserte Aufl., 1972; II. *Marcusevangelium*.
2. verbesserte Aufl., 1970; III. *Lucasevangelium*. 2. ver-
besserte Aufl., 1976; IV. *Johannesevangelium*. 1963.

Kasser, Rodolphe. *Papyrus Bodmer XIX: Évangile de Matthieu XIV,28 -
XXVIII,20; Épître aux Romains I,1 - II,3 en sahidique*.
Cologny-Genève: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1962.

Klostermann, Erich, and Berthold, Heinz. *Neue Homilien des Makarius/
Symeon, I: Aus Typus III*. TU 72. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag,
1961.

Kmosko, Michael. *Liber Graduum*. Patrologia Syriaca, I:3. Paris:
Firmin-Didot et Socii, 1926.

Lafontaine, Guy. *La Version arménienne des oeuvres d'Aphraate le
syrien*. CSCO 382, 383, 423, 424, Scriptores Armeniaci 7, 8,
11, 12. Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1977, 1980.

Leipoldt, Johannes and Crum, W. E. *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et
opera omnia III, IV*. CSCO 42, 73, Scriptores Coptici 2, 5.
Paris, 1908, 1913; reprint eds., Louvain: L. Durbecq and
Secrétariat du CSCO, 1960, 1954.

Leloir, Louis. *Éphrem de Nisibe, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant
ou Diatessaron, traduit du syriaque et de l'arménien*. Sources
chrétiennes 121. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1966.

_____. *Saint Ephrem, Commentaire de l'Evangile concordant, texte
syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709)*. Chester Beatty Mono.
8. Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co., Ltd., 1963.

_____. *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, version
arménienne*. CSCO 137, 145, Scriptores Armeniaci 1, 2. Louvain:
L. Durbecq, 1953, 1964.

Lewis, Agnes Smith. *The Old Syrac Gospels or Evangelion da-Mepharreshe; Being the Text of the Sinai or Syro-Antiochene Palimpsest, including the Latest Additions and Emendations, with the Variants of the Curetonian Text, Corroborations from Many Other MSS., and a List of Quotations from Ancient Authors.* London: Williams and Norgate, 1910.

Marmardji, A.-S. *Diatessaron de Tatien. Texte arabe établi, traduit en français, collationné avec les anciennes versions syriaques, suivi d'un évangeliaire diatessarique syriaque et accompagné de quatre planches hors texte.* Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1935.

Messina, Giuseppe. *Diatessaron Persiano: I. Introduzione, II. Testo e traduzione.* Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1951.

Morgan, John Pierpont. *Bibliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi.* Tomus 4. Rome, 1922.

Otto, J. C. T., ed. *S. Justin, philosophi et martyris. Opera quae feruntur omnia.* 3 vols. in 2. Ienae: Frider. Mauke, 1847.

Parisot, Ioannes. *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae: Demonstrationes.* Patrologia Syriaca, I:1,2. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Socii, 1894, 1907.

Plooij, D. *The Liège Diatessaron.* Edited with a textual apparatus by D. Plooij, with the assistance of C. A. Phillips. English translation of the Dutch text by A. J. Barnouw. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1929-70.

Pusey, P. E. and Gwilliam, G. H. *Tetraeuangelium Sanctum. Juxta Simplicem Syrorum Versionem ad Fidem Codicum, Massorae, Editionum Denuo Recognitum.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1901.

Quecke, Hans. *Das Lucasevangelium saïdisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 181 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569.* Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1977.

_____. *Das Markusevangelium saïdisch. Text der Handschrift PPalau Rib. Inv.-Nr. 182 mit den Varianten der Handschrift M 569.* Barcelona: Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1972.

Ranke, E. *Codex Fuldensis. Novum Testamentum Latine interprete Hieronymo ex manuscripto Victoris Capuani.* Marburg and Leipzig: Elwerti Bibliopolae Academici, 1868.

Rehm, Bernhard and Irmscher, Johannes. *Die Pseudoklementinen, I. Homilien.* GCS 42. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1953.

Rehm, Bernhard and Paschke, Franz. *Die Pseudoklementinen, II. Recognitionen, in Rufinus Übersetzung.* GCS 51. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1965.

Schmidt, Carl, ed. *Pistis Sophia.* Translated with notes by Violet Macdermot. NHS 9. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

Scott, Mariana. *The Heliand, Translated from the Old Saxon.* Univ. of N. Carolina Studies in the Germ. Lang. and Lit. 52. Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1966.

Sievers, Eduard. *Tatian. Lateinisch und altdeutsch mit ausführlichem Glossar.* 2nd ed. Bibliothek der ältesten deutschen Literatur-Denkmäler 5. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1892; reprint ed., 1966.

Tertullian. *Adversus Marcionem.* Edited and translated by Ernest Evans. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

Todesco, Venanzio; Vaccari, P. Alberto; and Vattasso, Marco. *Il Diatessaron in volgare italiano.* Studi e Testi 81. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1938.

