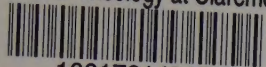


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THE BOOK OF
THOMAS
THE CONTENDER

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Introduction and Commentary

by

John Douglas Turner

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PREFACE

The Coptic text, English translation and word indices of this dissertation were revised in 1975 according to the photographic facsimiles of Codex II in *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, Published under the Auspices of The Department of Antiquities of the Arab Republic of Egypt in Conjunction with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization: Codex II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974). See also M. Krause and P. Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und Codex VII*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Koptische Reihe, Band 2 (Gluckstadt, Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1971 [appeared 1972]), pp. 88-106, for Coptic text and German translation by M. Krause, and review by H.-M. Schenke, "Sprachliche und exegetische Probleme in den beiden letzten Schriften des Codex II von Nag Hammadi," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* LXX 1, (1975), 6-14. The textual revision necessarily creates some minor discrepancies between the text and the remainder of the dissertation which is unaltered in accordance with the wishes of the editors of this series; for these the author begs the indulgence of the reader.

Addenda et Corrigenda:

Delete entry *MNT*ε₁δ from Index, p. 42, and add *MNT*ω₂ 141:29 "vitality" to Index, p. 54, s.v. ω₂.

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THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER
FROM CODEX II OF THE CAIRO Gnostic
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The Coptic Text with Translation
Introductions and Commentary

INTRODUCTION

The *Book of Thomas the Contender*, or as we shall refer to it, *Thomas the Contender*, is the seventh and last tractate of Codex II of the Coptic Gnostic Corpus discovered in 1945/6 at Nag Hammadi, Egypt. Because of its unavailability, this short 318 line document has not received much attention. H.-C. Puech and Jean Doresse have published surveys of the entire Nag Hammadi discovery which included a few pages relative to this document.¹ Outside of a few illustrative passages from the tractate published in the Works Cited, there exists no rendering of the treatise into a modern language.²

The purpose of this dissertation is to place before the scholarly world new material contributory to the study of the history of religions. The aim is to provide a translation, indices, grammatical analysis, and commentary on *Thomas the Contender*. This material is offered as a contribution to what will hopefully be an ongoing discussion of this document, and no claim to finality in interpretation is intended.

Restorations of the text have been offered wherever justifiable on the basis of the clues provided by fragments of words together with the context of the portion of text where these word-fragments appear. Since *Thomas the Contender* is likely to be of interest primarily to scholars the translation will be kept as literal as possible without being wooden.

The chapter on the grammatical analysis of the tractate is divided into sections, one dealing with the dialect, and the other with the syntax, of the Coptic text. The analysis is presented in virtually tabular form, with a view to providing ease of access to the main features of the Coptic text. It represents only one among many possible ways of presenting the grammatical profile of *Thomas the Contender* and is offered primarily as an aid to readers who are neither beginners nor experts in the language, but whose linguistic skills are average. No attempt is made either at finality or exhaustiveness; rather we offer a "bird's eye view." To this end various kinds of anomalies or obscurities are left to be treated in the commentary.

The commentary is divided into sections whose extent is basically governed by the form of the tractate. Where the tractate is dialogue, that is, the first three-fifths of the text which, for reasons which will be explained, we designate "section A," the division corresponds to the changes in speaker. Each response by Thomas or the Savior will be treated in a separate section, except in cases where individual speeches are best treated by subdividing them according to subject matter. Where the tractate is monologue, that is, the last two-fifths of the text which we designate "section B," the division corresponds to the form of the discourse; accordingly, a section apiece is devoted to the apocalyptic introduction (142:26-143:7), the chain of woes (143:8-145:1), the beatitudes (145:1-8) and the conclusion (145:8-end). In the commentary, reference is made to the text by the Coptic page number within Codex II, and the line number counting from the top of the page. References to other tractates in the Nag Hammadi Corpus are designated by library (CG, "Cairo Gnostic" library), codex number in Roman numerals, tractate number in underlined "Arabic" numerals, plus codex page and line number (e.g. *Thomas the Contender* would be CG II, 7,138,1-145,19).

Paleographical matters are not dealt with, since they have been treated *in extenso* by Søren Giversen and Martin Krause.³ Giversen dated Codex II around the middle of the fourth century, although it is possible that the date may extend before this time, even to the second half of the third century.⁴ The actual content of *Thomas the Contender*, however, and especially the content of section B, is probably older than the earliest of these dates, perhaps much older.

Section A, the dialogue, teaches that if one wants to be perfect, that is free from the cumbersome passions that weigh down the soul, one must be aware that he inhabits a lust-ridden bestial body whose ultimate fate is dissolution. The cardinal passion is described under the metaphor of the fire of lust; he who submits to the body's fire of lust will likewise be destroyed by the fire of Hell. Thomas, the twin of the Savior, receives this teaching just prior to the Savior's ascension, that is while the Savior is in his resurrected state, thus revealing his true nature as the light that is about to withdraw back to the heavenly essence of light. As the light, he serves

to illumine the secrets of darkness, to reveal the truth about existence in the body. By acting on his teaching, one becomes perfect.

On the other hand, section B, the homily, is shown to represent a very late stage in the "sayings of Jesus" tradition, which contains little more than speech-formulae traditionally attributed to Jesus, while the body of the saying consists of little else than contemporary ascetic teaching placed in Jesus' mouth.

In an attempt to provide a more creative vehicle for the ascetic teaching of section B than the limited scope of its character as a sayings-collection could provide, it is suggested that a redactor combined section B with section A to form the current *Book of Thomas the Contender*. Such creative potential was achieved by construing the entire tractate as a scribal record of the most authoritative last-minute revelations of the resurrected Savior to a revered apostle. It is speculated that sections A and B were composed in Greek in the first half of the third century, and translated into Coptic and then combined in the second half of the third century.

NOTES

¹Henry-Charles Puech, "Les nouveaux écrits gnostiques découverts en Haute-Égypte: premier inventaire et essai d'identification," *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum* (Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute, ed. W. Schneemelcher. No. 2; Boston: Byzantine Institute, 1950), pp. 105, 117-120; *id.* "The Book of Thomas the Athlete" in E. Hennecke, *New Testament Apocrypha*, (2 vols. 1; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), Vol. 2, pp. 307-313. Jean Doresse, "Nouveaux écrits coptes," *Vigiliae Christianae* III (1949), 34; *id.* *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, trans. Philip Mairé (New York: Viking, 1960), p. 225f. See also C.D.G. Müller "Buch von Thomas dem Athleten," *Kindlers Literatur Lexikon*, I (Zürich: Kindler Verlag, 1965), p. 1936f.

²I have given an account of the content and provenance of the tractate to the national meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature meeting in December 1968 at Berkeley, California. The tractate is due to be published by Martin Krause and Pahor Labib, *Gnostische und hermetische Schriften aus Codex II und VI* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo, Koptische Reihe 2, to appear in 1970 (appeared 1972).

³Søren Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis: the Coptic Text of the Apocryphon Johannis in the Nag Hammadi Codex II with Translation, Introduction and Commentary* (Acta Theologica Danica, vol. V; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), pp. 19-45; Martin Krause *Die drei Versionen des Apokryphon des Johannes im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo*, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, XIX, 1963), pp. 106-113. Cf. Doresse, *Secret Books*, pp. 138-145.

THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

CG II, 7, 138:1-145:23

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION

- The secret words which the Savior (σωτήρ) spoke to
- 2 Judas Thomas, the ones which I wrote down, even I, Mathaias.
- I was walking, listening to them speak with
- 4 one another. The Savior (σωτήρ) said: "Brother Thomas, while (ὥς) you (sg) have time in the world (κόσμος), listen to me
- 6 that I may reveal to you (sg) the things you have pondered in your (sg) mind. <Since (ἐπελδῆ)> it has been said that you (sg) are my
- 8 twin and my true companion, inquire that you (sg) may understand who you (sg) are, and in what way you (sg) exist, or (ἢ)
- 10 in what manner you (sg) will come to be. Since (ἐπελδῆ) you (sg) are
called my brother
- 12 { it is not fitting that you (sg) should be ignorant of yourself. And I know that you (sg) have understood, because (γάρ) you (sg) had already understood that I am the knowledge of the truth.
- 14 { Now while (ὥς) you (sg) walk with me, even though (καὶ) you (sg) are unknowing,
- you (sg) have come to know, and you (sg) will be called 'the one who
- 16 { knows himself.' For (γάρ) he who has not known himself has known nothing, but (δέ) he who has known himself
- 18 { has also already obtained knowledge about the depth (βάθος) of the All. So, therefore, you (sg) are my brother, Thomas. You (sg) have beheld what is hidden
- 20 from men; that is, that on which they stumble without knowing." And (δέ) Thomas said to the Lord:

138:19 or: "the one who is hidden"

Note: "(sg)" denotes the use of the second person masculine singular pronoun.

- 22 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΔΕΙ ΒΕ †COTC M̄MOK ΔΕΚΔΔC ΕΚΝΔΔΩ ΝΔΙ
 [N̄N]Ε†CΩINE M̄MOK' ΕΡΟΥ' ΖΔΘΗ ΝΤΕΚ' ΔΝΔΛΗΜΨΙC
 24 [ΔΥ]Ω ΖΟΤΑΝ' ΕΕΙCΩΔNCΩΤM̄ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤΟΟΤΚ' ΖΔΠΡΑ
 ΝΝΕΘΗΤ' ΤΟΤΕ ΟΥΝΒΟΜ M̄ΜΟΕΙ ΕCΩΔΕ ΕΤΒΗ'
 26 Τ[Ο]Υ ΔΥΩ CΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΜΗΕ CΜΟΚΖ Δ'
 Δ[Σ] ΝΝΔΖΡN̄ N̄POME ΔΥΟΝΩCΒ N̄ΒΙ ΠCΩΡ ΕCΩ M̄
 28 Μ[Ο]C ΔΕ ΕCΠΕ ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΗΤN̄ CΕΖΗΤ'
 N̄[N]ΔΖΡN̄ ΤΗΝΕ N̄ΔC N̄ΖΕ' ΕΥN̄ΒΑΜ M̄ΜΩΤN̄ ΔCΩΤM̄
 30 ΔΝΕΤΕ N̄CΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ' ΕCΠΕ N̄ΖΒΗΥΕ N̄ΤΜΗΕ
 ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖM̄ ΠΚΟCΜΟC CΕΜΟΚΖ ΔΤΡΕΤN̄Δ'
 32 ΔΥ ΕΕΙΕ ΠΩC ΒΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΔΕΙΡΕ N̄ΝΔΠΜΕΓΕΘΟC ΕΤ'
 ΔΟCΕ' ΔΥΩ ΝΔΠΠΛΗΡΩΜΔ ΕΤΕ N̄CΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
 34 ΔΝ' N̄NΔC ΒΕ N̄ΖΕ ΕΥΝΔΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΩΤN̄ ΔΕ ΕΡΓΑΤΗC
 ΕΤΒΕ ΠΔΙ N̄ΤΩΤN̄ ΖΕNCΒΟΥΕΙ ΔΥΩ M̄ΠΔΤΕΤΝΔΙ M̄
 36 ΠΜΕΓΕΘΟC N̄ΤM̄N̄ΤΤΕΛΕΙΟC ΔΥΟΝΩCΒ ΔΕ N̄ΒΙ
 ΘΩΜΔC ΠΕΔΔΥ M̄ΠCΩP ΔΕ ΔΟC ΝΔΝ' ΕΤΒΕ [N̄]ΔΕΙ
 38 ΕΤΚΔΩ M̄ΜΟΥ ΔΕ CΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ' Δ[ΛΛΔ CΕ]ΖΗΤ'
 ΕΡΟΝ' ΠΔΕ ΠCΩP ΔΕ CΩΜΔ [N̄]M̄' [N̄ΤΕ N̄POME M̄]N̄
 40 N̄ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ ΕΥΧΠΟ M̄ΜΟΥ Ο[ΥC N̄ ΛΟΓ]ΟC [ΕΕΙ]Ε
 CΕ[ΟΥ]ΟΝΖ Ε[Β]ΟΛ M̄ΠΙΡΗΤΕ N̄ΘΕ N̄[ΟΥCΩN]Τ' ΕCΩΠ
 42 [M̄ΜΟΥ N̄ΟΥΛΟΓ]Κ[ΟΝ] ΝΔΙ ΖΩCΥ ΝΕΤM̄ΠCΔΝ'ΤΠΕ
 [CΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ ΖN̄] ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΛΛΔ-Ε[Υ]

138:25 may read ΝΠΕΘΗΤ

138,43-139,1 Ε[Υ]/ΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ for ΕΥΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ

- 22 "Therefore I beg you (sg) to tell me
[the things] about which I ask you before your Ascension (ἀνδλημψυς).
- 24 And whenever (ὅταν) I hear from you (sg) about
the hidden things, then (τότε) I can speak about
- 26 them. And it is obvious to me that the truth is difficult to
perform before men." The Savior (σωτήρ) answered, saying:
- 28 "If the things that are visible to you are hidden
before you, how is it possible for you to hear
- 30 about the things that are not visible? If the deeds of the truth
which are visible in the world are difficult for you to perform,
- 32 how (πῶς) indeed, then, will you perform those (deeds) of the
exalted Majesty (μέγεθος) and those (deeds) of the Pleroma (πλήρωμα)
which are not visible?
- 34 And how will you be called 'Laborers' (ἐργάτης)?
Therefore you are disciples, and have not yet received
- 36 the Majesty (μέγεθος) of the Perfection (-τέλειος)." And (δέ) Thomas
answered
and said to the Savior (σωτήρ): "Tell us about these things
- 38 which you (sg) say are not visible, [but are] hidden
from us." The Savior (σωτήρ) said: "[All] bodies (σῶμα) [of men and]
- 40 beasts are begotten [irrational (-λόγος). Surely]
they appear just like [a creature] who reckons
- 42 [himself rational (λογικόν)]. Those, however, that are above
[do not appear in] visible things. Rather (ἀλλὰ) they

- ΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸ ΤΟΥΝΟΥΝΕ ΟΥΔΔΤΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥΚΑΡ
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 ΘΕ ΜΠΑἸΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ' ΕΨΧΕ ΟΥΕΒΟΛ ΝΖΗΤC ΖΩ
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 ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΠΔΙ ΒΕ ΝΤΩΤἸ ΖΕΝΚΟΥΕΙ ΨΔΝΤΕ
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 ΝΒΟΛΟΥ ΕΥΤἸΤΩΝ ΔΝΕΤΔΩΛΚ' ΝΝΕΥCΔΤΕ ΔΥ
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 18 ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ' ΖΟΤΔΝ ΔΕ ΕΨΔΝΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΥ'
 ΖΩΠ' ΜΠΚΔΚΕ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΖΩΒ ΜΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ ΝΔΟΥΩΝΖ
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 ΠΔΔΕΥ ΝΒΙ ΙC ΧΕ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΨΨΟΟΠ' ΖἸ ΠΟΥ[Ο]

appear from their own root, and it is their fruit (καρπός)

2 that nourishes them. But these bodies (σῶμα) that are visible
eat of creatures similar to them;

4 so, therefore, the bodies (σῶμα) change. But (δέ) that which changes will
be destroyed and perish, and has no hope (ἐλπίς) of life from now on,

6 for (γάρ) that body is bestial. So just as the body (σῶμα) of the beasts
perishes, so also will these bodies (πλάσμα)

8 perish. Does it (the body) not (μήτι) derive from intercourse (συνουσία)
like that (body) of the beasts? If it too derives from it (intercourse),

10 how will it (the body) beget anything different (διαφορά) from
them (beasts)? So, therefore, you are babes until

12 you become perfect (τέλειος)." And Thomas answered:

"Therefore I say to you, Lord, that those who speak

14 about things that are not visible and difficult

to explain are like those who shoot their arrows at a

16 target at night. To be sure (μέν), they shoot their arrows as

anyone would, since they shoot at the target; however, (ἀλλὰ) it is

not visible.

18 But (δέ) when (ὅταν) the light comes forth and

hides the darkness, then (τότε) the work of each will appear.

20 And (δέ) you (sg) are our light, because you enlighten, Lord!"

Jesus said: "It is in light that light exists."

- 22 ΕΙΝ' ΠΑΧΕΥ' ἸΒΙ ΘΩΜΑΣ' ΕΥΧΩ ἸΜΟΣ' ΧΕ ΠΑΦ[ΕΙΣ]
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- 32 ΔΥΟΝΩΖ ΕΤΟΟΤΥ' ἸΒΙ ΠΣΩΡ ΠΑΧΕΥ' ΧΕ Ω ΤΕΤΕ
ΜΔΥΨἸΡΑΤΕ ΤΑΡΑΠΗ ἸΠΟΝΟΕΙΝ' Ω ΠΣΙΨΕ Ἰ
- 34 ΠΚΩΖΤ' ΕΤΧΕΡΟ ΖΡΑΪ ΖἸ ἸΣΩΜΑ ἸἸΡΩΜΕ ΜἸ
ΝΕΥΔΤΚΑΣ' ΕΥΧΕΡΟ ΖΡΑΪ ἸΖΗΤΟΥ ἸΤΟΝΥΗ ΜἸ
- 36 Φ[ΟΟΝ] ΔΥΩ ΕΤΡΩΧ ΖἸ ἸΜΕΛΟΣ ἸἸΡΩΜΕ' ΔΥΩ
Ε[ΤΡΕΝ]ΕΥΖΗΤ †ΖΕ' ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥΨΥΧΗ Ε[Σ]ΤΡΟΝΠΩΨΕ
- 38 Δ[ΥΩ ΕΤΚΙΜ'] ΕΡ[Θ]ΟΝ ΖΡΑΪ ΖἸ ἸΖΟΥΤ' ΜἸ ἸΣΖΙΟΜΕ
ἸΠΕΖΟ[ΟΥ ΜἸ ΤΟ]ΥΨΗ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΚΙΜ' ΕΡΟΟΥ [ΖἸ] ΟΥ
- 40 [ΚΙ]Μ' ΕΥ[ΚΙΜ'] ΖἸ ΟΥΖΩΠ' ΜἸ ΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟ[Λ' ΣΕ]
[ΚΙ]Μ ΓΑΡ' ἸΒΙ ἸΖΟΟΥΤ' Σ[ΕΚΙΜ' ΕΖΡΑΪ ΔΧἸ ἸΣΖΙΟ]
- 42 ΜΕ' ΔΥΩ ἸΣΖΙΟΜΕ' ΔΧ[Ἰ ἸΖΟΟΥΤ' ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΪ ΣΕ]

22 Thomas spoke, saying: "Lord,
 why does this visible light that shines
 24 on behalf of men rise and set?" The Savior (σωτήρ)
 said: "O (ὦ) blessed (μακάριος) Thomas, this same visible light
 26 shone for your sakes, not in order that
 you might remain here, but rather (ἀλλὰ) that you might come
 28 forth; and (δέ) whenever (ὅταν) all the elect abandon
 bestiality, then (τότε) this light will withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν)
 30 up to its essence (οὐσία), and its essence (οὐσία) will welcome it,
 since it is a good servant (ὑπηρέτης)." Then (τότε)
 32 the Savior (σωτήρ) continued and said: "Oh (ὦ)
 unsearchable love (ἀγάπη) of the light! Oh (ὦ) bitterness of
 34 the fire that burns in the bodies (σῶμα) of men, and (in)
 their marrow, burning in them night and
 36 day, burning in the limbs (μέλος) of men and
 making their minds drunk and their souls (ψυχή) deranged
 38 [and moving them] within males and females
 [by day and] night and moving them [with] a
 40 [movement that moves] secretly and visibly.
 For (γάρ) the males [move. They move upon the females]
 42 and the females [move] upon [the males. Therefore it is]