Walton, Brian. *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta.* 6 vols. London: Thomas Roycroft, 1657.

Wessely, Carl. *Griechische und koptische Texte, Theologischen Inhalts, II, III, IV.* Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde 11, 12, 15. Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius, 1911, 1912, 1914.

Wordsworth, J. and White, Henry Julian. *Novum Testamentum domini nostri Iesu Christi latine, secundum editionem sancti Hieronymi ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuit.* 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889-1954.

B.   Books

Akagi, Tai. "The Literary Development of the Coptic Gospel of Thomas." Ph.D. diss., Western Reserve University, 1965.

Arthur, Richard Laurence. "The Gospel of Thomas and the Coptic New Testament." Th.D. diss., Graduate Theological Union, 1976.

Barnard, P. Mordaunt. *The Biblical Text of Clement of Alexandria in the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.* With an introduction by F. C. Burkitt. Texts and Studies 5,5. Cambridge: University Press, 1899.

Bauer, Walter. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* Revised and translated by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

_____. *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity.* 2nd ed., with added appendices by Georg Strecker. Translated by a team from the Philadelphia Seminar on Christian Origins, ed. by R. A. Kraft and G. Krodel. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.

Bellinzoni, A. J. *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr.* NovTest Supp. 17. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

Bewer, Julius A. *The History of the New Testament Canon in the Syrian Church.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1900.

Black, Matthew. *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.

Blackman, E. C. *Marcion and His Influence*. London: S.P.C.K., 1948.

Brockelmann, Carolo. *Lexicon Syriacum*. 2nd ed. Göttingen, 1928.

Burkitt, F. C. *The Old Latin and the Itala, with an Appendix Containing the Text of the S. Gallen Palimpsest of Jeremiah*. Texts and Studies 4,3. Cambridge: University Press, 1896.

_____. *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*. Texts and Studies 7,2. Cambridge: University Press, 1901.

Chase, Frederic Henry. *The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezae*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1893.

_____. *The Syro-Latin Text of the Gospels*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1895.

Credner, Karl August. *Beiträge zur Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften*. 2 vols. Halle: Waisenhaus, 1832-38.

Crum, W. E. *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.

Dodd, C. H. *The Parables of the Kingdom*. Rev. ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961.

Dörries, Hermann. *Symeon von Mesopotamien: Die Überlieferung der messalianischen „Makarios"-Schriften*. TU 55,1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1941.

Doresse, Jean. *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*. Translated by Philip Mairet. London: Hollis & Carter, 1960.

Drijvers, H. J. W. *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa*. Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain 82. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980.

Gärtner, Bertil. *The Theology of the Gospel of Thomas*. Translated by Eric J. Sharpe. London: Collins, 1961.

Grant, Robert M. and Freedman, David Noel. *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*. London: Collins, 1960.

Grenfell, Bernard P. and Hunt, Arthur S., eds. *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus*. London: Henry Frowde for the Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904.

Haenchen, Ernst. *Die Botschaft des Thomas-Evangeliums*. Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 6. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1961.

Harnack, Adolf von. *Marcion: Das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*. 2nd ed. TU 45. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924.

Harris, J. Rendel. *Codex Bezae. A Study of the So-Called Western Text of the New Testament*. Texts and Studies, 2,1. Cambridge: University Press, 1891.

_____. *The Diatessaron of Tatian. A Preliminary Study*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1890.

Hennecke, Edgar. *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung*, I. Band: *Evangelien*, II. Band: *Apostolisches, Apokalypsen und Verwandtes*. 3. Auflage heraus. von Wilhelm Schneemelcher. Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1959, 1964. English translation edited by R. McL. Wilson. London: Lutterworth Press, 1963, 1965.

Hilgenfeld, Adolf. *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Evangelien Justin's, der clementinischen Homilien und Marcion's*. Halle: C. A. Schwetschke and Son, 1850.

Hill, J. Hamlyn. *The Earliest Life of Christ Ever Compiled from the Four Gospels, being the Diatessaron of Tatian*. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894.

Hjelt, Arthur. *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron besonders in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältnis*. Zahn, *Forschungen*, VII. Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1903.

Hort, Fenton John Anthony. *Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clementine Recognitions*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1901.

Husselman, E. M. *The Gospel of John in Fayumic Coptic*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962.

Jaeger, Werner. *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954.

Jeremias, Joachim. *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*. Translated by Reginald H. Fuller. London: S.P.C.K., 1st ed., 1957; 2nd ed., 1964.

Kahle, Paul E. *The Cairo Geniza*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959.

Kahle, Paul E., Jr., ed. *Bala'izah: Coptic Texts from Deir El-Bala'izah in Upper Egypt*. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Kasser, Rodolphe. *L'Évangile selon Thomas*. Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1961.

Kenyon, Frederic G. *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. 2nd ed. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1912.

_____. *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts*. 4th ed. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939.

Klein, Otto. *Syrisch-griechisches Wörterbuch zu den vier kanonischen Evangelien, nebst einleitenden Untersuchungen*. BZAW 28.

Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1916.

Klijn, A. F. J. *The Acts of Thomas*. NovTest Suppl. 5. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1962.

_____. *Edessa, die Stadt des Apostels Thomas: Das älteste Christentum in Syrien*. Trans. M. Hornschuh. Neukirchener Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965.

_____. *A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts, Part Two: 1949-1969*. NovTest Supp. 21. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969.

Kline, Leslie Lee. *The Sayings of Jesus in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 14. Missoula, Montana: Scholars' Press, 1975.

Knox, John. *Marcion and the New Testament*. 1942.

Köster, Helmut. *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern*. TU 65. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957.

Kraeling, Carl H. *A Greek Fragment of Tatian's Diatessaron from Dura*. Studies and Documents 3. London: Christophers, 1935.

Lagarde, Paul de. *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*. /Leipzig/, 1866; reprint ed., Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1966.

Lagrange, M.-J. *Introduction à l'étude du Nouveau Testament; Deuxième partie: Critique textuelle; II, La Critique rationnelle*. Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 1935.

Leipoldt, Johannes. *Das Evangelium nach Thomas: Koptisch und Deutsch*. TU 101. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1967.

_____. *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums*. TU 25,1. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1903.

Leloir, Louis. *Le témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron*. CSCO 227, Subsidia 19. Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1962.

Lewis, Charlton T. and Short, Charles. *A Latin Dictionary, Founded on the Andrew's Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879.

Lilla, Salvatore R. C. *Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Platonism and Gnosticism*. Oxford: University Press, 1971.

Ménard, Jacques-É. *L'Évangile selon Thomas*. NHS 5 Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

Metzger, Bruce M. *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963.

_____. *The Early Versions of the New Testament: Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

_____. *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

Munck, Johannes. *Untersuchungen über Klemens von Alexandria.* Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Geistesgeschichte 2. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1933.

Osborn, Eric Francis. *Justin Martyr.* Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 47. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1973.

_____. *The Philosophy of Clement of Alexandria.* Texts and Studies, n.s. 3. Cambridge: University Press, 1957.

Oulton, John Ernest Leonard, and Chadwick, Henry. *Alexandrian Christianity. Selected Translations of Clement and Origen with Introductions and Notes.* LCC 2. London: SCM Press, 1954.

Oxford Society of Historical Theology, Committee of the. *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.

Payne Smith, R. *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary.* Edited by J. Payne Smith. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.

Peters, Curt. *Das Diatessaron Tatians.* Orientalia Christiana Analecta 123. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1939.

Plooij, D. *A Further Study of the Liège Diatessaron.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1925.

Quasten, Johannes. *Patrology.* 3 vols. Utrecht: Spectrum, 1950÷1960.

Quispel, Gilles. *Gnostic Studies, II.* Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, 1975.

_____. *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle.* NovTest Suppl. 15. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1967.

_____. *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas: Studies in the History of the Western Diatessaron.* Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

Sanday, W. *The Gospels in the Second Century. An Examination of the Critical Part of a Work Entitled 'Supernatural Religion.'* London: Macmillan and Co., 1876.

Schippers, R. *Het Evangelie van Thomas.* Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1960.

Schrage, Wolfgang. *Das Verhältnis des Thomas-Evangeliums zur synoptischen Tradition und zur den koptischen Evangelienübersetzungen: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur gnostischen Synoptikerdeutung.* BZNW 29. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964.

Segal, J. B. *Edessa, 'The Blessed City'.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970.

Semisch, Karl. *Die apostolischen Denkwürdigkeiten des Märtyrers Justinus. Zur Geschichte und Aechtheit der kanonischen Evangelien.* Hamburg und Gotha: F. and A. Perthes, 1848.

Soden, Hermann Freiherr von. *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt.* I. Teil, drei Abteilungen: Berlin: Arthur Glaue, 1902, 1907, 1910; II. Teil: Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913.

Strecker, Georg. *Das Judenchristentum in den Pseudoklementinen.* TU 70. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958.

Summers, Ray. *The Secret Sayings of the Living Jesus. Studies in the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas.* Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1968.

Till, Walter C. *Koptische Grammatik (saïdischer Dialekt).* Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955.

Tollinton, R. B. *Clement of Alexandria. A Study in Christian Libertinism.* 2 vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1914.

Torrey, Charles Cutler. *Documents of the Primitive Church.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941.

Turner, H. E. W. and Montefiore, Hugh. *Thomas and the Evangelists.* London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1962.

Uhlhorn, Gerhard. *Die Homilien und Recognitionen des Clemens Romanus nach ihrem Ursprung und Inhalt dargestellt.* Göttingen: Dieterich, 1854.