- 1 ἄω ἄμοσ δε οὐον νιμ' ἐτψινε ἄσα τμηε εβολ
 2 ζῆ τσabh ἄμμε ὑνάσμινε νὰϛ' ἄζεντῶζ δρεϛ'
 3 ζωλ' εϛπητ' ζητῆ ἄτεπιθυμια ετρωκ ἄππῶδ
 4 ἄπρωμε' ἀνω ὑνάσμινε νὰϛ' ἄζεντῶζ εϛπτωτ
 5 ζητῆ' ἄππῶδ νιμ' ἐτοϑονζ εβολ' ἀϑωνῶδ ἄβι
 6 ῥωμας' εϛἄω ἄμοσ δε πῥοεις' παῖ ρω πετψι
 7 νε ἄμοκ' ἐτβητῆ' ζωσ ἐπιδη δειῖμε δε ἄτοκ'
 8 πετῤουρε νὰν' κατὰ θε ἐτκἄω ἄμοσ παλιν ἀϛ'
 9 οϛωῶδ ἄβι πῥωρ πεχαϛ δε ἐτβε παῖ οὐανὰγκη
 10 ἐρον τε' ἀϑοος νητῶ δε τῶει γαρ τε τεςβω ἄντε
 11 λειος εϛπτε τეტῶουωϛε βε' ἀρτελειος' τետῶ
 12 ἀρεζ ἐνδει' εϛωπτε ἄμον' πετῶραν πε δτςβω'
 13 ἐπιδη ἄπῶδ' ἄτεοϛρμῶζητ' οϛωζ ἄν οϛ'
 14 σοβ πρμῶζητ' γαρ' ὑἄηκ' εβολ ἄσοφια νιμ'
 15 πσοβ ἄτοϛ' ππेतῶανουϛ ππεῥοοϛ πιϛωϛ
 16 ἄοϛωτ' νὰϛ' πε δε πσοφος γαρ' ὑνάσαδνῶ ζῆ
 17 τμηε ἀνω ὑνάϛωπτε ἄθε ἄπῶην ἐτρητ' ζι
 18 ἄῆ πμοϛ ἄσωρμ' ἐπιδη οϛνζοεινε εϛῆτῶζ
 19 ἄμοοϛ εϛπτωτ' ζιἄῆ νετοϑονζ εβολ νῶει ε
 20 τοϛηϛ εβολ ζῆ τμηε' πεστῶχι μοειτ' γαρ ζητοϛ'
 21 ἐ[τ]ε πκωζτ πε' ὑνά† νὰν ἄονφαντασια ἄμμε

 140:13 or: οϛωζη ἄ-

140:20 πε†χι for πετχι

said: 'Everyone who seeks the truth from

2 the truly wise One will make himself wings so as to

fly, fleeing the lust (ἐπιθυμία) that scorches the spirits (πνεῦμα)

4 of men.' And he will make himself wings to flee

every visible spirit (πνεῦμα)." And Thomas answered

6 saying: "Lord this indeed is what I am asking

you (sg) about, since (ὥς ἐπευδόη) I have understood that you (sg)

8 are the one who is good for us, as (κατὰ-) you (sg) say." Again (πάλιν)

the Savior (σωτήρ) answered and said: "Therefore it is necessary (ἀνάγκη)

10 for us to speak to you, for (γάρ) this is the doctrine for the perfect

(τέλειος).

If, now, you desire to become perfect (τέλειος) you shall

12 observe these things; if not, your name is 'Ignorant,'

since (ἐπευδόη) it is impossible that a wise man dwell with a

14 fool, for (γάρ) the wise man (σοφός) is perfect in all wisdom (σοφία).

To the fool, however, the good and the bad are the

16 same. For (γάρ) the wise man (σοφός) will be nourished by

the truth and will become like a tree growing by

18 the meandering stream. When (ἐπευδόη) others have wings,

it is upon the visible things that they rush, things that

20 are far from the truth. For (γάρ) that which guides them,

the fire, will give them an illusion (φαντασία) of truth,

- 22 [ΔΥ]Ω ΥΝΑΡΘΟΥΘΕΙΝ ΕΡΘΟΥ ΖἼ ΟΥΣΔΕΙΕ ΕΥΝΑΤΕ
 [ΚΟ] ΔΥΩ ΥΝΑΡΔΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΙΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ· ΖἼ ΟΥΖἼ
 24 ΒΕ ΝΚΑΚΕ· ΝΥΤΟΡΠΟΥ ΖἼ ΟΥΖΗΔΟΝΗ ΕΣΤΙ ΣΤΟΕΙ
 ΔΥΩ ΥΝΑΔΥ ΝΒΛΛΕ ΖΡΔΙ ΖἼ ΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ ΝΑΤΣΕΙ
 26 ΔΥΩ ΥΝΔΧΔΥΔΥ ΝΝΕΥΨΥΧΟΥΕ· ΔΥΩ ΝΥΨΩ
 [ΠΕ] ΝΔΥ ΝΘΕ ΝΝΟΥΨΜΟΥΕ· ΕΣΤΑΚῚ ΖἼ ΠΟΥΖΗΤ·
 28 Ε[Μ]ΝΨΔΟΜ· ΜΜΟΥ ΝΝΑῚ ΕΝΕΖ ΔΥΩ ΝΘΕ Ν
 ΟΥΧΔΛΙΝΟΣ ΖἼ· ΟΥΤΑΠΡΟ ΕΥΣΩΚ· ΜΜΟΥ ΔΠΕΥ·
 30 ΟΥΩΨΕ· ΜΜΙΝ· ΜΜΟΥ· ΔΥΩ ΔΥΜΟΡΟΥ ΖἼ ΝΕΥ·
 ΔΥΣΙΟ· ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥΜΕΛΟΣ ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΥΣΟΝΖΟΥ Ν
 32 ΖΡΔΙ ΖἼ ΠΣΙΨΕ· ΝΤΜῚΡΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΔ· ΝΝΔΕΙ
 ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΝΔΤΕΚΟ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΝΔΨΙΒΕ·
 34 ΔΥΩ ΕΤΝΔΠΩΝΕ ΚΔΤΔ ΠΣΩΚ· ΝΤΔΥΣΟΚΟΥ·
 ΝΤΠΕ ΔΠΙΤἼ ΝΟΥΘΕΙΨ ΝΙΜ· ΕΥΖΩΤῚ ΜΜΟΥ
 36 ΕΥΣΩΚ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΙΔἼ ΝΤΒΝΟΥΕ· ΤΗΡΟΥ ΜΠ
 ΔΩΖἼ ΔΥ· ΟΥΩΨΒ ΝΒΙ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΠΑΔ[ΕΥ ΔΕ] Υ·
 38 ΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ· ΔΥΩ ΔΥΔΟΥΣΥ ΔΕ Ζ[ΔΖ] Ν[ΕΤΔΩΛΠ]·
 Ε[ΒΟΛ] ΝΝΕΤΕ ΝΣΕΣΟΟΥΝ Δ[Ν ΔΕ ΣΕΝΑ]† [ΟΣΕ Ν]
 40 [ΤΟΥ]ΨΥΧΗ ΔΥΟΥΩΨΒ ΔΕ ΝΒ[Ι ΠῚΩΡ] ΕΥΔΩ
 [ΜΜΟΣ ΔΕ ΝΔΕΙΔΤΥ· Μ]ΠΣΔΒΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΝΤΔΥ[ΨΙ]
 42 [ΝΕ ΝΣΔ ΤΜΗΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΤ]ΔΡΕΥΘἼΤῚ ΔΥΜἼΤΟΝ· Μ

- 22 and will shine on them with a beauty that will perish
 and will imprison (αἰχμαλωτίζειν) them in a dark
 24 sweetness and captivate them with fragrant pleasure (ἡδονή).
 And it will blind them with insatiable lust (ἐπιθυμία)
 26 and it will burn their souls (ψυχή) and it will be
 for them like a stake stuck in their heart
 28 which they can never dislodge. And like
 a bit (χαλυνός) in a mouth it leads them according to its
 30 own desire. It fettered them with its
 chains (ἄλυσσας), and bound all their limbs (μέλος)
 32 in the bitterness of the bond of lust (ἐπιθυμία) for these
 visible things that will decay and change
 34 and swerve by (κατὰ) impulse. They have
 always been attracted from heaven to earth: as they are killed,
 36 they are drawn upon all the beasts of
 corruption." Thomas answered and said: "It
 38 is obvious and has been said: ['Many are the things revealed]
 to those who do not know [that they will forfeit]
 40 [their] soul (ψυχή).'" And (δέ) [the Savior (σωτήρ)] answered, saying:
 ["Blessed is] the wise man who [sought]
 42 [after the truth, and] when he found it, he rested

- 2 ΜΟΥ' ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΔΩC ΨΑΕΝΕΖ ΔΥΩ ΜΠΥΡΖΟΤΕ ΖΗΤΟΥ
 ΝΗΕΤΟΥΝΨΕ ΔΨΤΡΤΨΟΥ' ΔΥΟΥΨΨΒ ΝΒΙ ΘΩΜΔC
 ΠΔΕΥ' ΧΕ CΡΝΟΥΡΕ ΝΔΝ' ΠΧΟΕΙC' ΔΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΝ
 4 ΖΝ ΝΕΤΕ ΝΩΝ ΝΕ ΠΔΕΥ ΝΒΙ ΠCΨΡ ΔΕ ΠΕΤΡΨΑΥ
 ΓΑΡ ΠΤΕ' ΔΥΩ ΝΑΝΟΥC ΝΗΤΝ ΕΠΙΔΗ ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ
 6 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΡΡΩΜΕ' CΕΝΔΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΠCΚΕΥΟC ΓΑΡ Ν
 ΤΟΥCΑΡΖ' ΝΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΥΩ ΕΨΨΔΝΧΩΡΕ ΕΒΟΛ
 8 ΨΝΔΨΩΠΤΕ' ΖΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΝΔΥ Ε
 ΡΟΟΥ ΔΥΩ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΚΩΖΤ' ΕΤΟΥΝΔΥ ΕΡΟΥ' ΕΨΤ ΤΚΔC ΝΔΥ
 10 ΕΤΒΕ ΤΔΓΑΠΗ ΝΤΠΙCΤΙC' ΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΔΥC' ΖΔΘΗ ΜΠΙ
 ΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΠΔΛΙΝ' CΕΝΔCΟΟΥΖΟΥ ΔΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ
 12 ΝΕΤΝΔΥ ΔΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΝΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΔΝ' ΔΧΝ
 ΤΨΟΡΠ' ΝΔΓΑΠΗ CΕΝΔΤΔΚΟ ΖΜ ΠΡ[Ο]ΟΥΨ ΜΠΒΙΟC
 14 ΜΝ ΠΡΩΧ ΖΜ ΠΚΩΖΤ' ΝΟΥΚΟΥΪ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΨ ΨΔΝ
 ΤΕΨΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ' ΝΒΙ ΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΤΟΤΕ CΕΝΔ
 16 ΨΩΠΤΕ ΝΒΙ ΖΕΝ'ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΕΜΝΤΕΥ ΜΟΡΦΗ ΔΥΩ
 ΝΤΜΗΤΕ ΝΝΤΔΦΟC ΝCΕΨΩΠΤΕ ΖΙΔΝ ΝΚΩC ΝΨΔ
 18 ΕΝΕΖ ΖΝ ΟΥΤ ΤΚΔC ΜΝ ΟΥΤΔΚΟ ΜΨΥΧΗ ΔΥΟΥΨ
 ΨΒ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΘΩΜΔC ΠΔΕΥ ΧΕ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΕ ΟΥΝΤΔΝΥ'
 20 ΔΧΟΟΥ' ΝΝΔΖΡΝ ΝΔΕΙ Η ΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΝΔΧΟΟΥ' ΝΒΛΛΕ
 ΕΒΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ Η ΔΨ ΝCΒΩ ΤΕΤΝΝΔΧΟΟC ΝΝΙΤ[ΔΛΔ]!

141:9 Ms. inserts ΤΟΤΕ above the line

141:14 Ms. reads ΠΡΩΧΖ' ΜΝ ΠΚΩΖΤ'

upon it forever and was not afraid of those

2 who wanted to disturb him." Thomas answered

and said: "Is it good for us, Lord, to rest

4 among our own?" The Savior (σωτήρ) said: "Yes (γάρ) it is useful.

And it is good for you since (ἐπειδὴ) things visible

6 among men will dissolve; for (γάρ) the vessel (σκεῦος) of

their flesh (σάρξ) will dissolve and when it is brought to naught

8 it will come to be among visible things, among things that are seen.

And then (τότε) the fire which they see gives them pain

10 on account of the love (ἀγάπη) of the faith (πίστις) which they

formerly possessed. They will be gathered back (πάλιν) to that which
is visible.

12 But (δέ) as for those who see among things that are not visible, without
the first love (ἀγάπη) they will be destroyed by the concern for this

14 life (βίος) and the scorching in the fire. Only a little time
until that which is visible dissolves; then (τότε)

16 formless (-μορφή) phantoms (εἰδωλον) will arise and,

in the midst of the tombs (τάφος), they will dwell upon the corpses

18 forever in pain and corruption of soul (ψυχή)."

Thomas answered and said: "What have we

20 to say in the face of these things, or (ἢ) what shall we say to

blind men, or (ἢ) what teaching should we express to these

- 22 πωρος ἄθνητος νετῶ μαμος' δε ἀνεί ἀ[ρ̄ πτε]
 τῆανουγ' ἀγω ἀγσζου ἀν' παλιν δε σενδχ[οος]
 24 δε ενε ἄπουχπον ζῆ τσῶρξ' νενναδουων [τς]δ
 τε ἀνπε παδεγ ἄβι τσῶρ δε ζῆ ουμη Ν[δ]ι ε
 26 τῆμαδ ἄπρκαδν νᾶκ' ἥρωμε δαλα οπου ζ[ωσ ἄτβ]
 νοογε' ἄθε γαρ ἄντῆνοογε ενογωμ' ἄν[εγε]
 28 ρηγ ταει τε θε ζωου ἄνεειρωμε ἄτεεimini[ε σε]
 ουγμ' ἄνεεργη δαλα σεζουροειτ' ἄτῆντ[ων]
 30 επιδῆ σεμαειε ἄτζᾶβε ἄπκωζτ' ἀγω σεο ν
 ζῆζᾶλ ἄπμου ἀγω σεπητ' ἀνζβηγε ἄπῶζῆμε
 32 σεδωκ εβολ ἄτεπιθυμειδ ἄνεειοτε σενα
 νοχου εζραῖ ἀπνουγ' ἄσερμαστιγου ἄμοον
 34 εβολ ζιτῆ τᾶναρ'κη ἄπσιγε ἄτουφνσις εθο
 ου σεναφραγελλου γαρ' ἄμοον ἀτροπιωτ' ἄ
 36 σεδωου ἀπμα ετε ἄσεσοογν ἄμογ ἀν' ἀγω
 σεנ[א]ο ἄνεγμελος' ζῆ ουζυπομονη ἀν' ἀλ
 38 ἄλ [ζῆ ου]κα τοοτς' εβολ' ἀγω σεραγε εχ[μ π]
 ρ[οογ] ἄπιβιος ζῆ πλιβε μῆ ππωγτ' εν[ζοει]
 40 [νε] πητ ἄ[ςδ π]ππωγτ' ἄζητ' εν[ς]εῖμε δ[ν ἄπου]
 [λι]βε' εγ[με]γε δε ζῆσεβεεγ ἄ[ε' εγ]σωκ ζιτῆ
 42 [πς]δειε ἄπουσωμα ζω[ς εγ]νατακο ἀν' ἀγω

141:38 Ms. reads κα τοοτκ

141:42 or [πμ]δειε , "the love of their body"

- 22 miserable (ταλαύπωρος) mortals who say: 'We came to [do]
good and not to curse' and yet (πᾶλιν) claim:
- 24 'Had we not been begotten in the flesh (σάρξ) we would not have
known the fire.'" The Savior (σωτήρ) said: "Truly, as for
- 26 those, do not esteem (sg) them as men, but regard (sg) them [as (ὥς)]
beasts, for (γάρ) just as beasts devour one another,
- 28 so also men of this sort
devour one another. Rather (ἀλλὰ) they are deprived of [vitality],
- 30 since (ἐπεὶ) they love the sweetness of the fire, and are
servants of death and are rushing to the works of corruption.
- 32 They complete the lust (ἐπιθυμία) of their fathers. They will
be thrown down to the abyss and be afflicted (μαστιγοῦν)
- 34 by the torment (ἀνάγκη) of the bitterness of their evil nature (φύσις).
For (γάρ) they will be scourged (φραγελλοῦν) so as to make them
- 36 rush headlong to the place that they do not know, and
they [will not abandon] their members (μέλος) patiently, but (ἀλλὰ)
- 38 [with] despair. And they rejoice over [the]
[concern for this life (βίος) with] madness and derangement. [Some]
- 40 pursue [this] derangement without realizing [their]
madness, thinking that they are wise. [They are beguiled by]
- 42 [the] beauty of their body (σῶμα) [as if (ὥς) it would not perish. And]

- ΕΡΕΠΟΥΖΗΤ' ΠΟΟΝΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ' ΕΡΕΠΟΥΜΕΕΥΕ ΖΙ
 2 ΝΕΥΠΡΑΞΙΣ' ΤΣΑΤΕ ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΡΩΚΖ ΜΜΟΟΥ' ΑΥ'
 ΟΥΛΥΒ ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΘΩΜΑΣ' ΠΑΧΕΥ' ΧΕ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ' ΠΕΝ
 4 ΤΑΥΝΟΧΥ' ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΡΟΟΥ ΕΥΝΑΡΟΥ †ΡΜΕΡΙΜΝΑ
 ΓΑΡ ΜΠΥΔ' ΕΤΘΗΤΟΥ ΖΑΖ ΓΑΡ' ΝΕΤ† ΟΥΒΗΥ ΔΥ'ΟΥ
 6 ΛΥΒ ΝΒΙ ΠΣΩΡ ΠΑΧΕΥ' ΧΕ ΕΥΝΤΑΚ' ΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΚ' ΠΑΧΕΥ ΝΒΙ ΙΟΥΔΑΣ' ΠΑΙ ΕΤΟΥΜΟΥΤΕ Ε·
 8 ΡΟΥ ΧΕ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΧΟΕΙΣ' ΠΕΤΣ'ΡΠΡΕΠΕΙ'
 ΝΑΚ' ΑΥΕΧΕ' ΑΝΟΚ ΔΕ ΝΤΑΣΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΚ' ΑΥ'ΟΥ'
 10 ΛΥΒ ΝΒΙ ΠΣΩΡ ΧΕ ΣΩΤΜ ΑΠΕ†ΝΑΧΟΟΥ' ΝΑΚ'
 ΝΚΡ ΠΙΣΤΕΥΕ ΖΝ ΤΜΗΕ ΠΕΤ'ΧΟ ΜΝ ΠΕΤΟΥΧΟ ΜΜΟΥ'
 12 ΣΕΝΑΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΟΥΚΩΖΤ' ΝΖΡΑΪ ΖΜ ΠΚΩΖΤ'
 ΜΝ ΠΜΟΥ [Δ]ΥΩ ΝΣΕΖΩΠ' ΖΝ ΝΤΑΦΟΣ' ΜΠΚΑΚΕ
 14 ΔΥΩ ΜΝΝΣΑ ΖΑΖ ΝΟΥΟΕΙΥ ΣΕΝΑΟΥΩΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ Ν
 ΝΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΠΥΗΝ' ΕΘΟΥ ΕΥΡΚΟΛΑΖΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΕΥ
 16 ΖΩΤΒΕ ΜΜΟΥ ΖΝ Τ'ΤΑΠΡΟ' ΝΝΤΒΝΟΥΕ ΜΝ ΝΡΩ
 ΜΕ' ΖΝ ΤΑΦΟΡΜΗ' ΝΝΖΟΥ ΜΝ ΝΤΗΥ ΜΝ ΠΑΗΡ'
 18 ΜΝ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ' ΕΤΡΟΥΟΕΙΝ' ΜΠΣΑΝΖΡΕ ΔΥΟΝΛΥΒ
 ΔΕ ΝΒΙ ΘΩΜΑΣ' ΧΕ ΔΚΡΠΙΘΕ ΜΕΝ' ΜΜΟΝ' ΠΧΟΕΙΣ'
 20 ΑΝΡΝΟΕΙ ΖΜ ΠΝΖΗΤ' ΔΥΩ ΣΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΧΕ ΤΑΕΙ
 [ΤΕ Θ]Ε ΔΥΩ ΠΕΚΥΔΧΕ Ο ΝΑΤΦΘΟΝΟΣ ΔΛΛΑ ΝΙΥΔ

142:21 Ms. inserts O above the ε of υαδε.