Ullendorff, Edward. *Ethiopia and the Bible.* The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1967. London: Oxford University Press, 1968.

Unnik, W. C. van. *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings.* London: SCM Press, 1960.

Vielhauer, Philipp. *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur: Einleitung in das Neue Testament, die Apokryphen und die Apostolischen Väter.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975.

Völker, Walther. *Der wahre Gnostiker nach Clemens Alexandrinus.* TU 57. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952.

Vööbus, Arthur. *Early Versions of the New Testament.* Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 6. Stockholm, 1954.

_____. *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac.* CSCO 128, Subsidia 3. Louvain: L Durbecq, 1951.

Waitz, Hans. *Die Pseudoklementinen Homilien und Recognitionen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung.* TU 25,4. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1904.

Westcott, Brooke Foss and Hort, Fenton John Anthony. *The New Testament in the Original Greek.* 2 vols. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1881.

White, Hugh G. Evelyn. *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus.* Cambridge: University Press, 1920.

Wilmet, Michel. *Concordance du Nouveau Testament sahidique, II. Les Mots autochtones*. CSCO 173, 183, 185, Subsidia 11, 13, 15. Louvain: Secrétariat du CSCO, 1957, 1958, 1959.

Wilson, Marvin R. *Coptic Future Tenses: Syntactical Studies in Sahidic*. Paris: Mouton, 1970.

Wilson, R. McL. *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas*. A. R. Mowbray & Co., Limited, 1960.

Worrell, William H. *Coptic Sounds*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1934.

Wright, Leon E. *Alterations of the Words of Jesus as Quoted in the Literature of the Second Century*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952.

Wright, William. *A Short History of Syriac Literature*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1894.

Zahn, Theodor. *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchenlichen Literatur*, I. Theil: *Tatian's Diatessaron*. Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1881.

_____. *Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*. 2 vols. Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1888-1892.

C. Articles

Attridge, Harold W. "The Original Text of Gos. Thom., Saying 30." *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 16 (1979): 153-57.

Baarda, T. "The Gospel Text in the Biography of Rabbula." *VigChr* 14 (1960):102-27.

_____. "Luke 12,13-14: Text and Transmission from Marcion to Augustine." In *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith*, Part One: *New Testament*, pp. 107-62. Edited by Jacob Neusner. Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity 12. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

_____. "Thomas en Tatianus." In *Het Evangelie van Thomas*, pp. 135-55. By R. Schippers. Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1960.

Baker, Aelred. "Early Syriac Asceticism." *Downside Review* 88 (1970): 393-409.

_____. "The Gospel of Thomas and the Diatessaron." *JThS* 16 (1965): 449-54.

_____. "The 'Gospel of Thomas' and the Syriac 'Liber Graduum.'" *NTS* 12 (1965):49-55.

_____. "Pseudo-Macarius and the Gospel of Thomas." *VigChr* 18 (1964): 215-25.

Barnard, L. W. "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa during the First Two Centuries A.D." *VigChr* 22 (1968):161-75.

Bartsch, Hans-Werner. "Das Thomas-Evangelium und die Synoptischen Evangelien." *NTS* 6 (1960):249-61.

Bauer, J. B. "The Synoptic Tradition in the Gospel of Thomas." In *StEv* (1964):314-17.

_____. "Variantes de traduction sur l'Hébreu?" *Muséon* 74 (1961): 435-39.

Baumstark, Anton. "Die Evangelienzitate Novatians und das Diatessaron." *OC* 3rd ser., 5 (1930):1-14.

_____. "Das griechische 'Diatessaron' Fragment von Dura-Europos." *OC* 32 (1935):244-52.

_____. "Review of *Diatessaron de Tatien. Texte arabe*," by A. M. Marmardji. *OC* 3rd ser., 11 (1936):235-52.

_____. "Die syrische Uebersetzung des Titus von Bostra und das 'Diatessaron.'" *Biblica* 16 (1935):257-99.

_____. "Zur Geschichte des Tatiantextes vor Aphrem." *OC* 3rd ser., 8 (1933):1-12.

Bertrand, Daniel A. "L'*Évangile des Ebionites*: Une harmonie évangelique anterieure au Diatessaron." *NTS* 26 (1980):548-63.

Birdsall, J. Neville. "The Sources of the Pepysian Harmony and Its Links with the Diatessaron." *NTS* 22 (1976):215-23.

Black, Matthew. "The Syriac Versional Tradition." In *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, pp. 120-59. Edited by K. Aland. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972.

Brock, Sebastian P. "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek." In *Early Versions*, pp. 83-98. By B. Metzger. Oxford, 1977.

Burkitt, F. C. "Arabic Versions." In *DB(H)*, 1:136-38.

_____. "The Dura Fragment of Tatian." *JThS* 36 (1935):255-58.

_____. "Tatian's Diatessaron and the Dutch Harmonies." *JThS* 25 (1924):113-30.

_____. "Texts and Versions." In *EB(C)*, 4:4977-5031.

Cerfaux, Lucien. "Remarques sur le texte des évangiles à Alexandrie au IIe siècle." *EThL* 15 (1938):674-82.

Cullmann, Oscar. "Das Thomasevangelium und die Frage nach dem Alter der in ihm enthaltenen Tradition." *ThLZ* 85 (1960):321-34.

Dehandschutter, B. "L'Évangile selon Thomas: témoin d'une tradition prélucanienne?" In *L'Évangile de Luc. Problèmes litteraires et theologiques. Mémorial Lucien Cerfaux*, pp. 287-97. Edited by F. Neirynck. Gembloux: J. Duculot, S.A., 1973.

_____. "Le lieu d'origine de l'Évangile selon Thomas." *OLoP* 6 (1975):125-31.

_____. "Les paraboles de l'Évangile selon Thomas. Le parabole du trésor caché (log. 109)." *EThL* 47 (1971):199-219.

Delaporte, L. "Matthieu VII,4-27, d'après un papyrus de la Bibliothèque nationale." *RB* Nouv. ser. 13 (1916):560-64.

Drijvers, H. J. W. "Edessa und das jüdische Christentum." *VigChr* 24 (1970):4-33.

Edwards, O. C., Jr. "Diatessaron or Diatessara?" *BibR* 18 (1973):44-56.

Ehlers, Barbara. "Kann das Thomasevangelium aus Edessa stammen?" *NovTest* 12 (1970):284-317.

Englezakis, Benedict. "Thomas, Logion 30." *NTS* 25 (1979):262-72.

Fischer, Bonifatius. "Das Neue Testament in lateinischer Sprache. Der gegenwärtige Stand seiner Erforschung und seine Bedeutung für die griechische Textgeschichte." In *Das alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, pp. 1-92. Ed. K. Aland. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972.

Fitzmyer, Joseph A. "The Oxyrhynchus *Logoi* of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas. *TS* 20 (1959):505-60; reprinted in his *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, pp. 355-433. London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1971.

Frend, W. H. C. "The Gospel of Thomas: Is Rehabilitation Possible?" *JThS* 18 (1967):13-26.

Garitte, Gérard. "Les 'logoi' d'Oxyrhynque et l'apocryphe copte dit 'Evangile de Thomas.'" *Muséon* 73 (1960):151-72.

_____. "Les 'logoi' d'Oxyrhynque sont traduits de copte." *Muséon* 73 (1960):335-49.

_____. "Le premier volume de l'édition photographique des manuscrits gnostiques coptes et l''Évangile de Thomas.'" *Muséon* 70 (1957):59-73.

Garitte, Gérard and Cerfaux, Lucien. "Les paraboles du royaume dans l''Évangile de Thomas.'" *Muséon* 70 (1957):307-27.

Grant, Robert M. "Notes on the Gospel of Thomas." *VigChr* 13 (1959): 170-80.

_____. "Two Gnostic Gospels." *JBL* 79 (1960):1-11.

Gressmann, Hugo. "Studien zum syrischen Tetraevangelium." *ZNW* 6 (1905):135-52.

Grobel, Kendrick. "How Gnostic is the Gospel of Thomas?" *NTS* 8 (1962):367-73.

Guidi, Ignazio. "Le traduzioni dal copto." *NGWG* (6. Februar. 1889): 49-56.

_____. "La traduzioni degli Evangelii in arabo e in etiopico." *Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, 4th ser., vol. iv, part 1^a. Rome, 1888.

Guillaumont, Antoine. "Les logia d'Oxyrhynchos sont-ils traduits du copte?" *Muséon* 73 (1960):326-33.

_____. "Sémitismes dans les logia de Jésus retrouvés à Nag-Hamâdi." *JA* 246 (1958):113-23.

Haase, Felix. "Zur ältesten syrischen Evangelienübersetzung." *ThQ* 101 (1920):262-72.

Hackspill, L. "Die äthiopische Evangelienübersetzung (Math. I - X)." *ZA* 11 (1896):117-96, 367-88.

Haenchen, Ernst. "Literatur zum Thomasevangelium." *ThR* 27 (1961): 147-78, 306-38.

_____. "Spruch 68 des Thomasevangeliums." *Muséon* 75 (1962):19-29.

Higgins, A. J. B. "The Arabic Version of Tatian's Diatessaron." *JThS* 45 (1944):187-99.

_____. "The Latin Text of Luke in Marcion and Tertullian." *VigChr* 5 (1951):1-42.

_____. "Non-Gnostic Sayings in the Gospel of Thomas." *NovTest* 4 (1960):292-306.

_____. "The Persian and Arabic Gospel Harmonies." In *Studia Evangelica*, 1:793-810. Edited by Kurt Aland, et al. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1959.

Hofmann, Josef. "Das Neue Testament in äthiopischer Sprache. Probleme der Übersetzung und Stand der Forschung." In *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, pp. 345-73. Ed. K. Aland. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972.