- they are frenetic; their thought is occupied
- 2 with their deeds (πραξεις). But it is the fire that will burn them!"
- And (δε) Thomas answered and said: "Lord, what will the one
- 4 thrown down to them do? For (γαρ) I am most anxious (μεριμνῶν) about them, for (γαρ) many are those who fight them."
- 6 The Savior (σωτήρ) answered and said: "Do you (sg) possess that which is visible?" Judas said - the one called
- 8 Thomas - "It is you (sg), Lord, whom it befits (πρέπειν) to speak, and (δε) I to listen."
- 10 The Savior (σωτήρ) replied: "Listen to what I am going to tell you (sg) and believe (πιστεύειν) in the truth. That which sows and that which
- is sown
- 12 will dissolve in the fire - within the fire and the water - and they will hide in tombs (τάφος) of darkness.
- 14 And after a long time there shall be revealed the fruits (καρπός) of the evil trees, being punished (κολάζειν),
- 16 being slain in the mouth of beasts and men at the instigation (ἀφορμή) of the rains and winds and air (ἄήρ)
- 18 and the light that shines above." Thomas replied: "You (sg) have indeed (μέν) persuaded (πεύθειν) us, Lord.
- 20 We realized (νοεῖν) in our heart and it is obvious that this [is] so, and that your (sg) word is sufficient (-φθόνος). But (ἀλλὰ)

- 22 [XE]TKXW MMOON NAN' ZENCWBE NE MTKOC
[MO]C' DYW ZNANKWDEI NCWON NE' EPIΔH CECO
- 24 [OV]NE MMOON AN' NAW BE NPHTE ENNAYBOK' X
[TΔ]WE OEIY MMOON EPIΔH ΔE CEWT' MMON'
- 26 [EN]ZIM PKOCMOC' ΔYOWWYB NBI TCWP TΔXEY ΔE
[ZΔM]HN' TXW MMOC NHTN ΔE PETNACWTM ATE
- 28 [TNW]ΔXE' DYW NYKTO MTEYZO EBOI' H NYAKWY
[E] NCWY' H NYCWTP NNEYCΠOTOY ZI NAEI] ZΔ
- 30 MHN' TXW MMOC NHTN ΔE CENATAAY' ΔTOOTY'
MΠΑΡΧΩΝ ETMTCANTPE' PAI ETAPXEI EZPAI E
- 32 ΔN NEZOYCIA THPOY EYO NPO EXWON NYKTO
MΠAEI ETMAAY NYNOXY ΔN NTPE' WATITN Δ'
- 34 TINON' NCSEWPEX' APWY' ZN OYMA EYON EYO
NKAKE' MAYWBNBWM BE MPONEY' H AKIM' ETBE
- 36 TINOB NBΔΘOC' NTE PTAPTAPOC MN TI[XOI]E E
[TPOTY] NTE AMNTE PAI ET'TAXPHY Δ[PWY] EY
- 38 [WTP] MMOON EZOYN EPOY ΔE[KAD]C NNEYP
[PBOI] NCEN[Δ]KW AN' EBOI M[TPOTAI]BE [AYW]
- 40 [NIPAXON ETN]ATWT' NCA THNE C[ENAT]APADID[OV]
[MMOON EZPAI EPAT]GELOC' PTAPTAPONX[OC]
- 42 [NYXI NZENMACTIZ NC]ATE EYPHY' NCWON

22 these words that you (sg) speak to us are laughing-stocks to the
world (κόσμος) and derided, since (ἐπειδὴ) they are not
24 understood. So how can we go
preach them since we are reckoned
26 as in the world (κόσμος)?" The Savior (σωτήρ) answered and said:
"Truly (ἀμήν) I tell you that he who will listen to
28 your word and turn away his face or (ἢ) sneer
at it or (ἢ) smirk at these things, truly (ἀμήν)
30 I tell you that he will be handed over to
the Archon (ἄρχων) who is above, he who rules (ἄρχειν) over
32 all the powers (ἐξουσία) as their king, and he will turn
that one around and cast him from heaven down to
34 the abyss, and he will be imprisoned in a narrow
dark place. Moreover, he can neither turn nor move on account of
36 the great depth (βάθος) of Tartaros and the [wide wall]
of Hades that is set [against him. They are]
38 [imprisoned] in it in [order that they might not]
[escape]. Their [madness] will not be forgiven. [And]
40 [the archons (ἄρχων)] who will pursue you [will] deliver (παραδιδόναι)
[them over to the] angel (ἄγγελος) Tartarouchos
42 [and he will take whips (μάστιξ) of] fire, pursuing them

- [N]ZEN'ΦΡΑΓΕΛΛΟΥ NCBTE' EYNEX †K †K EBOL' EZOT'
 2 EΦO MΠETOYΠHT NCWY' EYΠHT' AΠAMNTE EYBI
 [N]E NTCBTE' EYΨANKTOY' APHC EY6ONTC ON MMAY
 4 EYΨANKTOY ΔZHT' ΨΔCTWM T EPOT' AN' NBI TAPIAH
 NCBTE' ECBPB̄P MAΥBINE ΔE NTOTY NΘIH MΠΔEIBTE
 6 ΔΠWT' EMAY NYONXΔEI MΠEY6ONTC ΓAP MΦOOTY EY
 ZN CWM[Δ] ΔEKΔAC EYNΔONTC MΦOOTY NTKPICIC'
 8 TOTTE AY'OTWZ ATOOTY' NBI PCWP EYXW MMOC
 XE OYOEI NHTN NATNOYTE' ETE MNTEN ZEΛTIC'
 10 ET'TAXPΔIT' EZPAI' EXN NETNAYWΠE AN OYOI' NHTN
 NETPZEΛTIZE ATCAPZ AYW ΠYTEKO ETNATEKO ΨΔ
 12 TEOTYWΠE ETETNOBW AYW NAT'TEKO ETETNME
 EYE EPOTY XE CENATKO AN' ETE[TN]ZEΛTIC TAPHY
 14 ΔXN PKOCMOC AYW PETNNOYTE PE ΠEEIBIOC
 ETETNTAKO NNETNΨYXOYOE' OYOEI NHTN ZPAI'
 16 ZM PKWZT' ETPOKZ ZPAI' ZN THNE XE OYATCI PE
 OYOEI NHTN EBOL ZITOOTY MPKAT' ETKWTE ZN
 18 NETNMEEYE OYOEI NHTN NTOOTY MPMON[Z]
 ETZ[N] THNE XE YNAVWM NNETNCAPZ' ZN OYWNZ
 20 EBOL AYW YNAPWZ NNETNΨYXOYOE ZN OY
 ZWIT NYCBTE THNE ZPAI' ZN NETNEPHY· OYOI' N]H

[with] fiery scourges (φραγγελοῦν) that cast a shower of sparks into
 2 the face of the one who is pursued. If he flees westward, he
 finds the fire. If he turns southward, he finds it also there.
 4 If he turns northward, the threat (ἀπειλή)
 of seething fire meets him again. Nor (δέ) does he find the way to
 the East
 6 so as to flee there and be saved, for (γάρ) he did not find it in the day
 he was in the body (σῶμα), so that he will find it in the day of
 8 Judgment (κρίσις)." Then (τότε) the Savior (σωτήρ) continued, saying:
 "Woe to you, godless ones, who have no hope (ἐλπίς),
 10 who rely on things that will not happen! Woe to you
 who hope (ἐλπίζουσιν) in the flesh (σάρξ) and in the prison that will
 12 perish! How long will you be oblivious? And the imperishables, do you
 think that they also will perish? Your hope (ἐλπίς) is set
 14 upon the world (κόσμος) and your god is this life (βίος)!
 You are corrupting your souls (ψυχῇ)! Woe to you for
 16 the fire that burns in you, for it is insatiable!
 Woe to you because of the wheel that turns in
 18 your minds! Woe to you because of the burning
 that is in you, for it will devour your flesh (σάρξ) openly
 20 and rend your souls (ψυχῇ) secretly,
 and prepare you for your companions! Woe to you,

- 22 τῆ νδixмδλwтoс δε тетῆmhr' ἡ ν̄ σπнλ[α]
 ον' тетῆswbe ететῆpδwε ἡpαί' ἡ ν̄ swb[ε]
 24 ἡlibe тетῆp̄noei δν ἡpetῆtakо ουτε т[ε]
 τῆpnoei δν' ἡ netететῆhтoу ουτε ἡп[ε]τῆ
 26 ἡme δε тетῆwоop' ἡ πκακε' ἡn πmo[λ]
 δλλα ететῆтаze ἡ πkwzt' δvw тетῆ[me]
 28 ἡciwε еpetетῆhт' πowc epwtῆ etbe π[m]oуz
 е[т]ῆ thne' δvw ἡzолб нhтῆ ἡбi πκlom ἡ
 30 тπληгн nnetῆxaxe' δvw πκαке δywδε нh
 τῆ ἡbe ἡпоvοειн' тетῆm̄ntp̄mze γαρ' δтетῆ
 32 тδδс ἡtm̄nt̄zm̄z̄δλ δтетῆειpe ἡnetῆhт' ἡ
 hт' ἡκαке' δvw netῆmeeve' δтетῆтδδv
 34 ἡtm̄nt̄cebe' δvw δтетῆmoуz ἡnetῆme
 е[ve] ἡ πκαπnoc' ἡπkwzt' етῆ thne δv
 36 ω [δy]wп' ἡбi πetῆnoyoeine' ἡ πκλoole
 [ἡκαке δ]vw тzbcw ет' to zi thne δтетnп[oz]
 38 [δvw δтетῆw]βw' δvw δv̄kδtexe ἡmw[тῆ zi]
 [тῆ] θελ[πic ет]wоop' δн δvw ἡ[m̄]m πent[ate]
 40 [тῆ]πicт[eve] epoy' тетῆcoo[yn δн δε тетῆ]
 [w]оop тhptῆ ἡ net[oyw]wε етpetῆca]
 42 zoу ἡmwтῆ zwс ep[ететῆzεлπic wоop δн]

- 22 | captives (αἰχμαλώτους), for you are bound in caverns (σπηλαίων)!
 You laugh! In mad laughter you rejoice!
- 24 | You neither recognize (νοεῖν) your perdition, nor (οὔτε)
 do you reflect (νοεῖν) on your circumstances, nor (οὔτε) have [you]
- 26 | understood that you dwell in darkness and death!
- 28 | On the contrary (ἀλλὰ), you are drunk with the fire and [full]
 of bitterness! Your mind is deranged on account of the [burning]
 that [is in] you, and sweet to you is the victory of
- 30 | smiting (πληγῇ) your enemies! And the darkness rose for
 you like the light, for (γάρ) you surrendered your freedom
- 32 | for servitude! You darkened your hearts
 and you surrendered your minds
- 34 | to folly, and you filled your thoughts
 with the smoke of the fire that is in you! And
- 36 | your light has hidden in the cloud
 [of darkness] and the garment that is put on you, you [rent].
- 38 | [And you have forgotten] and you were seized (κατέχευν) [by]
 [the hope (ἐλπίς) that] does not exist. And whom is it [you]
- 40 | [have believed (πιστεύειν)]? Do you [not] know that [you]
 all dwell among those [who want you to curse]
- 42 | yourselves as if (ὥς) [your hope (ἐλπίς) is non-existent]?

- ΔΤΕΤΝΩΜΕ̄ ΝΝΕΤΝΨΥΧΗ ΖΜ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΜΠΚΔΚ[Ε]
 2 ΔΤΕΤΝΠΩΤ' ΖΝ ΝΕΤΝΟΥΩΩΕ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΩΤΝ Ο[Υ]
 ΟΕΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΕΤ'ΥΟΥΟΠ' ΖΜ ΠΣΩΡΜ ΕΤΕΤΝΒΔΨΤ
 4 ΔΝ ΔΠΟΝΟΕΙΝ ΜΠΡΗ' ΠΕΤΚΡΙΝΕ ΜΠΤΗΡΥ' ΕΤ
 ΒΔΨΤ' ΔΔΝ ΠΤΗΡΥ' ΔΕ ΥΝΔΚΩΤΕ ΔΔΝ ΝΖΒΗΥΕ
 6 ΤΗΡΟΥ ΔΤΡΕΝΧΔΔΕ ΡΖΜΖΔΛ ΔΥΩ ΟΝ ΤΕΤΝΡΝΟΕΙ
 ΔΝ ΜΠΠΟΟΖ ΔΕ ΝΔΨ ΝΖΕ ΝΤΟΥΨΗ ΜΝ ΦΟΟΥ ΕΥ
 8 ΒΔΨΤ' ΕΖΡΔΙ ΕΥΝΔΥ ΔΝΣΩΜΔ ΝΝΕΤ[Ν]ΖΕΤΒΕ ΟΥΟΙ
 ΝΗΤΝ ΝΕΤΜΔΕΙΕ ΝΤΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΑ ΝΤΜΝΤΣΖΙΜΕ
 10 ΜΝ ΠΕΣΨΩΠΤΕ ΝΜΜΔΣ ΕΤΣΟΟΥ' ΔΥΩ ΟΥΟΕΙ'
 ΝΗΤΝ ΝΤΟΟΤΟΥ ΝΝΕΖΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΠΕΤΝΣΩΜΔ ΔΕ
 12 ΝΕΤΜΜΟ ΓΑΡ' ΣΕΝΔΘΜΚΕ ΤΗΝΕ' ΟΥΟΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΤΟ
 ΟΤΟΥ' ΝΝΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΝΝΔΔΙΜΩΝ' ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ'
 14 ΟΥΟΙ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΕΤ'ΣΩΚ' ΝΝΕΥΜΕΛΟC' ΖΜ ΠΚΩΖΤ'
 ΝΙΜ' ΠΕΤΝΔΖΩΟΥ ΝΗΤΝ ΝΟΥΕΙΩΤΕ ΝΜΤΟΝ'
 16 ΔΕΚΔΔC ΕCΝΔΖΩΤΜ ΝΖΔΖ ΝΚΩΖΤ' ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΗΝΕ
 ΜΝ ΠΕΤΝΡΩΚΖ' ΝΙΜ ΠΕΤΝΔ† ΝΗΤΝ ΜΠΡΗ ΔΠΡ
 18 ΡΙΕ ΔΔΝ ΤΗΝΕ' ΔΒΩΛ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΠΚΔΚΕ' ΕΤΖΝ ΤΗΝΕ
 ΔΥΩ ΔΖΩΠ' ΜΠΚΔΚΕ ΜΝ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΕΤΣΟΟ[Υ] ΠΡΗ
 20 ΜΝ ΠΟΖ ΝΔ† C†ΝΟΥΥΕ ΝΗΤΝ' ΜΝ ΠΔΗ[Ρ] ΜΝ
 ΠΠΝΔ ΜΝ ΠΚΔΖ ΜΝ ΠΜΟΟΥ ΠΡΗ ΓΑΡ' ΕΥΤΜ

You baptized your souls (ψυχῇ) in the water of darkness!

- 2 You walked in your own desires! Woe
to you who dwell in error, not looking at
- 4 the light of the sun that judges the All, that
looks down upon the All, for it will circle around all things
- 6 to enslave the enemies. You do not even notice (νοεῖν)
the moon, how by night and day it
- 8 looks down, looking at the bodies (σῶμα) of your corpses! Woe
to you who love intimacy (συνήθεια) with womankind
- 10 and polluted intercourse with it! And woe
to you because of the powers (ἐξουσία) of your body (σῶμα),
- 12 for (γάρ) those will afflict you! Woe to you because of
the forces (ἐνέργεια) of the evil (πονηρόν) demons (δαίμων)!
- 14 Woe to you who beguile your limbs (μέλος) with the fire!
Who is it that will rain a refreshing dew on you
- 16 in order that it might extinguish a multitude of fire from you
together with your burning? Who is it that will give you the sun to
- 18 shine upon you to disperse the darkness in you
and hide the darkness and the polluted water? The sun
- 20 and the moon will give a fragrance to you, together with the air (αἶψ) and
the spirit (πνεῦμα) and the earth and the water. For (γάρ) if the sun
[does not]

- 22 πῤῥίε δα̃ν̃ νιςωμα̃ σε̃νδλοϋλεϋ' ἄσε[τ]ἄκο
[ῃ]πρητε ζωω' ἡ̃ου̃ν̃τη̃ ἡ̃ οὐχορτος' εϋωπε
- 24 [ῃ]εν̃ επρη̃ πῤῥίε δαω' υ̃αυ̃β̃ν̃β̃αμ' ἡ̃ω̃β̃τ'
[ῃ]τ̃βω̃ ἡ̃ελοολε' εϋωπε̃ δε̃ ε̃ϋ̃αν̃β̃ν̃βομ'
- 26 [ῃ]β̃ι̃ τ̃βω̃ ἡ̃ελοολε' ἡ̃ς̃ρ̃ζ̃α̃ιβ̃ε̃ς̃ δα̃ν̃ ἡ̃ι̃ν̃τη̃ ἡ̃
[ῃ]ν̃ νικε̃ϋ̃να̃ τη̃ρου̃ ε̃τρη̃τ' ε̃ζ̃ρα̃ι̃ ἡ̃μ̃μα̃ς̃ ἡ̃[ε]
- 28 [π̃ω̃ρ]ι̃ ε̃β̃ολ' δ̃ω̃ ἡ̃ς̃ο̃νο̃στ̃ν̃ ε̃β̃ολ̃ υ̃α̃ς̃ρ̃κ̃λη̃
[ρ̃ο̃νο̃]μ̃ει̃ ἡ̃π̃κα̃ζ̃ ο̃ν̃δ̃α̃τ̃ε̃ π̃α̃ι̃ ε̃τ̃ς̃ρη̃τ' ζ̃ρα̃ι̃ ἡ̃ζ̃η̃τ̃
30 δ̃ω̃ υ̃α̃ς̃ρ̃να̃π̃ α̃μα̃ ἡ̃ι̃μ' ε̃τα̃ς̃ρ̃ζ̃α̃ιβ̃ε̃ς̃ δαω' ἡ̃
το̃τε̃ δε̃ ε̃ϋ̃αν̃δ̃υ̃ζ̃α̃νε̃ υ̃α̃ς̃ρ̃νε̃π̃ α̃π̃κα̃ζ̃ τη̃ρ̃
32 δ̃ω̃ υ̃α̃ς̃ρ̃ζε̃νο̃υ̃ε̃ ἡ̃π̃ε̃ς̃δε̃ι̃ς̃ ἡ̃ς̃ρα̃να̃υ'
ἡ̃ζ̃ο̃νο̃ δε̃ νε̃ϋ̃να̃ϋ̃ω̃π̃ι̃ γ̃αρ̃ ἡ̃ζ̃ε̃ν̃νο̃β̃ ἡ̃ζ̃ι̃ε̃
- 34 πε̃' ε̃τ̃βε̃ ἡ̃ι̃ν̃τη̃ ὑ̃αν̃τ̃η̃πο̃ρκ̃ον̃ α̃λλα̃ τ̃βω̃
ἡ̃ελοολε̃ ο̃ν̃δ̃α̃τ̃ε̃ δ̃ς̃ϋ̃ι̃το̃ν̃ ἡ̃μα̃υ̃ δ̃ω̃ δ̃ς̃ω̃β̃τ̃ ἡ̃
- 36 μο̃ον̃ δ̃υ̃μο̃ν̃ δ̃υ̃ϋ̃ω̃πε̃ ἡ̃θε̃ ἡ̃π̃κα̃ζ̃ το̃τε̃ [α̃υ̃]
ο̃υ̃ω̃ζ̃ ε̃το̃ο̃τ̃υ̃' ἡ̃β̃ι̃ ι̃ε̃ πα̃δε̃ϋ̃ να̃υ̃ δε̃ ο̃υ̃[ο̃ει̃ ἡ̃]η̃
- 38 [τ̃η̃] δε̃ ἡ̃π̃ε̃τ̃η̃δ̃ι̃ ἡ̃τ̃ς̃β̃ω̃' δ̃ω̃ νε̃το̃ [ἡ̃δ̃τ̃ς̃ο̃]
[ο̃υ̃ν̃] σε̃ν̃δ̃ζ̃ι̃ε̃ ε̃υ̃τα̃ϋ̃ε̃ ο̃ε̃!ϋ̃ [ε̃π̃μα̃ ἡ̃τε̃ τη̃]
- 40 [νε̃] δ̃ω̃ τε̃[τ̃η̃]π̃η̃τ̃ δ̃ζ̃ο̃υ̃ν̃ δ̃[τ̃η̃]τ̃ϋ̃ν̃[α̃]
[ο̃υ̃ἡ̃ζ̃ο̃ει̃νε̃ δε̃] ε̃δ̃υ̃τ̃η̃νο̃ο̃ο̃υ̃ο̃[υ̃ δ̃π̃]ι̃τ̃η̃ ἡ̃να̃
- 42 [ζ̃η̃ να̃ει̃ τη̃ρου̃ ἡ̃τ̃δε̃]τη̃ν̃μο̃ο̃υ̃το̃ν̃ ἡ̃μ̃η̃ν̃[ε̃]

22 shine upon these bodies they will wither and perish
just like weeds or (ἡ) grass (χόρτος). If,
24 now (νῦν), the sun shines on it (the weed), it prevails and chokes
the grapevine; if, however (δὲ), the grapevine
26 prevails and shades those weeds
[and] all that other brush growing up with it, and
28 spreads and broadens out, it alone
inherits (κληρονομεῖν) the land in which it grows
30 and it dominates every place it shaded.
So then (τότε) when it grows up (αὐξάνειν), it dominates all the land,
32 and it is bountiful for its master, and it pleases him
even more, for (γὰρ) he would have suffered great pains
34 on account of these plants until he uprooted them. But (ἀλλὰ) the
grapevine alone removed them and choked
36 them, and they died and became like the land."
Then (τότε) Jesus continued, and said: "[Woe to]
38 [you], for you did not receive the doctrine, and those who are [ignorant]
will labor at preaching [instead of you].
40 And [you] are rushing into [debauchery].
[Yet (δὲ) there are some who have been] sent down to [rescue]
42 [those whom you] killed daily

in order that they might rise from death. Blessed are you
 2 who have prior knowledge of the stumbling blocks (σκανδάλιον) and who
 flee alien things (ἀλλότριον). Blessed are you who are reviled
 4 and not esteemed on account of the love
 their Lord has toward them. Blessed are
 6 you who weep and are oppressed (θλιβεῖν) by
 those without hope (ἐλπίς), for you will be released from
 8 every bondage. Watch and pray that you will not come to be
 in the flesh (σάρξ), but rather (ἀλλὰ) that you will come forth from the
 bondage of the bitterness
 10 of this life (βίος). And as you pray, you will find
 rest, for you have left behind the suffering and the
 12 disgrace. For (γάρ) when you come forth from the sufferings and
 passions (πάθος) of the body (σῶμα), you will receive rest (ἀνάπαυσις)
 14 from the Good One (ἀγαθός), and you will reign with the King,
 you joined with him and he with you, from now on,
 16 forever and ever. Amen."

The Book of Thomas

18 the Contender (ἀθλητής), writing
 to the Perfect (τέλειος).
 20 Remember me also, my brethren,
 in your prayers (προσευχή):
 22 Peace to the Saints (εἰρήνη τοῖς ἁγίοις)
 and the Spiritual (πνευματικός)

THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

CG II,7, 138:1-145:23

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- ΔΑΤΚΔC n.m. "marrow" (6b)
139:35
- ΔΜΝΤΕ n.m. "Hades," "the West" (8b)
142:37 "Hades"
143:2 "the West"
- δN negative part. (10b)
138:11,21,30,34; 139:8,14,17,26; [140:39]; 141:12,23,25,36,
37,[42]; 142:23,39; 143:10,24,25,39,[40]; 144:4,7; 145:4,8
- δNΔi "be pleasing" (11a)
̐ ΔNΔ^o 144:32 "to please"
- ΔNOK first pers. indep. prn. "I" (11b)
138:2,13; 142:9
- δvw coord. conj. "and" (19b)
138:8,9,12,15,24,26,33,35,38; 139:1,5,14,24,35,36,36,37,39,
42; 140:4,17,[22],23,25,26,26,28,31,33,34,38; 141:1,5,7,9,
16,23,30,31,36,38; 142:13,14,20,21,23,28; 143:11,12,14,20,
27,29,30,33,35,37,38,[38],39; 144:6,10,19,[27],28,30,32,35,
38,40; 145:2,4,6,10,14
- δuy interrogative "who," "what" (22a)
NΔuy Nze 138:9,29,34; 139:10; 144:7 "how"
NΔuy NpHTe 138:10; 142:24 "in what manner"
δuy N^o 141:21 "what"

¹Each Coptic word is followed by: 1) the "part of speech" it functions as, except for verbs, for which no "part of speech" is listed; 2) its English definition; 3) a reference, enclosed in parentheses, to the page and column of its entry in W.E. Crum: *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); 4) alternate forms, if any, of the main entry as they appear in the text; and 5) the location of the Coptic word in the text, cited by page and line number of Codex II of Nag Hammadi. The listing of alternate forms, which includes different states of the verb, dialectal variants, and distinguishable syntactic applications, are followed by their respective English translations, if they differ from the main entry. Any instance of (3) in which the reference is preceded by "K" (e.g. K103), refers to a word entered in R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire Copte de Crum* (Le Caire: Inst. Français, 1964).

- δὲ ἄνευ prep. "without" (25b)
 141:12
- θῶ n.f. "tree" (28a)
 θῶ ἡ ἐλεοοῦ 144:25,26,34 "grapevine"
- θῶκ "go," "depart" (29a)
 θῶκε' 142:24
- θῶλ "loosen," "dissolve" (32a)
 θῶλ ἐβόλ 141:6,7,15; 142:12; 144:18 "dissolve"
 θόλ 139:15 "explain"
 θῶλ ἡ τῆν 145:7 "be released from"
 ῥ θόλ 142:[39] "escape"
- βῶλ n.m. "blind person" (38a)
 βῶλ ἡ βῶλ 140:25 to "blind"
 n.m.pl. βῶλλε ἐν ῥῶμῃ 141:20 "blind men"
- βῶβῶ "boil," "seethe" (42b)
 143:5
- ἐλεοοῦ n.m. "grape" (54b)
 βῶ ἡ ἐλεοοῦ 144:25,26,35 "grapevine"
- ἐνε' prefix of unfulfilled condition (56b)
 with neg. first perf. 141:24
- ἐνεζ n.m. "eternity" (57a)
 adv. abs. 140:28 "ever"
 ὡς ἐνεζ 141:1; 145:16 "forever"
 ἡ ὡς ἐνεζ 141:17f "forever"
 ὡς ἐνεζ ἡ δὲ νεζ 145:16 "forever and ever"
- ἐφῡ n.m.f. "fellow" (59a)
 w. poss. adj. 138:4; 141:[27],19; 143:21 "one another"
- ἐτῶε' prep. "because of," "concerning," "in behalf of" (61a)
 138:6,25,37; 139:14,24,26,[42]; 140:7; 141:10; 142:5,35;
 143:28; 144:34; 145:4
 ἐτῶε παῖ 138:19,22,35; 139:4,11,12,[42]; 140:9 "therefore"
 ἐτῶε οὐ 139:23 "why"
- ἐψῶε conj. "if," "as if" (63b)
 139:9
- εἰ "come" (70a)
 εἰ ἐβόλ 139:18 "come forth"
 εἰ ἐβόλ ἡ τῆν 139:27; 145:9,12 "come forth from"
 εἰ δ' 141:22 "come (in order) to do"
- εἰδ n. "eye" (and its sight) (73b)
 n.f. ἡ τῆν [εἰδ] 141:29 "sight"
 nom. vb. ἡ δὲ εἰδ 140[41]; 145:1,3,5 "blessed is"
- εἰε "surely," "then" (74a)
 εἰε 138:32,[40]
- (ε)εἰεβτ n.m. "East" (76b)
 δὲ εἰεβτ 143:5

- ΕΙΜΕ "know," "recognize" (77b)
 ἸΜΕ 138:8,12; 140:7; 141:40; 143:26
 ἸΜΕ ἸΜΟΕΙ ΔΕ ΔΝΟΚ ΠΕ... 138:13
 ἸΜΕ Δ 145:2
- ΕΙΝΕ be "like" (80b)
 ΙΝΕ ἸΜΟ 139:3
- ΕΙΠΕ "do," "make" (83a)
 ΕΙΠΕ Ἰ 138:32; 143:32
 Π (often w/ Gk. inf.) 139:12,20,23,26,29; 140:22,23;
 141:1,[22],33; 142:4,8,11,15,18,19,20,[38]; 143:11,24,25,
 38; 144:6,6,26,28,30,30,31,32; 145:2,6
 ΔΔ 138:27f,31f; 140:25
 Ο Ἰ 138:11; 141:30; 142:21,32,34; 144:38
 imper. ΔΡΙ 145:20
- ΕΙΩΤ n.m. "father" (86b)
 n. pl. ΕΙΩΤΕ 141:32
- ΕΙΩΤΕ n.f. "dew" (87b)
 144:15
- ΕΙΤἸ n.m. "ground" (87b)
 ΔΠΙΤἸ 144:[41] "down"
 ἸΤΠΕ ΔΠΙΤἸ 140:35 "from heaven to earth"
 ΔἸ ἸΤΠΕ ΩΔΠΙΤἸ Δ 142:33 "from heaven to the bottom of"
- ΚΕ n. "other," "also" (90b)
 144:27
- ΚΟΥΙ n. "young person" (92b)
 n.m.pl. ΚΟΥΕΙ 139:11 "babes"
 adj. ΚΟΥΙ Ἰ 141:14 "short"
- ΚΩ "place," "appoint," "make" (94b)
 ΚΔΔ ΝΔ Ἰ 141:26 "esteem as"
 ΚΩ ΕΒΟΛ Ἰ 142:39 "release"
 ΚΩ ΕΖΡΔΙ Ἰ 139:28 "abandon"
 ΚΩ ἸΩΔ Ἰ 145:11 "leave behind"
 ΚΔΤΟΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ 141:38 "despair"
- ΚΔΚΕ n.m. "darkness" (101b)
 139:19; 142:13; 143:26,30; 144:1,18,19
 adj. ἸΚΔΚΕ 140:24; 142:35; 143:33,[37] "dark"
- ΚΛΟΟΛΕ n.f. "cloud" (104a)
 143:36
- ΚΛΟΜ n.m. "crown" (104b)
 143:29
- ΚΙΜ "move" (108a)
 138:[40],[41],[41]; 139:39
 n.m. 139:40 "movement"
- ΚΩΩC "bury" (120a)
 n.f. ΚΩC 141:17 "corpse"

- κωτε "turn," "go around" (124a)
 143:17
 κωτε δδν 144:5 "circle around"
 n.m. κατ 143:17 "wheel"
- κτο "turn," "surround" (127b)
 κτο ἄνζο εβολ 142:28 "turn face away," "reject"
 κτο ἄν 142:32 "turn around" (trans.)
 κτο δ 143:3,4 "turn (self) toward"
- καζ n.m. "land" (131a)
 144:21,29,31,36
- κωζτ n.m. "fire" (133b)
 139:34; 140:21; 141:9,14,30; 142:12,12; 143:16,27; 144:14,16
- λο "abandon" (135a)
 141:[37]
- λιβε n.m. "madness" (136b)
 141:39,[41]; 142:39; 143:24
- λδδν "anything" (146a)
 138:17
- λογλγ "perish" (148b)
 λογλεγ 144:22 "wither"
- μα n.m. "place" (153a)
 139:27; 141:36; 142:34; 144:30,[39]
- με to "love" (156a)
 μαειε 141:30; 144:9
 n.m. μαειε 145:4
- με n.f. "truth" (156b)
 μηε 138:13,26,30; 140:1,17,20,[42]; 142:11
 adj. ἄμηε 138:8; 140:2,21 "true"
 adv. ζν ογμηε 141:25 "truly"
- μογ "die" (159a)
 144:36
 n.m. 141:31; 143:26; 145:1 "death"
- μκδζ "be painful," "be difficult" (163a)
 μοκζ δ 138:26,31
 μοκζ ἄν 139:14
- ἄμἄν "not be" (166b)
 ἄντε 139:5; 141:16; 143:9; [145:7] "not have"
 ἄνγδoм ἄτε (conjunctive) 140:13
 ἄνγδoм ἄμοζ ἄν (plus inf.) 140:28
 particle (εγωπε) ἄμον 140:12 "(if) not"
- ἄμιν "own," "proper" (168b)
 ἄμιν ἄμοζ 138:12,16; 140:30; 144:2
- ἄν, ἄμμδ prep. "with" (169b)
 138:3,14; 144:10,27; 145:14,15,15
 as coord. conj. 139:34,35,38,40; 141:14,18,39; 142:11,13,
 16,17,17,18,36; 143:26; 144:7,10,17,19,20,20,21,21,[27];

- 145:11,12,23 "and"
 prep. Μῶστες 142:14 "after"
- σημεῖον n.m. "sign," "mark" (170b)
 n.m. σημεῖον 139:17 "target"
 n.m. σημεῖον 139:16 "target"
- Μῆμεν adv. "daily" (172a)
 Μῆμεν 144:42
- Μῆμεν n.f. "sort," "quality" (172b)
 adj. ὡς μῆμεν 141:28 "such," "of this sort"
- Ἐπεὶ adv. "very" (180a)
 142:5
- Μοῦν "bind" (180a)
 Μοῦν 140:30 "bind with"
 Μοῦν 143:22 "bound in"
 n.f. Μοῦν 140:32; 145:7f,9 "bond," "bondage"
- Μοῦν n.m. "road," "path" (188a)
 ὁ Μοῦν 140:20 to "lead," "guide"
- Μῆμεν n.f. "middle" (190b)
 ὡς μῆμεν 141:17 "in the midst of"
- Μοῦν "call," "speak" (191b)
 Μοῦν ἐπὶ 138:10,15,34; 142:7 (passive) "be called"
- Μοῦν "rest," "be relieved" (193b)
 Μοῦν Μοῦν 140:42; 141:3 (reflex) "rest oneself"
 n.m. 145:11 "rest"
 adj. ὡς μοῦν 144:15 "refreshing"
- Μοῦν (place) "there" (196b)
 adj. ὡς μοῦν 141:26; 142:33 "that," "those"
 subst. ὡς μοῦν 144:12 "those"
 adv. ὡς μοῦν 138:5; 143:3; 144:35 "there"
 adv. ὡς μοῦν 143:6 "away"
- Μοῦν n.m. "water" (197b)
 142:13; 144:1,19,21
 Μοῦν Νεῦν 140:18 "meandering stream"
- Μεμεν "think" (199a)
 Μεμεν 138:6
 Μεμεν 141:41
 Μεμεν ἐπὶ 143:12f
 n.m. 142:1; 143:18,33,34f "thought"
 ἀπὸ (πρὸς) μεμεν 145:20 "remember"
- Μοῦν "kill" (201a)
 Μοῦν 144:42
- Μοῦν "walk" (203b)
 138:3
 Μοῦν ὡς μοῦν 138:14