Horman, John. "The Source of the Version of the Parable of the Sower in the Gospel of Thomas." *NovTest* 21 (1979):326-43.

Hunzinger, Claus-Hunno. "Aussersynoptisches Traditionsgut im Thomas-Evangelium." *ThLZ* 85 (1960):843-46.

_____. "Unbekannte Gleichnisse Jesu aus dem Thomas-Evangelium." In *Judentum, Urchristentum, Kirche*, pp. 209-20. Heraus. von

Walter Eltester. BZNW 26 (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1960.

Hyvernat, H. "Étude sur les versions coptes de la Bible." *RB* 6 (1897):48-74.

Janssens, Yvonne. "L'Évangile selon Thomas et son charactère gnostique." *Muséon* 75 (1962):301-25.

Kaestli, Jean-Daniel. "L'Évangile de Thomas. Son importance pour l'étude des paroles du Jésus et du gnosticisme chrétien." *EThR* 54 (1979):375-96.

Kasser, Rodolphe. "Les dialectes coptes et les versions coptes bibliques." *Biblica* 46 (1965):287-310.

_____. "Les manuscrits de Nag'Hammâdi: Faits, documents, problèmes." *RThPh* 9 (1959):357-70.

_____. "Prolégomènes à un essai de classification systematique des dialectes et subdialectes coptes selon les critères de la phonetique." *Muséon* 93 (1980):53-112.

_____. "Réflexions sur quelques méthodes d'étude des versions coptes néotestamentaires." *Biblica* 55 (1974):233-56.

Kennedy, H. A. A. "Latin Versions, The Old." In *DB(H)*, 3:47-62.

Klijn, A. F. J. "Christianity in Edessa and the Gospel of Thomas." *NovTest* 14 (1972):70-77.

_____. "John xiv 22 and the Name Judas Thomas." In *Studies in John Presented to J. N. Sevenster*, pp. 88-96. NovTest Suppl. 24 Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970.

_____. "A Survey of the Researches into the Western Text of the Gospels and Acts (1949-1959), Part II." *NovTest* 3 (1959): 161-73.

_____. "Das Thomasevangelium und das altsyrische Christentum." *VigChr* 15 (1961):146-59.

Knox, John. "On the Vocabulary of Marcion's Gospel." *JBL* 58 (1939): 193-201.

Koester, Helmut. "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity." *HThR* 58 (1965):279-318; reprinted in *Trajectories through Early Christianity*, pp. 119-57. By James M. Robinson and H. Koester. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971.

_____. "Gnostic Writings as Witnesses for the Development of the Sayings Tradition." In *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism*, vol. 1: *The School of Valentinus*, pp. 238-61. Edited by Bentley Layton. SHR 41. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980.

Koester, Helmut and Lambdin, Thomas O. "The Gospel of Thomas (II,2)." In *NHLE*, pp. 117-30. Ed. J. M. Robinson. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977.

Krogmann, Willy. "Heliand, Tatian und Thomasevangelium." *ZNW* 51 (1960):255-68.

_____. "Heliand und Thomasevangelium." *VigChr* 18 (1964):65-73.

Kuhn, K. H. "Some Observations on the Coptic Gospel According to Thomas." *Muséon* 73 (1960):317-23.

Layton, Bentley. "The Hypostasis of the Archons, or the Reality of the Rulers." *HThR* 67 (1974):351-425.

Lefort, L. Th. "Fragments bibliques en dialecte akhmîmique." *Muséon* 66 (1953):1-30.

Leipoldt, Johannes. "Ein neues Evangelium? Das koptische Thomasevangelium übersetzt und besprochen." *ThLZ* 83 (1958):481-96.

_____. "The New Testament in Coptic." *CQR* 62 (1906):292-322.

_____. "The Sahidic New Testament." *CQR* 92 (1921):33-68.

Lincoln, Bruce. "Thomas-Gospel and Thomas-Community: A New Approach to a Familiar Text." *NovTest* 19 (1977):65-76.

Lindemann, Andreas. "Zur Gleichnisinterpretation im Thomas-Evangelium." *ZNW* 71 (1980):214-43.

McArthur, Harvey K. "The Dependence of the Gospel of Thomas on the Synoptics." *ExpT* 71 (1960):286-87.

_____. "The Gospel According to Thomas." In *New Testament Sidelights: Essays in Honor of Alexander Converse Purdy*, pp. 43-77. Edited by H. K. McArthur. Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation Press, 1960.

McCaughey, J. D. "Two Synoptic Parables in the Gospel of Thomas." *ABR* 8 (1960):24-28.

MacRae, George W. "The Gospel of Thomas--*Logia Iesou?*" *CBQ* 22 (1960): 56-71.

Marcovich, M. "Textual Criticism on the Gospel of Thomas." *JThS* 20 (1969):53-74.

Ménard, Jacques-É. "Le milieu syriaque de l'Évangile selon Thomas et de l'Évangile selon Philippe." *RSR* 42 (1968):261-66.

_____. "Les problèmes de l'Évangile selon Thomas." In *Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhlig*, pp. 59-73. Edited by Martin Krause. NHS 3. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972.

_____. "Les problèmes de l'Évangile selon Thomas." In *StPatr*, 14:209-28. Ed. E. A. Livingstone. Berlin, 1976.

Metzger, Bruce M. "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament." *NTS* 18 (1972):379-400.

Mink, Gerd. "Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments: Die
    sprachlichen Probleme bei ihrer Bewertung für die griech-
    ische Textgeschichte." In *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen
    Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, pp. 160-
    299. Ed. K. Aland. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972.

Montefiore, Hugh. "A Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel Accord-
    ing to Thomas and of the Synoptic Gospels." *NTS* 7 (1961):
    220-48.

Munck, Johannes. "Bemerkungen zum koptischen Thomasevangelium."
    StTh 14 (1960):130-47.

Nagel, Peter. "Erwägungen zum Thomas-Evangelium." In *Die Araber in
    der alten Welt*, 5. Band, 2. Teil, pp. 368-92. Heraus. von
    Franz Altheim und Ruth Stiehl. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter,
    1969.

_____. "Grammatische Untersuchungen zu Nag Hammadi Codex II." In
    Die Araber, 5:2:393-469.

Nestle, Christof Eberhard. "Egyptian Coptic Versions." In *NSHE*,
    2:132-33.

Pelser, H. S. "The Origin of the Ancient Syriac New Testament Texts--
    A Historical Study." In *De fructu oris sui: Essays in Honour
    of Adrianus van Selms*, pp. 152-63. Edited by I. H. Eybers, et
    al. Pretoria Oriental Series 9. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971.

_____. "The Origin of the Syrian Asceticism or Monasticism." In
    *Biblical Essays: Proceedings of the Ninth Meeting of 'Die
    Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika' Held at the
    University of Stellenbosch 26th-29th July 1966*, pp. 116-31.
    Stellenbosch, 1966.

Peters, Curt. "Die Bedeutung der altitalienischen Evangelienharmonien
    im venezianischen und toskanischen Dialekt." *RomF* 56 (1942):
    181-92.

_____. "Nachhall ausserkanonischer Evangelien-Überlieferung in
    Tatians Diatessaron." *AcOr* 16 (1938):258-94.

Piper, Otto A. "The Gospel of Thomas." *PSB* 53 (October 1959):18-24.

Plumley, J. Martin. "Limitations of Coptic (Sahidic) in Representing
    Greek." In *Early Versions*, pp. 141-52. By Metzger. Oxford,
    1977.

Pott, August. "Marcions Evangelientext." *ZKG* 42 (1923):202-23.

Puech, Henri-Charles. "Une collection de paroles de Jésus récemment
    retrouvée: L'Évangile selon Thomas." *CRAI* (1957):146-67.

_____. "Un logion de Jésus sur bandelette funéraire." *RHR* 147
    (1955):126-29; = *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* n.s.
    3 (1954):6-9.

Quecke, Hans. "L'Évangile de Thomas. État des recherches." In *La Venue de Messie: Messianisme et eschatologie*, pp. 217-41. Edited by E. Massaux et al. Bruges: Desclée du Brouwer, 1962.

Quispel, Gilles. "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Clémentines." *VigChr* 12 (1958):181-96.

_____. "L'Évangile selon Thomas et le Diatessaron." *VigChr* 13 (1959):87-117.

_____. "Gnosis and the New Sayings of Jesus." *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 38 (1969):261-96.

_____. "'The Gospel of Thomas' and the 'Gospel of the Hebrews.'" *NTS* 12 (1966):371-82.

_____. "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament." *VigChr* 11 (1957):189-207.

_____. "Der Heliand und das Thomasevangelium." *VigChr* 16 (1962): 121-51.

_____. "The Latin Tatian or the Gospel of Thomas in Limburg." *JBL* 88 (1969):321-30.

_____. "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas." *NTS* 5 (1959):276-90.

_____. "The Syrian Thomas and the Syrian Macarius." *VigChr* 18 (1964):226-35.

Rudolph, Kurt. "Gnosis und Gnostizismus, ein Forschungsbericht." *ThR* 34 (1969):181-231; 37 (1972):289-360.

/Sanday, William./ Review of *A Study of Codex Bezae*, by J. Rendel Harris. *The Guardian* (May 18, 1892):742-44; (May 25, 1892): 786-88.

Schoedel, Wm. R. "Parables in the Gospel of Thomas: Oral Tradition or Gnostic Exegesis?" *CThM* 43 (1972):548-60.