- ΜΟΥΖ "fill" (208a)
 ΜΟΥΖ Ζ̄Ν 143:34 "fill with"
 [ΜΕΖ] Ζ̄Ν 143:27 "full of"
- ΜΟΥΖ "burn" (210a)
 n.m. 143:[18],[28]
- Ν̄,ΝΔ̄ prep. "to," "for" (216b)
 138:6,22,26,28,37; 139:13; 140:2,4,8,10,16,21,27; 141:3,5,9,26; 142:7,9,10,22,27,30; 143:9,10,17,18,[21],29,30; 144:3,9,11,12,14,17,20,37,37
- ΝΔΔ "be great" (218b)
 ΝΔΕΙΑΤ̄ 145:1,3,5 "blessed is (one)"
- ΝΗΒ n.m. "lord" (221a)
 Ζ̄ΝΔΠ Δ̄ 144:30 "dominate"
 Ζ̄ΝΔΠ Δ̄ 144:31 "dominate"
- ΝΙΜ adj. "every" (225b)
 adj. 138:[39]; 140:5,35; 144:30; 145:8
 n. indef. ΟΥΟΝ ΝΙΜ 140:1 "everyone"
 interrog. pron. ΝΙΜ 138:9; 143:39; 144:15,17 "who?"
- ΝΟΥΝ n.m. "abyss" (226b)
 141:33; 142:34
- ΝΑΝΟΥΔ "be good" (227a)
 139:31; 141:5
 subst. ΠΕΤΝΑΝΟΥΥ 140:15; 141:22f "the good"
- ΝΟΥΝΕ n.f. "root" (227b)
 139:1
- ΝΟΥΤΕ n.m. "god" (230b)
 143:14
 adj. ΔΤΝΟΥΤΕ 143:9 "godless"
- ΝΤΟΚ second pers. indep. prn. sg. "thou"
 138:7,19; 139:20; 140:7; 142:8
 ΝΤΚ' 138:9
 ΝΤΔΚ 138:14
- ΝΤΩΤ̄Ν second pers. indep. prn. pl. "you"
 138:35; 139:11
 dep. prn. ΤΗΝΕ 138:29; 139:26; 142:40; 143:16,19,21,29,35,37; 144:12,16,18,18,[39]; 145:1,3,6,7
- ΝΤΟΥΥ third pers. indep. prn. pl. "they"
 as intensifier 139:2 "but," "however"
- ΝΤΟΥ third pers. indep. prn. sg. "he"
 as intensifier 140:15; 143:5 "but," "however"
- ΝΤΗΒ n.m. "plant," "weed" (233a)
 144:23,26,34
- ΝΔΥ "look," "behold," "see" (233b)
 ΝΔΥ Ε' 138:19; 141:8,0; 144:8
 ΝΔΥ ΕΒΟΛ 141:12

- παῖ, τὰῖ, ναῖ demon. "this" (259a)
 παῖ, παι, πει; τὰῖ, τεῖ; ναῖ, ναι, νει *passim*
 εἶπε παῖ πε 138:20 "that is," "i.e."
 τὰῖ τε θε 139:7; 141:28; 142:20f "so also"
 εἶπε παῖ (6ε) 138:19,22,35; 139:4,11,13; 140:9 "therefore"
 τὰῖ εἰτ' ἄλλ' 142:33 "that one"
 ναῖ εἰτ' ἄλλ' 141:25 "those"
- πῶς, τῶς, ἢ πῶς poss. prn. (260b)
 ἡμετέων ἡμῶν 141:4 "our own"
- πῶσθε "turn," "change" (264a)
 πῶς 140:34
 πῶς 142:35
 πῶς ἡτ' ὅπως (refl.) "be frenetic" 142:1
- πεῖρε "shine," "come forth" (267a)
 πεῖρε 139:24; 144:7,22,24
- πῶρ' "uproot" (268b)
 πορκ' 144:34
- πῶρ' "be spread out" (269b)
 [πῶρ'] ἐβόη 144:28
 ἐ[πῶρ'] 142:37
- πῶτ "run," "flee," "go" (274a)
 πῶτ ἐ' 141:31; 143:2,6
 πῶτ ἀρῶν δ' 144:40 "rush to"
 πῶτ ἄρῶν δ' 141:35 "rush headlong to"
 πῶτ ἄρῶν 141:40; 142:40,42; 143:2 "pursue"
 πῶτ ἄρῶν 144:2 "walk in," "behave according to"
 πῶτ ἄρῶν ἄρῶν 140:3,4; 145:2 "flee"
 πῶτ ἄρῶν 140:19 "rush upon"
- πῶς "be beside oneself," "turn aside" (279b)
 πῶς ἐ' 139:[37]; 143:28 (refl.) "be deranged"
 n.m. πῶς 141:39 "derangement"
 n.m. πῶς ἄρῶν 141:40 "derangement"
- πῶς "burst," "rend" (280a)
 143:20
 πῶς 143:[37]
- πῶς "say" (285a)
 πῶς 138:39
 πῶς 138:4,21; 139:21,22,24,32; 140:37; 141:3,4,19,25;
 142:3,6,7,26; 144:37
 πῶς 138:37; 140:9
- ρὰ n.m. "state," "condition" (287a)
 prep. ὑπὲρ 138:24 "concerning"
- ρῆ n.m. "sun" (287b)
 144:4,17,19,21,24
- ρὸ n.m. "mouth" (288a)
 ὑπὲρ 142:34,[37] "against"

- ρω part. "same," "again" (290a)
139:[25]; 140:6
- ρωκζ "burn," "scorch" (293a)
ρωκζ, ρωχ 139:36; 141:14; 142:2; 143:16
ρωκ 140:3
n.m. ρωκζ 144:17 "burning"
- ριμε "weep" (294a)
145:6
- ριμε n.m. "man" (294b)
138:20,27,[39]; 139:24,34,36; 140:4,41; 141:6,21,26,28;
142:16
n.m. ριμζιητ 140:13,14 "wise man"
- ριμζε n.m.f. "free person" (297a)
n.f. ριμζιητ 143:31 "freedom"
- ριδν n.m. "name" (297b)
140:12
- ριπο n.m. "king" (299a)
145:14
ριπο ριμζ 145:14 "reign with"
δ ριπο εχρ 142:32 "be king over"
- ρις n.m. "south" (299b)
143:3
- ροεic "watch," "be awake" (300b)
145:8
- ριτ n.m. "foot" (302b)
ετε ρις ρις ρις ρις adj. 139:33 "unsearchable"
- ριτ "grow" (303b)
ριτ εχρ ρις ρις 144:27 "grow up with"
ριτ ρις ρις ρις 144:29 "grow up in"
ριτ ρις ρις 140:17 "grow beside"
- ριτε n.m. "manner," "fashion," "likeness" (304b)
ριπριτε ρις ρις ρις 144:23 "the same way as"
ριπριτε ρις ρις 138:41
ρις ρις ρις 138:10; 142:24 "in what way," "how"
- ροοις "have care for" (306b)
n.m. 141:13,[39] "concern"
- ρις "rejoice" (308b)
ρις εχρ ρις 141:38
ρις ρις ρις 143:23
- ς n.m. "side," "part"
prep. ρις 140:1,42; 141:[40]; 142:23,29,40,42; 143:2;
145:11 "after"
adv. ρις ρις 141:35 "headlong"
adv. ρις ρις ρις 138:42; 142:31 "above"
adv. ρις ρις ρις 142:14 "above"
prep. ρις ρις 142:14 "after" (temporal)

- CΔ "be beautiful" (315a)
 n.m. CΔΕΙΕ 140:22; 141:[42] "beauty"
- CΕΙ "be satisfied" (316a)
 adj. ΔΤC(Ε)Ι 140:25; 143:16 "insatiable"
- CΔΒΕ n.m. "wise person" (319a)
 n.m. CΔΒΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ 140:41 "wise man"
 n.f. CΔΒΗ ΜΜΗΕ 140:2 "wise One"
 n.pl. CΔΒΕΕΥ 141:41 "wise ones"
 n.m. CΒΟΥΕΙ 138:35 "disciple"
 n.f. CΒΩ 140:10; 141:21; 144:38 "doctrine," "teaching"
 adj. ΔΤCΒΩ 140:12 "ignorant"
- CΩΒΕ "laugh" (320b)
 143:23
 n.m. 142:22; 143:23 "laughter," "laughingstock"
- CΟΒΤΕ "prepare," "set in order" (323a)
 CΒΤΕ ΤΗΝΕ ΖῆΔΙ Ζῆ ΝΕΤΝΕΡΗΥ "prepare you for one
 another" (?)
 143:21
- CΩΚ "draw," "beguile," "impel," "gather" (325a)
 140:29,34; 141:[41] "drag," "lead"
 CΩΚ Ζῆ 144:14 "beguile with"
 CΩΚ ΖῆΔῆ 140:36 "drag upon"
 n.m. 140:34 "impulse"
- CΜΙΝΕ "establish," "construct" (337a)
 CΜΙΝΕ ΝΔ 140:2,4 "make (for oneself)"
- CΟΝ n.m. "brother" (342b)
 138:10,19
 n.m. CΔΝ 138:4
 n.pl. CΝΗΥ 145:20
- CΩΝΤ n.f. "creature" (345a)
 138:[41]; 139:3
- CΔΔΝΥ "nourish" (347b)
 139:2; 140:16
- CΩΝΖ "be bound," "be fettered" (348b)
 CΟΝΖ ΝΖΡΔΙ Ζῆ 140:31 "bind with"
- CΟΠ̄ "pray," "entreat" (352a)
 138:22; 145:8,10
- CΠΟΤΟΥ n.m. "lips" (353a)
 142:29
- CΩΡΜ "wander," "err" (355a)
 n.m. 144:3 "error"
 adj. ΜΟΥ ΝCΩΡΜ 140:18 "meandering stream"
- CΔΤΕ n.f. "fire" (360a)
 141,[24]; 142:2,[42]; 143:1,3,5

- CITE "throw" (360b)
 n.f. COTE 139:16 "arrow"
 n.f. CATE 139:15 "arrow"
- CTOI "smell" (362b)
 † CTOEI 140:24 to "be fragrant"
 † C†NOYCE 144:20 "give a fragrance"
- CWTM "hear," "listen" (363b)
 CWTM E 138:3,5,29; 142:9,10,27 "listen to"
 CWTM EBOA ZITOOT 138:24 "hear from (s.one) about"
- CWTP "choose" (365a)
 n.m. 139:28 "elect"
- CWTP "turn," "twist" (366a)
 CWTP N...CTOTON 142:29 "sneer"
- COOVN "know" (369b)
 COOVN 138:21; 140:39; 141:36; 143:40
 COOVNE 138:12,15; 142:23
 COVWN 138:17; 141:24
 COVWN 138:16,17
 X1 COOVN 138:18 "obtain knowledge about"
 n.m. COOVN 138:13 "knowledge"
 adj. CT COOVN 138:14; 144:[38] "ignorant"
 adj. CT COOVNE 138:11 "ignorant"
 n.m. PEYCOOVNE EPO 138:15 (refl.) "self-knower"
- CWOVZ "gather" (372b)
 COOVZ 141:11
- COEUY n.m. "pair," "twin" (374b)
 138:8
- CIYE "be bitter" (376b)
 n.m. 139:33; 140:32; 141:34; 143:28; 145:9 "bitterness"
- CWUY "be polluted" (378b)
 COUY 144:10,[19]
- CZDI "write" (381b)
 145:18
 CDZ 138:2
- CZIME n.f. "woman" (385a)
 n.pl. CZIOME 139:38,[41],42 "women"
 n.f. MNTCZIME 144:9 "womanhood," "womankind"
- CAZOV "curse" (387a)
 143:[41]
 subst. inf. DVCAZOV AN 141:23 "not for (a) cursing"
- COB n.m. "fool" (388a)
 140:14,15
 n.f. MNTCEBE 143:34 "folly"
- † "give" (392a)
 † ND 140:21; 144:17 "give to"
 TAD ETOOT 142:30 "hand over"

- ΤΔδ̣ ḡ 143:32,33 "exchange for," "surrender (smg) to"
 †CTOEI 140:24 "be fragrant"
 †CTNOVYE 144:20 "give fragrance to"
 †TKδC 141:9,18 "give pain"
 †OCE 140:[39] "forfeit"
 †OVBH 142:5 "fight against"
 TO† ʒI 143:37 "wear," "be put on"
- TBNH n.m. "beast" (400b)
 n.pl. TBNOOVE 138:40; 139:6,9; 140:36; 141:[26],27; 142:1
 n.f. MNTTBNH 138:29 "bestiality"
- TWK "kindle," "burn" (404a)
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 ἀναχωρεῖν "revert" 139:29
 ἀπειλή (ἈΠΙΛΗ) n.f. "threat" 143:4
 ἀρχεῖν to "rule" 142:31
 ἀρχων n.m. "Archon," (spiritual) "ruler" 142:31,[40]
 αὐξάνειν "grow" 144:31
 ἄφθονος (ἄτ + φθόνος) adj. "sufficient" 142:21
 ἀφορμή n.f. "instigation" 142:17
 βάθος n.m. "depth" 138:18; 142:36
 βίος n.m. (this) "life" 141:13,[39]; 143:14; 145:10
 γάρ conj. "for," "since" 138:13,17; 139:6,41; 140:10,14,16,
 20; 141:6,27,35; 142:5,5; 143:6; 144:12,21,33; 145:12
 interj. "yes" 141:5
 δαίμων n.m. "demon" 144:13
 δέ conj. "and," "but" 138:17,21,36; 139:4,12,18,20,28; 140:40;
 141:12,19,23; 142:2,3,9,19; 143:5; 144:25,[41]

διαφορά	n.n.	"different sort"	139:10
εἴδωλον	n.n.	"phantom"	141:16
εἰρήνη	n.f.	"peace"	145:22
ἐλπίζειν (ζελπιζε)		"to hope"	143:11
ἐλπίς (ζελπις)	n.f.	"hope"	139:5; 143:9,13,[39],[42]; 145:7
ἐνέργεια	n.f.	"force"	144:13
ἐξουσία	n.f.	"authority," "power"	142:32; 144:11
ἐπειδὴ	conj.	"since," "because"	138:7,10; 140:7,13,18; 141:5,30; 142:2,25
ἐπιθυμία	n.f.	"lust"	140:3,25,32; 141:32
ἐργάτης	n.m.	"laborer"	138:34
ἢ	conj.	"or"	138:9; 141:20,21; 142:28,29,35; 144:23
ἡδονή	n.f.	"pleasure"	140:24
θλίβειν		"be oppressed"	145:6
θνητός	adj. as n.	"mortal"	141:22
κἄν	conj.	"although"	138:14
καπνός	n.m.	"smoke"	143:35
καρπός	n.m.	"fruit"	139:1; 142:15
κατά	prep.	"as," "according to"	140:8,34
κατέχειν		"restrain"	143:38
κληρονομεῖν		"inherit"	144:28
κολάζειν		"punish"	142:15
κόσμος	n.m.	"world"	138:5,31; 142:22,26; 143:14
κρίνειν	to	"judge"	144:4
κρίσις	n.f.	"judgement"	143:7
λόγος	n.m.	"reason"	138:[40]
λογικόν	adj.	"rational"	138:[42]
μακάριος	adj.	"blessed"	139:25
μαστιγοῦν		"afflict," "whip"	141:33
μάστιξ	n.f.	"whip"	142:[42]
μέγεθος	n.n.	"majesty"	138:32,36

- μέλος n.n. "limb," "member" 139:36; 140:31; 141:37; 144:14
- μέν conj. "indeed," "on the one hand" 139:16; 142:19;
144:[24]
- μεριμνᾶν "be anxious" 142:4
- μήτι interrog. part. in neg. question "is not?" 139:8
- μορφή n.f. "form" 141:16
- νοεῖν "recognize," "notice" 142:20; 143:24,25; 144:6
- ὅταν conj. "when" 138:24; 139:18,28
- οὐσία n.f. "essence" 139:30,30
- οὔτε conj. "nor," "neither" 143:24,25
- πάθος n.m. "passion" 145:13
- πάλιν adv. "yet," "again," "back" 140:8; 141:11; 141:23
- παραδιδόναι "hand over" 142:40
- πείθειν "persuade" 142:19
- πιστεύειν "believe" 142:11; 143:[40]
- πίστις n.f. "faith" 141:10
- πλάσμα n.n. "body" 139:7
- πληγή n.f. "smiting" 143:30
- πλήρωμα n.n. "Pleroma," (divine world) 138:33
- πνεῦμα n.n. "spirit" 140:3,5; 144:21
- πνευματικός adj. "spiritual" (one) 145:23
- πονηρόν adj. "evil" 144:13
- πράξις n.f. "deed" 142:2
- πρέπει (impers) "it befits" 142:8
- προσευχή n.f. "prayer" 145:21
- πῶς interrog. "how" 138:32
- σάρξ n.f. "flesh" 141:7,24; 143:11,19; 145:9
- σκάνδολον n.n. "stumbling-block" 145:2
- σκεῦος n.n. "vessel" 141:6
- σοφία n.f. "wisdom" 140:14
- σοφός adj. "wise (man)" 140:16

- σπήλαιον n.n. "cavern" 143:22
- συνήθεια n.f. "intimacy" 144:9
- συνουσία n.f. "(sexual) intercourse" 139:8
- σῶμα n.n. "body" 138:39; 139:2,4,6,7,34; 141:42; 143:7;
144:8,11,22; 145:13
- σωτήρ (ζωρ) n.m. "Savior" 138:1,4,27,37,39; 139:25,32;
140:9,[40]; 141:4,25; 142:6,10,26; 143:8
- ταλαίπωρος adj. "miserable" 141:21
- τάρταρος n.m. "Tartaros" (netherworld of punishment) 142:36
- ταρταροῦχος n.m. "Tartarouchos," "Chief of Tartarow" 141:41
- τάφος n.m. "tomb" 141:17; 142:13
- τέλειος adj. "perfect" 140:10; 145:19
ῤτελειος to "perfect" 139:12; 140:11
Μῆντελειος "perfection" 138:36
- τότε adv. "then" 138:25; 139:19,29,31; 141:9,15; 143:8;
144:31,36
- ὑπηρέτης n.m. "servant" 139:31
- ὑπομονή n.f. "patience" 141:37
- φαντασία n.f. "appearance" 140:21
- φθόνος n.m. "jealousy"
adj. ἀτφθονος 142:21 "sufficient"
- φραγελλοῦν to "scourge" 141:35; [φραγελλων (for φραγέλ-
λιον?)] n.m. "whip" 143:1
- φύσις n.f. "nature" 141:34
- χαλινός n.m. "bit" 140:29
- χόρτος n.m. "grass" 144:23
- ψυχή n.f. "soul" 139:37; 140:40; 141:18; 144:1; pl.
ψυχονε 140:26; 143:15,20
- ὦ vocative part. "O" 139:25
- ὦ interj. "O!" 139:32,33
- ὥς (ζως) conj. "while" 138:4,14; 140:7; 141:42; 143:42

Proper Names

- Θωμᾶς Thomas 138:2,4,19,21,37; 139:12,22,25; 140:6,37;
141:2,19; 142:3,8,19; 145:17

- Ἰησοῦς (ΙῚ) Jesus 139:21; 144:37
- Ἰούδας Judas 138:2; 142:7
- Μαθαῖας Mathaias 138:2
- ὁ Σωτήρ (π̄σωρ) "Savior" 138:1,4,27,37,39; 139:25,32;
140:9,[40]; 141:4,25; 142:6,10,26; 143:8
- Ταρταροῦχος "Chief of Tartaros" 141:41

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER I

THE LANGUAGE OF THE BOOK OF THOMAS THE CONTENDER

The following linguistic analysis, given in quasi-tabular form, concerns the text of Codex II from page 138 to the end of the Codex. While the author has had opportunity to examine the linguistic features of many of the tractates of Codex II, the current aim is to restrict the analysis of the tractate at hand, only rarely referring to these features of other tractates in the Codex. However, it can be broadly stated at the outset that the Nag Hammadi Corpus appears to contain three main types of Coptic dialects: Subachmimic (the Jung Codex, Codex X and the first part of XI); a quasi-Sahidic dialect whose syntax and, to a lesser extent, orthography display features mostly attested in lower Egyptian dialects, e.g. Bohairic and Fayyumic ("The Three Steles of Seth" [CG VII,5], "Zostrianos" [CG VIII,1], "Allogenes" [CG XI,1]); and a type of Sahidic whose orthography displays many features attested mostly in Subachmimic texts, of which Codex II is a very good example. Codex II, though representative of one of the main dialect-types found in the Nag Hammadi Corpus, does not possess within itself complete linguistic unity, since it contains tractates probably taken from a number of other Coptic manuscripts of various milieux. For this reason we limit ourselves to a consideration of the linguistic features of the single tractate, *Thomas the Contender*.

The linguistic analysis will be divided into two sections: syntax and dialect.

Syntax

Though the syntax of *Thomas the Contender* could be laid out in a number of ways, we have adopted the form of a tabular presentation divided according to the types of clauses, both main and subordinate, used to create meaning units. As such, the analysis is entirely restricted to the way in which, grammatically speaking, a given topic (or "subject") is commented upon (receives a "predicate"). This means that we shall be discussing the two main types of Coptic sentences, non-verbal

and verbal, rather than discussing questions of morphology, phonetics and the use of particles and prepositions. The presentation will be from a synchronic (descriptive) rather than a diachronic (historical) perspective, except where, in a few cases, a comment from the latter perspective seems apt.

Accordingly we will treat: I) non-verbal clauses, both nominal and adverbial, and II) verbal clauses. The verbal clauses will be discussed under five heads:¹ A. Basic tenses, which comprise seven tenses, including three pairs of affirmative and negative forms plus one long negative form; B. Satellites of the basic tenses, of two kinds: 1) the second tense, which has the effect of making the verb to which the second tense morpheme is prefixed into the logical subject of an adverbial sentence whose adverbial element becomes the logical predicate, and 2) the sentence converters which (a) in the case of the particle $\text{N}\epsilon\text{'}\text{'}$ converts the sentence into its corresponding preterit,² and (b) in the case of the circumstantial particle $\epsilon\text{'}$ and of the relative particles $\epsilon\text{'}\text{'}$, $\epsilon\text{'}\epsilon$, $\epsilon\text{'}$ and $(\epsilon)\text{N}\text{'}\text{'}$ convert the tense from a main sentence into a subordinate clause; C. Clause conjugations which comprise 1) three subordinate clause equivalents which temporally or conditionally qualify a main sentence, and 2) two conjunctives which serve to continue a preceding sentence or clause conjugation. Clause conjugations are earmarked by a unique negative, $\text{TM}\text{'}$; D. The imperatives are set apart from sentence conjugations since only the causative imperative is really a conjugation. E. Infinitive constructions which, while they neither form sentences nor conjugations, can be elements of sentences, e.g., the actor or complementary (direct, oblique) object expression.

It is hoped that such an arrangement will not only possess a logical structure but also provide a framework within which certain striking features of the syntax of *Thomas the Contender* can be set in relief against an orderly pattern. Not every detail, normal or abnormal, will be treated here; irregular features crucial to the interpretation of the tractate which are not covered in the grammatical analysis will be dealt with in the commentary.

I. Non Verbal Clauses.

- A. The Nominal Sentence. In *Thomas the Contender*, nominal sentences are used to state an identity between two or

more subjects expressed as substantives, and to assign properties to one or more subjects expressed as substantives. Identity statements consist in three patterns: 1) The immediate juxtaposition of the absolute independent pronoun of the first or second person with a definite substantive (138:7; 139:20; cf. 138:9) which uses the construction reduced pronoun plus substantive; 2) the mediate juxtaposition of one or more definite substantives with another definite substantive by means of the (demonstrative) particle $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\nu\epsilon$ functioning as copula in the pattern: substantive or independent pronoun plus $\pi\epsilon$ plus substantive (138:13; 143:14; most often $\tau\delta\epsilon\iota\ \tau\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon$, 139:7; 141:28; 142:20), or in the pattern: substantive plus substantive plus $\pi\epsilon$ (140:15f); and 3) the juxtaposition of a substantive or pronoun (independent, demonstrative or interrogative) with the demonstrative (or interrogative) with the demonstrative particle $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\nu\epsilon$, functioning as "subject," and often followed by a complement, either a relative adjective or an infinitive phrase: $\pi\epsilon$ etc. plus relative (139:1f; 140:6,7f; 141:19f; 142:2f,8; 143:39; 144:15,17); $\tau\epsilon$ followed by infinitive phrase (138:11); $\pi\epsilon$ alone (141:4).

Attributive statements assigning properties to a subject expressed by a substantive have much the same pattern as identity statements, except that the topic of the sentence ("subject") is a definite substantive or pronoun (independent or demonstrative) and the complement ("predicate") is an indefinite expression. The patterns are 1) immediate juxtaposition of a first or second person independent pronoun with an indefinite expression (138:14,35; 139:11); 2) the mediate juxtaposition of a definite subject expression with an indefinite expression by means of the (demonstrative) particle $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\nu\epsilon$ functioning as copula and following the indefinite expression (139:6; 142:22); and 3) the juxtaposition of an indefinite expression with the (demonstrative) particle $\pi\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$, $\nu\epsilon$ functioning as "subject" which always follows the indefinite expression (141:41; 142:5; 143:16). The pattern can contain an adverbial or adnominal complement which immediately follows the indefinite

expression (139:9f,31; 140:9). The demonstrative particle can also occur within the indefinite expression (139:8). Should the "subject," expressed by the demonstrative particle, be defined by a relative adjective, the latter is immediately joined to the demonstrative particle, e.g. $\zeta\alpha\zeta \rho\alpha\rho \nu\epsilon\tau\uparrow \omicron\nu\beta\eta\nu$ (142:5). Finally, the attributive statement, like the identity statement can take a complementary infinitive (140:9).

A peculiarity related to the non-verbal sentence deserves mention. In 142:20f we read: $\delta\upsilon\omega \varsigma\omicron\nu\omicron\nu\zeta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \chi\epsilon \tau\alpha\epsilon\iota [\tau\epsilon \theta\epsilon \delta\upsilon\omega \pi\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\delta\chi\epsilon \omicron \bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\phi\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$. The qualitative \omicron is clearly inserted above the line over the ϵ of $\upsilon\delta\chi\epsilon$. Assuming the restoration $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota \tau\epsilon \theta\epsilon$ is correct, the insertion of \omicron in the sentence co-ordinate with it is very peculiar. The scribe ought to have crossed out the $\bar{\nu}$ of $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\phi\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ and written $\omicron\nu$ above it and inserted a $\pi\epsilon$ after the emendation to $\omicron\nu\alpha\tau\phi\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$. What must have happened is that the scribe executed the correction requiring the least emendation. $\pi\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\delta\chi\epsilon \bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\phi\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$ is not a sentence, as it lacks a copula, and the easiest way to create a sentence is to insert the qualitative \omicron before the $\bar{\nu}$ in $\bar{\nu}\alpha\tau\phi\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\varsigma$, yielding a sentence usually reserved for the attribution of accidents (properties contingent on time, etc.) rather than of enduring properties.

- B. The Adverbial Sentence. There are six pure adverbial sentences in *Thomas the Contender* (143:6f,19,25,29,35; 144:18), occurring in adjectival phrases employing the preposition $\zeta\bar{\nu}$ preceded either by a relative or circumstantial particle, and a seventh also preceded by the circumstantial: $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu\mu\epsilon\epsilon\nu\epsilon \zeta\bar{\iota} \nu\epsilon\nu\pi\rho\alpha\zeta\iota\varsigma$ (142:1).

II. *Verbal Clauses*. Verbal clauses in *Thomas the Contender* can be treated under five heads: Basic Tenses, Satellites of the Basic Tenses, Clause Conjugations, Imperatives, and Infinitive Constructions. The First Present will be discussed as a basic tense, in spite of the fact that diachronically it belongs to the class of adverbial sentences.

A. Basic Tenses.

1) Bipartite Basic Tenses.

- a. First Present. Morphologically the First Present

appears as described in the standard manuals, with no anomalous forms. Syntactically, the First Present is used in *Thomas the Contender* in four main ways. As an independent statement of fact in present time it is used with verbs of knowing, perceiving and saying as these occur in direct discourse (138:12,22,38; 139:13; 142:4,27,30) as well as in the indirect statements created by them (138:26,38), and finally in the course of a narrative (139:16). Unquestionably in *Thomas the Contender*, the First Present is used preponderantly in the formation of substantives (relative substantive, fifty times), of adjectives (relative adjective with definite antecedent, forty times, circumstantial with indefinite nouns, pronouns, and relative adjectives, ten times) and, as circumstantials, of adverbs (forty times).

A second use of the First Present is found in phrases with an impersonal subject (138:26; 140:37; 141:3; 142:20), cast in the third feminine singular. The third use is found in causal clauses introduced by $\epsilon\pi\iota\Delta\eta$ (138:10; 141:30f; 142:23,25), $\Gamma\alpha\rho$ (140:14; 142:4), and once by $\chi\epsilon'$ (143:22). Lastly, the First Present is used in the protasis of present general conditional clauses, introduced by $\epsilon\psi\pi\epsilon'$ (138:28,30; 140:11).

In *Thomas the Contender* the First Present often occurs with an anticipatory subject which is recapitulated by a proclitic pronoun. The First Present is, finally, negated by $\delta\mathbf{N}$ alone except where it occurs in a relative substantive or adjective, where it is negated by $\bar{\mathbf{N}}\dots\delta\mathbf{N}$. An exception is 141:12; $\mathbf{N}\epsilon\tau\mathbf{N}\delta\mathbf{V}\ \Delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\mathbf{B}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{A}\ \bar{\mathbf{N}}\ \mathbf{N}\epsilon\tau\mathbf{O}\mathbf{V}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{N}\bar{\mathbf{Z}}\ \epsilon\mathbf{B}\mathbf{O}\mathbf{A}\ \delta\mathbf{N}$.

Finally, there seems to be a preference for the use of the qualitative $\mathbf{\Pi}\mathbf{H}\mathbf{T}$ wherever the verb $\mathbf{\Pi}\mathbf{W}\mathbf{T}$ could be used in the First Present. This is good Sahidic style for verbs of motion in the present tense.

b. First Future. Morphologically, the First Future

presents no anomalous forms, except in the assimilation of \bar{N} in the second person plural proclitic pronoun $\tau\epsilon\tau N'$ with the N of $N\delta'$ producing $\tau\epsilon\tau N\delta'$ instead of $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{N}N\delta'$. There is, however, one case (145:10) where we have $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{N}N\delta'$ without assimilation. In the case of the first person plural, where the First Future is preceded by a tense converter such as a relative ($\epsilon\tau'$) or preterit ($N\epsilon'$), necessitating the replacement of the proclitic pronoun $\tau\bar{N}'$ by the suffix pronoun \bar{N} , there are no cases of the assimilation of \bar{N} with $N\delta'$ to produce $N\delta'$ alone (cf. $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{N}N\delta'$, 141:20,21).

Syntactically, the First Future is used in *Thomas the Contender* mainly in narrative (twenty-four times). It is occasionally used in relative forms: relative substantive: 141:20; 142:27; 143:10; 144:15,17); and relative adjective: (140:33 [three times]; 143:11). It is frequently used in the apodosis of temporal result clauses, mostly accompanied by $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$: {139:19,29f [two times]; 141:8,15; 142:14; 145:13,14f), and in the apodosis of conditional clauses: (140:11f; 141:24 [imperfect future]; 144:22). In causal clauses, except for 144:5,33, it is used mostly in the woe ($\omicron\upsilon\omicron\iota N\delta\epsilon \dots \chi\epsilon'$, 143:19,20; 144:12) and macarism ($N\delta\epsilon\iota\delta\tau\epsilon \dots \chi\epsilon'$, 145:7) formulas. Finally, it occurs in phrases better rendered by the habitude (cf. 139:4; 140:16 etc.).

In *Thomas the Contender* the First Future is accompanied by an anticipatory subject recapitulated by a proclitic pronoun almost twice as often (thirteen out of forty-seven times) as is the First Present (six of thirty-seven instances). In narrative, it is continued almost as often by another First Future (five times) as it is by the conjunctive (seven times) (an interesting sequence occurs at 140:21ff: future + $\delta\upsilon\omega$ + future + $\delta\upsilon\omega$ + future + conjunctive + $\delta\upsilon\omega$ + future + $\delta\upsilon\omega$ + future + $\delta\upsilon\omega$ + conjunctive). Finally, we should note two occurrences of the First Future with the preterit

satellite $N\epsilon'$, forming the imperfect future, which is used once as the apodosis of an unreal condition ("would have been" 141:24) and once in a causal clause ("for he will have been" 144:33).

In both cases it is followed by the enclitic $\pi\epsilon$.

2) The Old Conjugation and its Descendants.

- a. $\text{ov}\bar{N}'$, $M\bar{N}'$ Clauses. The only morphological peculiarity of $\text{ov}\bar{N}'$ phrases is a variation in the way it combines with a relative converter. Twice (141:10,19) the relative of $\text{ov}\bar{N}'$ plus the preposition $\bar{N}\tau\Delta'$ ($\text{ov}\bar{N}\tau\Delta'$, "to have") occurs as is expected in Sahidic, i.e. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{ov}\bar{N}\tau\Delta'$, but in a third occurrence ϵ contracts with $\text{ov}\bar{N}$ to produce $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\bar{v}\bar{N}\tau\Delta'$ (145:5).

Syntactically, in *Thomas the Contender* $\text{ov}\bar{N}'$ and $M\bar{N}'$ are used in two basic ways: to express existence/non-existence, and, in combination with the preposition $\bar{N}\tau\Delta'$ ("with"), to form the verb to "have"/"not to have" $\text{ov}\bar{N}\tau\Delta'$ / $M\bar{N}\tau\epsilon'$. The existential $\text{ov}\bar{N}'$, $M\bar{N}'$ often occurs in *Thomas the Contender* in assertions of possibility and impossibility in the combination of $M\bar{N}'$ plus $\delta\omicron M$ followed by \bar{N}' , $\bar{M}M\omicron'$ preceding a complementary infinitive introduced by ϵ' , and in the combination $M\bar{N}'$ plus $\omega\delta\omicron M$ ("power knows," "possibility") followed by \bar{N}' , $\bar{M}M\omicron'$, all of which precedes a complementary infinitive introduced by \bar{N}' , or else in the combination $M\bar{N}\omega\delta\omicron M$ followed by the actor expression in the conjunctive. Thus we have the three possibilities: $\text{ov}\bar{N}\delta\omicron M \bar{M}M\omicron' N'$ (plus infinitive; 138:25,29), $M\bar{N}\omega\delta\omicron M \bar{M}M\omicron' \bar{N}'$ (plus infinitive; 140:28); and $M\bar{N}\omega\delta\omicron M \bar{N}\tau\epsilon'$ (plus actor expression plus infinitive; 140:13). The last possibility occurs frequently in the writings of Nag Hammadi, particularly in Codex II, where it takes the following forms: $\text{ov}\bar{N}\delta\omicron M \bar{N}\tau\epsilon'$ (CG II, 3,81:24), $\text{ov}\bar{N}\delta\omicron M \bar{M}M\omicron' \bar{N}\tau\epsilon'$ (CG II, 3,74:5), $M\bar{N}\delta\omicron M N\tau\epsilon'$ (CG II, 2,41:13,14; 3,53:16; 81:23), and $M\bar{N}\delta\omicron M \bar{M}M\omicron' \epsilon'$ (CG II, 3,58:23,24; 80:14), to which we must now add $M\bar{N}\omega\delta\omicron M \bar{N}\tau\epsilon'$ (CG II, 7,140:

13). This use of the conjunctive after an existential phrase strengthens the observation often made that the conjunctive can undertake a subjunctive function in Sahidic, as it does regularly in Bohairic. Usually in Sahidic the conjunctive coordinates infinitives, but in a phrase such as $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\omega\text{6OM } \bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon\text{OYPM}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{HT } \text{OY}\omega\bar{\text{Z}} \text{ MN}^{\prime}$ (or: $\text{OY}\omega\bar{\text{Z}}\text{M } \bar{\text{N}}^{\prime}$, 140:13), the conjunctive forms a subordinate clause, since it acts as the syntactic equivalent of a complementary simple or causative infinitive: "it is impossible that a wise man answer (a fool)," or "it is impossible for a wise man to answer (a fool)."

In the sentence $\text{EPI}\Delta\text{H } \text{OYN}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{O}\epsilon\text{INE } \text{EY}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}} \bar{\text{M}}\text{MOOY } \text{EY}\bar{\text{N}}\omega\text{T } \bar{\text{Z}}\text{I}\bar{\text{X}}\bar{\text{N}} \text{NETOYON}\bar{\text{Z}} \text{EBOA}$ (140:18) (there is no superlinear stroke over OYN) $\bar{\text{Z}}\text{O}\epsilon\text{INE}$ is preceded by OYN to specify the existence of the indefinite subject.

In *Thomas the Contender*, besides one instance in the absolute (139:5), expressions for "have" ($\text{OY}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\bar{\text{X}}^{\prime}$, or $\text{OY}\bar{\text{N}}^{\prime} \text{MMOY}^{\prime}$) and "have not" ($\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\epsilon^{\prime}$) occur: (1) in the circumstantial, as an adjective modifying an indefinite antecedent (141:16); as an adverbial ($\bar{\text{Z}}\omega\text{C } \text{EY}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\bar{\text{X}}\text{K } \bar{\text{M}}\text{MAV } \bar{\text{N}}\text{OY}\text{O}\epsilon\text{I}\omega\bar{\text{Y}}$ 138:5; $\text{EPI}\Delta\text{H } \text{OYN}\bar{\text{Z}}\text{O}\epsilon\text{INE } \text{EY}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\bar{\text{N}}\bar{\text{Z}} \bar{\text{M}}\text{MOOY}$ 140:18); and (2) with the relative converter as an adjective with a definite antecedent (141:10; 143:9). Only once is $\text{OY}\bar{\text{N}}\text{T}\bar{\text{X}}^{\prime}$ accompanied by $\bar{\text{M}}\text{MAV}$ (138:5) where it is apparently optional.

- b. Old Conjugation Verbs with Definite and Indefinite Actor Expressions. The only true old conjugation verb in this category used in *Thomas the Contender* is $\text{PEX}\epsilon^{\prime}$. Although Steindorff (*Lehrbuch* ¶295) considered ω , to "be able" (Egyptian $\text{r}\bar{\text{h}}$, to "know how," "understand"), to belong to the suffix conjugation, it is best to agree with Till³ that in Coptic it is an ordinary infinitive used in a secondary fashion such that in the second present negative first perfect, and negative third future it occurs in the word order: conjugation prefix -

ω - n. subject. *Thomas the Contender* provides additional support for this view in that, not only is ω present in the non-existence phrase Μῆω6ομ where its syntactic status is indeed obscure, but also in the tripartite conjugation pattern, i.e. the negative habitude: Μδϣω6ῆ6ομ δπονεϣ η δκιμ (142:35), and τετε Μδϣωῆρατῷ (139:33f). These examples show that the word order can also be conjugation prefix - prn. subject - ω with complementary infinitive in the construct relationship. That is, ω has become a standard infinitive capable of governing construct complementary infinitives precisely on the analogy of the construct form of εἶπε (ῑ) with a (substantival) Greek verb.