Schrage, Wolfgang. "Evangelienzitate in den Oxyrhynchus-Logien und im koptischen Thomas-Evangelium." In *Apophoreta: Festschrift für Ernst Haenchen*, pp. 251-68. Heraus. von W. Eltester und F. H. Kettler. BZNW 30. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1964.

Snodgrass, K. R. "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen: Is the Gospel of Thomas Version the Original?" *NTS* (1974/75):142-44.

Spanneut, M. "Clement of Alexandria." In *NCE*, 3: 943-44.

Stead, G. C. "Some Reflections on the Gospel of Thomas." In *StEv*, 3: 390-402.

Stenning, John F. "Diatessaron." In *DB(H)*, extra vol., pp. 451-61.

Strobel, August. "Textgeschichtliches zum Thomas-Logion 86 (Mt 8,20/ Luk 9,58)." *VigChr* 17 (1963):211-24.

Suggs, M. J. "The Use of Patristic Evidence in the Search for a Primitive New Testament Text." *NTS* 4 (1958):139-47.

Till, Walter. "Die Stellung des Achmîmischen." *Aeg* 8 (1927):249-57.

Tripp, David H. "The Aim of the 'Gospel of Thomas.'" *ExpT* 92 (1980): 41-44.

Weigandt, Peter. "Zur Geschichte der koptischen Bibelübersetzungen." *Biblica* 50 (1969):80-95.

Wilson, R. McL. "The Gospel of Thomas." In *StEv*, 3: 447-59.

_____. "'Thomas' and the Growth of the Gospels." *HThR* 53 (1960): 231-50.

_____. "Thomas and the Synoptic Gospels." *ExpT* 72 (1960):36-39.

INDEX OF LOGIA

An asterisk (*) by a page number indicates where either all or part
of the mentioned logion is translated from Coptic to English.

25   126, 127*, 133, 172*-74, 200, 207, 221, 224, 233-34, 257,
        258, 261, 320, 322, 328

26   47, 50, 78*-80, 118, 328

27   14, 15, 111, 118

28   111, 118

29   118

30   6, 7, 61, 118, 128*-29, 163, 174*-75, 328

31   47, 80*-81, 116, 118, 234, 261, 318, 321, 322, 328

32   56, 64, 66, 118, 151, 175*-76, 206, 234-36, 257, 258, 259,
        261, 287, 297, 313, 319, 320, 321, 322, 328

33   8, 47, 105, 118, 161*-63, 176*-78, 201, 206, 207, 224, 236-39,
        251, 257, 258, 261, 319, 320, 322, 328

34   2, 47, 81*-82, 116, 119, 239, 261, 318, 321, 322, 328

35   64, 83*, 127, 178, 328

36   2, 6, 84*, 116, 118, 119, 261, 318, 321, 322, 328

37   118

38   111, 118

39   47, 59, 60, 84*, 118, 163, 178*-80, 206, 239-41, 257, 259,
        261, 287, 297-99, 312, 313, 319, 320, 322, 328

40   55

41   47, 85*, 116, 261, 318, 321, 322, 328

43   2, 131, 277

44   15, 118, 158*-59, 180, 206, 257, 258, 261, 319, 322, 328

45   47, 50, 85*-86*, 98, 118, 170, 180-81, 206, 241*-42, 251,
        257, 258, 261, 319, 320, 322, 328

46   14, 55, 118, 329

47   2, 3, 64, 86*-88, 90, 118, 127, 181-82, 182*-83, 183*-84, 206,
        207, 257, 258, 261, 277, 294, 300-302, 312, 313, 319, 321,
        322, 329

48   118, 289, 303*-304, 313, 321, 322, 329

49   12, 14, 15, 111, 118, 175

50   118

51   118

52   118, 277

53   118, 131, 277

54   14, 15, 88*-90, 118, 242, 329

90   111, 118, 200*, 329

91   8, 105, 106*-108, 117, 118, 119, 162, 201, 253-55, 257, 258,
        261, 309, 313, 318, 320, 321, 322, 325, 329

92   3, 111, 112, 118

93   3, 108*-10, 118, 163, 255, 309-11, 313, 329

94   3, 47, 110*-12, 116, 118, 163, 201-202, 206, 255, 257, 258,
        261, 290, 311-12, 313, 314, 318, 319, 321, 322, 329

96   3, 14, 58, 157*-58, 189, 202, 227, 255-56, 258, 295, 329

97   2, 14, 111, 189, 295

98   14, 126, 189, 295

99   14, 56, 112*-13, 120, 329

100   105, 162, 201, 202*-203, 329

101   88, 112, 184-85, 242-43, 251, 329

102   2, 126

103   15

104   15, 251

106   175, 303-304, 322, 329

107   14, 55, 59, 77, 111, 113*-15, 117, 128, 189, 221, 224, 261,
        295, 318, 321, 322, 329

109   3, 14, 21, 101, 111, 189, 295, 329

111   111

113   14, 203*-205, 256, 329

114   14, 185