The constructions with πεξε' in *Thomas the Contender* vary a good deal. The nominal form only occurs in the Achmimic/Subachmimic form πεξε' (138:39). Most frequently it is used with a proleptic pronominal subject recapitulated by the nominal subject in a following Ḥ61 clause (138:4,21; 139:21,24; 141:4,25; 142:7). A strange and indeed redundant instance occurs in the phrase πεξεϣ Ḥ61 θωμδδ εϣδω Ḥμοδ ξε' (139:22). However, in the course of the dialogue πεξε' (S AA²) occurs mainly in combination with ονωωḡ, to "answer" (140:37; 141:3,19; 142:3,6,26; twice with the Sahidic form πεδα' , 138:37; 140:9) and with ονωζ ετοοτ' (139:32; 144:37). Other examples with ονωωḡ and ονωζ ετοοτ' with the circumstantial of δω following seem to show that πεξε' could, in these constructions, have a circumstantial meaning: δϣονωωḡ Ḥ61 πεξεϣ ξε' "answered, saying." However, in the translation I have reserved this rendition for δϣονωωḡ Ḥ61 εϣδω Ḥμοδ ξε', and have translated the construction with πεξε' in consecutive style: "...answered and said." The fact that all of the formulas used in the dialogues of *Thomas the Contender* employ the proleptic sequence "he said,

namely Thomas," "he answered, namely the Savior, and said" etc. is a good indication of a Greek *Vorlage* cast in the biblical style: ἀποκριθεὶς (δὲ) Ν.Ν. εἶπεν or ἀποκριθῆ Ν.Ν. καὶ εἶπεν.

- c. Attributive (adjective) Verbs. The attributive verbs, characterized by the prefix ΝΕ΄/ΝΔ΄ plus a form of the old adjective verb, is represented in *Thomas the Contender* by the verb ΝΔΝΟΥ΄. This form occurs as a relative substantive ΠΕΤΝΔΝΟΥ΄, "the good"; 140:15; 141:22), as a circumstantial with indefinite antecedent (139:31), and in the impersonal construction ΝΔΝΟΥ΄ ΝΗΤῆ, "it is good for you" (141:5). The verb ΝΔΕΙΔΤ΄ ("great is the eye of," "blessed is," [140:41]; 145:1,3,5) has an attributive function and is similar in appearance to ΝΔΝΟΥ΄, but it does not belong to the adjective verb classification because the prefix ΝΔ΄ derives not from M.E. wnn-f, but from the Coptic verb ΝΔΔ΄, "to be great." In addition, the verb always has the integral nominal subject ΕΙΔ (eye) in the status pronominalis (ΕΙΔΤ΄). In *Thomas the Contender*, its (virtual) pronominal "subject" is always defined by a relative phrase: "Blessed are you who ..."

3) Tripartite Basic Tenses.

- a. First Perfect. In *Thomas the Contender* the First Perfect occurs mostly in the formulas introducing the responses in the dialogue (ΔΥΟΥΛΩΒ Ν61, etc.; fourteen times) and in expressions of continuance in the midst of long speeches (ΔΥΟΥΛΩΖ ΕΤΟΟΥ΄ Ν61, etc.; three times). The latter expression occurs twice (139:32; 143:8) in the midst of speeches of the Savior at a point where the subject of the Savior's discourse changes from narrative to exclamatory (e.g. "O unsearchable love of the light!" or "Woe to you!") discourse. The third occurrence (144:37) is something of a puzzle, for it seems intended to set apart a hypothetical set of twelve woes from what follows

them, but it actually succeeds in creating a break between the eleventh and twelfth woe. This may have occurred because the very long eleventh woe caused a twelve woe format to be forgotten, and the $\delta\gamma\omicron\nu\omega\lambda\epsilon\tau\omicron\omicron\tau''\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\delta}\iota$ formula was used to pick up the woe format again. This can only be a guess, however, for what seems to be a twelfth woe lies in a lacuna.

Other than its use in the dialogue formulas, the First Perfect is used as a narrative tense, and, within direct address in reference to the speaker's or addressee's past. Twice it is used in passive constructions with an impersonal (virtual) subject: "it was said" (138:7; 140:38). Furthermore, the First Perfect occurs with both anticipatory subject $\delta\nu\omega\ \pi\kappa\delta\kappa\epsilon\ \delta\gamma\omega\delta\epsilon$, 143:30) and anticipatory direct object (143:31,33). There is a noticeable preference for introducing a nominal actor expression of a First Perfect morpheme by a third person pronoun defined by a following $\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\delta}\iota$ clause.

An interesting feature of the First Perfect construction in *Thomas the Contender* is the signification of an act completed in the past by the use of the verb $\omicron\nu\omega$ to "cease" as an auxiliary, in combination with a present circumstantial: $\delta\kappa\omicron\nu\omega\ \tau\alpha\rho\ \epsilon\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\mu}\mu\epsilon\ \tilde{\alpha}\mu\omicron\epsilon\iota$ (138:12f) "for you ceased knowing me" = "for you have already known me." See also 138:15,18.

- b. Negative First Perfect. The Negative First Perfect occurs seven times in *Thomas the Contender* with no morphological or syntactical anomalies. Worthy of mention is 141:24: $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\ \tilde{\alpha}\pi\omicron\nu\chi\pi\omicron\nu\ \lambda\tilde{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\omega\ [\tau\epsilon\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\omicron\nu\omega]\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \pi\epsilon$, a contrary-to-fact condition in the past, in which the negative perfect is converted by the circumstantial preterit into a virtual pluperfect subjunctive.
- c. "Not yet." The "not yet" ($\tilde{\alpha}\pi\delta\tau\epsilon'$) tense occurs only once in *Thomas the Contender* (138:35). An affirmative counterpart has already been discussed

where one expects it, one finds instead the first future or first present. Of interest is one construction where it is converted into a relative substantive in apposition to a following noun phrase: $\hat{\omega}$ τετε μλγυ $\bar{\eta}$ ρατ $\bar{\tau}$ ταγαπη $\bar{\mu}$ πονοειν (139:32f), literally: "O that which they are not wont to (=by nature) be able to bring its foot, the love of the light," rendered: "O unsearchable love of the light."

- f. Third Future. There are no examples of either the positive or negative third future in *Thomas the Contender*. Wherever we would expect the third future in final or purpose clauses, *Thomas the Contender* prefers $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\delta\epsilon$ (138:22; 139:26; 143:7; 144:16; 145:1) or $\chi\epsilon'$ (139:27; 145:8) plus the second future.

B. Satellites of the Basic Tenses.

1) Second Tenses of the Bipartite and Tripartite Patterns.

- a. Second Present. In *Thomas the Contender*, the second present is prominently used in comparisons to stress the *comparandum* which is cast in an adverbial phrase consisting of: 1) the compound preposition $\bar{\eta}\theta\epsilon$ $\bar{\eta}'$ plus *comparandum* in combination with any verb in the second present (138:41; 139:7; 140:29; 141:27) and 2) the preposition ϵ' plus *comparandum* in combination with a verb of comparison, such as $\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ or (the qualitative of) $\tau\omicron\eta\tau\bar{\eta}$ (139:15). The second present is used as well in interrogative phrases introduced by $\bar{\eta}\lambda\gamma\bar{\eta}$ $\bar{\eta}\zeta\epsilon$ (138:9, 29; 144:7). A most perplexing example of the use of second tenses in questions occurs in an interrogative sentence apparently employing a second tense, but without adverbial extension. In 142:5ff we have the sentence $\delta\gamma\omicron\nu\omega\gamma\bar{\epsilon}$ $\bar{\eta}\beta\iota$ $\pi\bar{\tau}\omega\bar{\rho}$ $\pi\lambda\chi\epsilon\gamma$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\kappa$ $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\bar{\nu}\alpha\kappa$. Unless we can admit a case of extreme ellipsis, it is impossible to construe $\epsilon\bar{\nu}\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\kappa$ as a circumstantial. If we construe it as a second present, we are obliged to regard the $\bar{\nu}\alpha\kappa$ as the adverbial complement of

ΕΥΝΤΑΚ, although in terms of its position in the sentence it seems to modify ΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ (that which appears to you). Another possibility is to read ΠΔΧΕΥ ΧΕ ΕΥ ΝΤΑΚ ΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΚ (nominal sentence, ΕΥ ΑΑ₂ for S ΟΥ) "what is it that is visible to you?" The best alternative seems to be the former, understanding ΕΥΝΤΑΚ as a second present with ΝΑΚ as its adverbial complement rendering "Is it for *yourself* that you have that which is visible?"

The remaining second presents exhibit no peculiar features but are extended by adverbial expressions generated by prepositional phrases: with Ε', 143:12f; with ΖΝ', 139:21; 143:23,27; with ΕΧΝ', 143:13f; and with ΕΤΘΕ', 141:9. There is one occurrence (143:3) where the second present occurs with the pure adverb phrase ΜΜΑΥ.

- b. Second Future. As in the case of the second present, the second future is used in interrogative phrases of manner ("how is it that...") where the adverbial element is an interrogative phrase, such as ΝΔΨ ΝΖΕ (138:34; 139:10), ΝΔΨ ΝΡΗΤΕ (138:9f; 142:24) and ΕΕΙΕ ΠΩΟ (138:32). Particularly often, as is the case in many of the Nag Hammadi texts, the second future is used, in preference to the third future, after to generate final clauses (138:22; 143:7; 144:15; 145:1). An interesting example of the use of second tenses is 145:8f: ΡΟΕΙΟ ΕΤΕΤΝΟΠΩΧ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΔΨΩΠΕ ΔΝ ΖΝ ΤΟΔΡΖ ΔΛΛΔ ΧΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΔΕΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΤΜΡΡΕ ΜΠΙΟΥΕ ΝΤΕ ΠΒΙΟΟ. This sentence presents a number of alternative possibilities for translation. Literally: 1) "Watch, it is for saying (ΧΕ) 'it is not in the flesh that you will come to be,' that you are praying, but for saying (ΧΕ) that it is from the bonds...that you will come forth" (ΟΗΩΠΕ, and ΕΙ as second tenses); 2) "Watch, praying that (ΧΕ) it is not in the flesh that you will come to be, but that (ΧΕ) it is from the bonds...that you will come forth" (ΟΗΩΠΕ as circumstantial,

ὑμῶν and εἰ as second futures with adverbial extension; 3) "Watch, while you pray, in order that (ἄε' for ἀεκάλλε) you will not (finally) come to be in the flesh, but that you will come forth from the bonds..." (con as circumstantial, ὑμῶν and εἰ as second futures replacing third futures in final clauses dependent on ποείε); and 4) "Watch, praying in order that (ἄε' for ἀεκάλλε) you will not come to be in the flesh, but in order that you will come forth from the bonds..." (con as circumstantial, ὑμῶν and εἰ as second futures replacing third futures in final clauses dependent on con).

All of these alternatives are possible, but since we might expect third negative futures in 3) and 4), and since it is unlikely that the ἄε' clause is to be stressed as an adverbial element (alternative 1), the second alternative is most likely to be correct.

Finally, we have an apparently inexplicable *emploi abusif* of the second future: ΠΕΝΤΑΥΝΟΧῆ Εἰπὼν ἑποὺν ἑγνάποιον (142:4). Clearly we have an interrogative phrase with οὐν serving as direct object. The possibility of ἑγνάποι' being a circumstantial is excluded by the presence of the relative substantive as antecedent, leaving a second future with no adverbial extension, occurring in an interrogative phrase.

- c. Second Habitue: The only instance of the second habitue in *Thomas the Contender* is 139:7, where it serves to stress the preceding adverbial phrase (ἄνεε ἄνε').

2) The Sentence Converters.

- a. Preterit. In *Thomas the Contender* the preterit is prefixed to the first present to produce an independent sentence in the imperfect "tense" (138:3).⁵ Twice it is prefixed to the future auxiliary, once in the "unreal" causal clause "for he would have been taking" (144:33), and once in the apodosis of the negated unreal

condition, "we would not be knowing" (141:24). In the last two instances the preterit is followed by the enclitic $\pi\epsilon$, but the instance (138:3) of the simple imperfect lacks the $\pi\epsilon$. It is also used in the protasis of the unreal condition, converted by the circumstantial ($\epsilon\pi\epsilon$, 141:24).

- b. Circumstantial. In *Thomas the Contender*, there is one instance of the circumstantial in an adverbial sentence (143:6), while all other instances occur in verbal sentences. The only morphological peculiarity is the inclusion (138:20f; 141:40) or omission (144:3) of the $\tilde{\nu}$ in the negation $\tilde{\nu}\dots\lambda\tilde{\nu}$. Syntactically, the circumstantial is used in dependent clauses: in adjective clauses, to modify a pronominal or indefinite nominal (including the proper noun without article, 145:18) antecedent (139:31; 140:24,27; 141:16; 142:34; 143:5; 145:18); in clauses complementing the verb of the main clause ($\epsilon\psi\epsilon$, 138:11; $\omicron\upsilon\omega$, 138:13,15,18; and perhaps 144:39); and in coordinate clauses to continue relative clauses (139:35,37 [two times]; 142:32; 145:4 [cf. Till *Kopt. Gram.* ¶486]). Frequently the circumstantial is used adverbially in various types of clauses: in causal clauses (141:40,41; 142:1; 144:3; with $\zeta\omega\epsilon$, 138:5,14), and in clauses, mostly with a temporal nuance, of attendant circumstance (138:3 [two times]; 140:3,4,18,35,36; 142:42; 143:6; 144:8; 145:8,10,14f,15). Finally there is an instance of the circumstantial used in place of the conditional: $\epsilon\psi\pi\eta\tau\ \delta\pi\delta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\psi\delta\iota\eta\epsilon\ \tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\psi\psi\delta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\rho\eta\epsilon\ \epsilon\psi\delta\eta\tau\epsilon\ \omicron\tilde{\nu}\ \tilde{\mu}\mu\delta\upsilon$ (143:2ff). The sentence at issue, $\epsilon\psi\pi\eta\tau\ \delta\pi\delta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\psi\delta\iota\eta\epsilon\ \tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon$ might be expected to read: $\epsilon\psi\psi\delta\eta\kappa\tau\omega\tau\ \delta\pi\delta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \dots$ The use of the circumstantial $\epsilon\psi\pi\eta\tau$ in other than a concessive ("although he runs") sense is unusual in this position. However, the parallelism between $\epsilon\psi\pi\eta\tau\ \delta\pi\delta\mu\eta\tau\epsilon$ and the protasis of the succeeding clause $\epsilon\psi\psi\delta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\rho\eta\epsilon$ is so clear, that the $\epsilon\psi\pi\eta\tau$, on the analogy of $\epsilon\psi\psi\delta\eta\kappa\tau\omicron\upsilon$,

must be rendered as a circumstantial with a conditional nuance: "if he runs" (cf. 144:23f). The $\epsilon\gamma\beta\iota\kappa\epsilon \tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\tau\epsilon$ is probably an *emploi abusif* (since no adverbial extension is involved) of the second tense which may have been formed on analogy to the $\epsilon\gamma\beta\tilde{\nu}\tau\tilde{\epsilon} \omicron\tilde{\nu} \tilde{\mu}\mu\alpha\gamma$ of the following sentence.

- c. Relative. The morphological peculiarities of relative constructions in *Thomas the Contender* are limited to the following cases: 1) Out of eight instances of the relative perfect morpheme $\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha^{\circ}$, there are two instances of the allograph $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha^{\circ}$ (140:34,41) and one instance of the allomorph $\epsilon\tau\alpha^{\circ}$ (144:30, a phrase with many AA_2 forms). 2) The present relative negative is always of the form $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon \tilde{\nu}\kappa\epsilon\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\zeta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \delta\tilde{\nu}$, $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon \tilde{\nu}\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\tilde{\nu} \delta\tilde{\nu}$ etc., except for 141:12: $\nu\epsilon\tau\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\zeta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \delta\tilde{\nu}$. 3) There occurs, besides the standard form $\epsilon\tau\epsilon \omicron\gamma\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha^{\circ}$ (141:10,19), the form $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha^{\circ}$ (145:5). In the negative counterpart, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ is always used (138:[41]; 143:9; 145:7).

Syntactically, the use of the relative can be subdivided into the following categories: A. As an adjective modifying a definite antecedent, consisting of (1) $\epsilon\tau'$ plus adverb or prepositional phrase (six times), (2) $(\epsilon)\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha^{\circ}$, $\epsilon\tau\alpha^{\circ}$ or $\epsilon\tau'$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (sometimes with conjugation prefix) plus actor expression (which except for the relative perfect can be omitted if the actor is the same as the antecedent) plus infinitive (thirty-one times), (3) $\epsilon\tau'$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ plus actor expression (if subject of relative differs from antecedent) plus qualitative (eighteen times), and (4) $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ plus a descendant of the old conjugation (four times). B. As a substantive, consisting of (1) definite article plus $\epsilon\tau'$ plus actor expression (when subject of relative differs from antecedent expressed by definite article, e.g. $\zeta\tilde{\nu} \nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\tilde{\nu}\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\gamma$ 143:25) plus adverb or prepositional phrase (two times), (2) definite article plus $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha^{\circ}$ or $\epsilon\tau'$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ (sometimes with conjugation prefix) plus actor

expression (which except for the relative perfect can be omitted if the actor is the same as the antecedent) plus infinitive (twenty-eight times), (3) definite article plus $\epsilon\tau'$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ plus actor expression (if subject of relative differs from antecedent expressed by definite article) plus qualitative; a special case of (3) where actor and antecedent are identical occurs in negative phrases (e.g. $\text{NETE } \bar{\text{NCEOVON}} \zeta \epsilon \text{BOA } \delta \text{N}$ 138:30; 139:14), and (4) definite article plus $\epsilon\tau'$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ plus $\sigma\upsilon\text{NTA}$, MNTA plus subject plus direct object (e.g. $\text{NETE } \text{MNTA} \zeta \epsilon \text{NHC}$, 145:7), or definite article plus adjective verb plus subject (e.g. NETNANOY 140:15; 141:22f); in fact NETNANOY is so "substantivized" that it can in turn be preceded by the definite article (e.g. NETNANOY 140:15). C. A third category of relative expressions in *Thomas the Contender* is the relative used in non-verbal sentences: $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ plus definite noun, demonstrative or possessive pronoun plus copula, e.g. $\epsilon\tau\epsilon \text{PAI } \text{TE}$ ("which means," "i.e.," 138:20), $\epsilon\tau\epsilon \text{PKWZT } \text{TE}$ (140:21), $\text{NETE } \text{NWN } \text{NE}$ ("the ones that are ours," "our own," 141:4). The relative also occurs in impersonal expressions, such as $\text{NETPYAN } \text{TE}$ (141:4) and $\text{NETECWE } \delta \text{N } \text{TE}$ (138:11).

One stylistic feature of *Thomas the Contender* is the use of the relative substantive after such expressions as $\sigma\upsilon\text{OEI } \text{NHTN}$ (143:11, 144:3,9,14) and $\text{NDEIDT } \text{THNE}$ (145:2,3,6).

C. Clause Conjugations.

- 1) The "until" conjugation. In *Thomas the Contender* the "until" conjugation presents no morphological or syntactical anomalies; it occurs three times (139:11f; 141:14f; 144:34) in subordinate temporal clauses expressing the time at which the action of the main verb will cease. In the phrase $\text{WANTEOUYWTE } \epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{TNOB}\bar{\omega}$ (143:11f), lit. "until what happens are you forgetful?" i.e. "how long will you be oblivious?", it is difficult to tell whether $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\text{TNOB}\bar{\omega}$

is a circumstantial adverbial complement of $\omega\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon$ or whether the verb phrase $\omega\lambda\alpha\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omega\pi\epsilon$ should be understood as the adverbial complement of $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\theta\beta\bar{\omega}$ taken as a second tense.

- 2) The Past Temporal. *Thomas the Contender* employs the past temporal once (140:42) in the Achmimic dialectal form $\bar{\nu}\tau\delta\rho\epsilon$, as is common in the Nag Hammadi texts. It forms a temporal clause the action of whose infinitive has been completed before the action of the main verb occurs.
- 3) The Conditionalis. In *Thomas the Contender* the conditionalis is used to form the protasis of contingent statements, both conditional and temporal. The former is introduced by the conditionalis alone (141:7; 143:3,4; 144:21f) or $\epsilon\lambda\omega\pi\epsilon$ plus circumstantial (144:24), and the latter mostly by $\gamma\omicron\tau\alpha\lambda\alpha\lambda$ (138:23f; 139:18,28) or $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ (144:31) plus temporal conditionalis. A substitute for the conditionalis makes use of the circumstantial with $\epsilon\lambda\omega\pi\epsilon$: $\epsilon\lambda\omega\pi\epsilon$ [M]EN EPH ΠΡΡΙΕ ΔΧΩΥ ΨΔΥ6Ν6ΔΜ... (144:24). To be compared with this is the example already discussed, $\epsilon\gamma\pi\eta\tau$ ΔΠΔΜΝΥΤΕ... (143:2).

Another way of expressing the protasis of a contingent statement used in *Thomas the Contender* is $\epsilon\lambda\omega\pi\epsilon$ plus first present (138:28; 138:30) or $\epsilon\lambda\chi\epsilon$ with the nominal sentence (139:9). The apodosis of these statements can be expressed by a non-verbal sentence (140:12f) or by the first future (140:11f) or, with an interrogative apodosis, in the second present (138:28), or second future (138:32; 139:10). Unreal conditions formed by means of the preterit (141:24; 144:34) have been mentioned above.

- 4) The Conjunctive. Most frequently in *Thomas the Contender* the conjunctive usually coordinates an infinitive with a preceding infinitive either standing alone as an imperative, or governed by the future auxiliary ΝΑ (138:5f,8; 140:24; 141:17,33; 142:13,32,33,34; 143:21). It is apparently a stylistic feature that in long predictions which involve a list of future events, we find the pattern: two

futures followed by a conjunctive (140:22-26 [two times]; 143:19-21). The future relative is continued by the conjunctive three times in a series (142:27-29). Elsewhere, the conjunctive continues the "habitude" (144:24,28 [two times],32), the imperative (138:5f,8; 142:10), the conditionalis (144:26), and the complementary infinitive (143:6). An interesting construction employing a conjunctive occurs in 142:8f: $\bar{\text{N}}\tau\text{OK } \pi\chi\text{O}\epsilon\text{IC } \pi\epsilon\tau\text{C}\bar{\text{P}}\pi\text{P}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{I } \text{N}\Delta\text{K } \Delta\psi\epsilon\chi\epsilon \Delta\text{NOK } \Delta\epsilon \bar{\text{N}}\tau\Delta\text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}} \epsilon\text{POK}$. Perhaps what we have here is a parallel to the $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\psi\text{6OM}$ plus conjunctive expression discussed above; that is, the conjunctive does not here coordinate infinitives, but rather subordinates the infinitive $\text{C}\omega\tau\bar{\text{M}}$ to the expression $\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{P}}\pi\text{P}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{I}$ in the same way as the complementary infinitive $\Delta\psi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ is "subordinate" to $\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{P}}\pi\text{P}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{I } \text{N}\Delta\text{K}$. Thus it may not be entirely accurate to say that the conjunctive here *coordinates* its infinitive with either the entire nominal sentence or with its complementary infinitive, since, just as we have the sentence $\text{M}\bar{\text{N}}\psi\text{6OM } \bar{\text{N}}\tau\epsilon\text{OYPM}\bar{\text{N}}\zeta\text{HT } \text{OY}\omega\zeta \text{M}\bar{\text{N}}$ (or: $\text{OY}\omega\zeta\text{M } \bar{\text{N}}'$) (140:13), so also we could have the construction $\star\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{P}}\pi\text{P}\epsilon\pi\epsilon\text{I } \bar{\text{N}}\tau\psi\Delta\chi\epsilon$. That is, the conjunctive can form a subordinate complementary clause after impersonal verbs, a feature which is not limited to Bohairic. In such constructions the conjunctive may be assuming a mood (the subjunctive) of its own, even though, strictly speaking, it is not a "verb" or "tense" at all.

- D. Imperatives. In *Thomas the Contender*, the imperatives occur in the three standard ways: (1) as the simple infinitive understood as the imperative, which occurs in both the absolute (138:6; 142:10; 145:8) and construct (138:8,37; 141:26) state; (2) as the old construct form of the imperative ($\Delta\pi\text{I } \pi\Delta\text{M}\epsilon\epsilon\text{V}\epsilon$, 145:20) and (3) in the negative, in the construct state of $\bar{\text{M}}\pi\omega\text{P}$ (141:26).
- E. Infinitive Constructions.

- 1) Simple Infinitives. The simple infinitive is most commonly used in *Thomas the Contender* as a complementary infinitive, i.e. an infinitive which is the

direct object of a preceding verbal or non-verbal expression. We have previously mentioned how the conjunctive is used to complement a preceding main verb. Most often, however, this is done by means of the preposition ϵ' (δ') or $\tilde{\nu}'$. Examples of such constructions in impersonal verbs expressing possibility and impossibility are: $\sigma\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\omicron\omicron\mu \epsilon'$ (138:25,29), $\mu\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\omicron\omicron\mu \tilde{\nu}'$ (140:28), $\mu\alpha\upsilon\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\acute{\alpha}\omicron\omicron\mu \tilde{\mu}\pi\omicron\tilde{\nu}\epsilon\gamma \eta \delta\kappa\iota\mu$ (142:35; both $\tilde{\nu}'$ and δ'). The preceding verb may be impersonal by virtue of a third person feminine singular pronominal subject, e.g. $\varsigma\mu\omicron\kappa\zeta \delta\delta[c]$, 138:26f; cf. 141:3; 142:8f). Examples in which the preceding impersonal expression is non-verbal are: $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\alpha\delta\gamma\kappa\eta \epsilon\rho\omicron\tilde{\nu} \tau\epsilon \delta\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ (140:9f); $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma\upsilon\epsilon \delta\tilde{\nu} \pi\epsilon \epsilon\tau\tilde{\rho}\epsilon\kappa\tilde{\nu}\omega\pi\tilde{\tau}\epsilon \epsilon\kappa\omicron \tilde{\nu}\delta\tau\varsigma\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\epsilon$ (138:11; cf. 142:8f). The complementary infinitive also follows verbs of wishing (139:11) and going (142:24f), as well as the verbs $\tilde{\mu}\kappa\delta\zeta$ and $\upsilon\omega\pi\pi$, e.g. $\nu\epsilon\tau\mu\omicron\kappa\zeta \tilde{\nu}\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ (139:14f), and $\nu\epsilon\tau\tilde{\rho}\upsilon\pi\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\nu} \tilde{\nu}\tilde{\mu}\tilde{\mu}\epsilon$ (145:2). A construction difficult to classify is 141:20: $\sigma\upsilon \pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon \sigma\upsilon\tilde{\nu}\tau\delta\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\eta}$ $\delta\chi\omicron\omicron\gamma$, "what have we to say." Again, the complementary infinitive preceded by ϵ' (δ') is used to express the goal or purpose of the action of the main verb: $\mu\alpha\upsilon\beta\iota\tilde{\nu}\epsilon \dots \delta\pi\omega\tau \epsilon\mu\delta\upsilon$ ("he does not find... so as to flee there," 143:5f); $\tilde{\nu}\imath\mu \pi\epsilon\tau\tilde{\nu}\delta\tilde{\alpha}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\nu}$ $\tilde{\mu}\pi\tilde{\rho}\eta \delta\pi\tilde{\rho}\iota\epsilon \dots \delta\beta\omega\lambda \dots \delta\zeta\omega\pi$ (144:17-19).

By prefixing the preposition $\zeta\tilde{\nu}'$ plus the indefinite article $\sigma\upsilon'$ to an infinitive, an adverbial phrase is created (139:40; 141:18; 141:37).

An interesting example of the infinitive and the infinitive phrase as substantives in non-verbal sentences is supplied in 142:22f: $\delta\lambda\lambda\delta \tilde{\nu}\imath\upsilon\delta\chi\epsilon \epsilon\tau\kappa\delta\omega$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon \tilde{\nu}\delta\tilde{\nu} \zeta\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\varsigma\omega\beta\epsilon \tilde{\nu}\epsilon \zeta\tilde{\mu} \pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma \delta\upsilon\omega \zeta\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\tilde{\nu}\delta\epsilon\iota$ $\tilde{\nu}\varsigma\omega\delta\upsilon \tilde{\nu}\epsilon$: "but these words which you speak to us are 'laughings' in the world and they are 'sneered at's'."

In 139:3 we have what appears to be a complementary infinitive after $\sigma\upsilon\omicron\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}\zeta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$: $\tilde{\nu}\imath\varsigma\omega\mu\delta \tilde{\nu}\tilde{\tau}\omicron\omicron\upsilon \epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\omicron\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}\zeta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \epsilon\gamma\omega\mu \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \zeta\tilde{\nu} \tilde{\nu}\varsigma\omega\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\tau} \epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\nu}\epsilon$ $\tilde{\mu}\mu\omicron\omicron\upsilon$. But because $\sigma\upsilon\omicron\tilde{\nu}\tilde{\nu}\zeta \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ cannot mean "to

seem" (δοκεῖν), ΕΥΩΜ cannot be the complementary infinitive Ε'ΟΥΩΜ = ΕΥΩΜ. Thus, in order to create a main verb for this sentence we must suppose ΕΥΩΜ to be a syncopated orthography for ΕΥΟΥΩΜ, a second tense whose adverbial complement is ΕΒΟΛ ᾗ ἤ ἤΛΩΝΤ ΕΐNE ἸΜΟΟΥ.

- 2) Causative Infinitive. In *Thomas the Contender* the causative infinitive has by and large lost its causative nuance, and is merely used to introduce a complementary infinitive whose subject differs from that of the main verb. We have seen above that the conjunctive (and also the circumstantial) can also assume such a function. There are, however, two instances out of seven occurrences of the causative infinitive where there remains the causative nuance: ΚΕΝΑΦΡΑΓΕΛΛΟΥ ΓΑΡ ἸΜΟΟΥ ΔΤΡΟΥΠΩΤ ἸΚΑΧΩΟΥ (141:35; here the causation takes on a purposive nuance); and ΔΥΩ Ε[ΤΡΕ]ΝΕΥΖΗΤ ἃΖΕ ΔΥΩ ΝΕΥΨΥΧΗ ΕΣΤΡΟΥΠΩΨΕ (139:37; the restoration is uncertain).

Dialect

Martin Krause, who intends to publish the *editio princeps* of Codices II and VI from Nag Hammadi, has made available for private circulation his preliminary investigations concerning the dialect of Codex II, and in particular the dialect of tractate four, *The Hypostasis of the Archons*.⁶ He arrives at the conclusion that the dialectal variations in Codex II are due to the everyday speech of the translator, who lived in the region of upper Egypt, at the linguistic border between the Sahidic and Subachmimic dialects. Thus we should expect to find a moderate amount of Subachmimic dialectal features in our tractate, an expectation which is confirmed. There are a number of forms hitherto unattested in Sahidic which are similar to but not always identical with our attested Subachmimic forms, which may be due to a respelling of the Subachmimic forms in conformity with the orthography of a scribe accustomed to the Sahidic dialect.

Our method of investigation will be to list separately linguistic features which depart from Sahidic but which are matched in the text by their Sahidic counterparts, and then linguistic

features which consistently depart from Sahidic. Each list will be subdivided into dialects, beginning with southern and ending with northern dialects. It is to be understood that when we speak of "dialects" or use the terms "Sahidic," "Subachmimic" or "Achmimic and Subachmimic," etc., we are speaking of forms attested in texts which have been classified as belonging to these dialects. Specifically, W. E. Crum's *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford, 1929-1939, will be used as our authority for such attestation of the dialectal provenance of the words. Furthermore, we must often reckon with the fact that many of the forms are merely orthographical variants of a certain dialect, but because they are attested by Crum as belonging to another dialect, they shall be listed according to Crum. We shall in addition provide a separate listing of those forms which seem obviously to be due to orthographical peculiarities, including defective and plene forms, and examples of assimilation of letters. Finally, we shall conclude these listings with an account of the scribal corrections and punctuation used in the tractate.

I. First of all, it will be convenient to list features of our text which are not classified as standard Sahidic, but which are also matched in the text by their Sahidic counterparts.

A. To be assigned to the upper Egyptian dialects of the period:

1) Achmimic (A).

a. the form MO for MΔY in ΕΤΜΜΟ (144:12).

2) Subachmimic (A₂).

a. the qualitative form ΤΔΧΡΔΙΤ (143:10) beside S ΤΔΧΡΗΥ (142:37; 143:13).

b. ΕΥΠΕ (138:28,30; 140:11) beside S ΕΥΩΠΕ (140:12; 144:23,25)

c. ΕΥ (142:6) beside S ΟΥ (141:19; 142:4)? The phrase reads: ΕΥΝΤΔΚΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖΕΒΟΛΝΔΚ (142:6), which could be read: ΕΥ ΝΤΔΚ ΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΚ "what is it that is visible to you?", or: ΕΥΝΤΔΚ ΠΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΚ This reading could yield: "do you have that which is visible to you?", or: "is it for yourself that you have that which is visible?", which best accounts for the second present ΕΥΝΤΔΚ.

- d. The (imperative) pronominal form $\chi\omicron\prime$ (138:37) beside S $\chi\omicron\omicron\prime$ (eight times).
 - e. $\omicron\zeta$ (144:7) beside S $\omicron\omicron\zeta$ (144:20).
 - f. $\zeta\omega\tau\theta\epsilon$ (142:16) beside S $\zeta\omega\tau\bar{\theta}$ (140:35).
 - g. $\chi\omega\zeta\mu\epsilon$ (141:3) beside S $\chi\omega\zeta\bar{\mu}$ (140:37).
- 3) Achmimic and Subachmimic (AA_2).
- a. $\varsigma\delta\tau\epsilon$ (139:15) beside S $\varsigma\omicron\tau\epsilon$ ("arrow," 139:16).
 - b. $\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\epsilon$ beside S $\varsigma\omicron\omicron$ (140:14,15) in $\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\varsigma\epsilon\omicron\epsilon$ (143:34).
 - c. $\psi\epsilon\chi\epsilon$ (142:9) beside S $\psi\chi\chi\epsilon$ (eight times).
 - d. $\zeta\omicron\nu\tau$ (139:38) beside S $\zeta\omicron\omicron\nu\tau$ (139:41). The form is either a Sahidized version of AA_2 $\zeta\delta\nu\tau$, SA $\zeta\delta\nu\tau$, A_2 $\zeta\eta\nu\tau$, or is an error in the construction $\zeta\omicron\nu\tau \mu\bar{\nu} \varsigma\zeta\prime\mu\epsilon$ (139:38) influenced by the common expression $\zeta\omicron\nu\tau\varsigma\zeta\prime\mu\epsilon$, using the status nominalis of $\zeta\omicron\omicron\nu\tau$.
 - e. high incidence of the preposition δ (in compounds and by itself) beside S ϵ (less often).
 - f. the use of $\tau\eta\eta\epsilon$ (seventeen times) for S $\tau\eta\nu\tau\bar{\nu}$ after the status nominalis of infinitives and prepositions. To be noted is $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\delta \tau\eta\eta\epsilon$ (142:40) beside $\bar{\nu}\varsigma\omega\tau\bar{\nu}$ (145:11).
 - g. the independent pronoun $\bar{\nu}\tau\delta\kappa$ (138:14) beside S $\bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa$ (138:7; 139:2) and $\bar{\nu}\tau\kappa$ (138:9).
 - h. \bar{p} is used before the following Greek verbs: $\alpha\lambda\chi\mu\alpha\lambda\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (140:23), $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (139:29), $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (143:11), $\theta\lambda\acute{\iota}\beta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (145:6), $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ (143:38), $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (144:28f), $\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (142:15), $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\gamma\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ (141:33), $\mu\epsilon\rho\iota\mu\acute{\nu}\alpha\acute{\nu}$ (142:4), $\nu\omicron\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (142:20; 143:24,25; 144:6), $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\theta\epsilon\iota\nu$ (142:19), $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ (142:11), and $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\nu$ (142:8), but not before $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$ (142:31), $\alpha\upsilon\breve{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ (144:31), $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ (144:4), $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu\alpha\iota$ (142:41f; lies in lacuna, but not enough room for \bar{p}), and $\varphi\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\acute{\nu}$ (141:35); omission of \bar{p} is normal in Sahidic. Peculiar is the phrase $\bar{p}\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ (139:12; 140:11) for $\psi\omega\pi\epsilon \bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$, as is also the infinitive form $\phi\rho\alpha\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ (143:1) for the noun form $\varphi\rho\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$.

4) Achmimic, Subachmimic and Achmimic-influenced Sahidic (AA₂S^a).

- a. $\Pi\Delta\Delta\epsilon'$ (seventeen times) beside S $\Pi\epsilon\Delta\Delta'$ (138:37; 140:9); status nominalis is A² $\Pi\Delta\Delta\epsilon'$ (138:39).
- b. $\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$ (infinitive 139:4f, 7; 140:33; 143:11, and adjective $\delta\tau\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$, 143:12) beside SB $\tau\delta\kappa\omicron$ (infinitive, 139:8; 141:13; 143:13, 15; 144:22, and noun, 141:18; 143:24).

5) Achmimic-influenced Sahidic (S^a).

- a. $\zeta\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$ (infinitive, 138:11, 15, 16; 142:23f; noun, 138:18, and adjective $\delta\tau\zeta\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta\epsilon$ 138:11) beside S $\zeta\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$ (infinitive, 138:21; 140:39; 141:36, noun 138:13, and adjective $\delta\tau\zeta\omicron\omicron\omicron\gamma\eta$, 138:14).
- b. Others could be added to this category, which may equally well be classified as archaic Sahidic, e.g. $\delta\eta\epsilon\zeta$ (145:16) for $\epsilon\eta\epsilon\zeta$ (145:16 etc.) and possibly $\delta\tau\zeta\epsilon\iota$ (140:25) for $\delta\tau\zeta\iota$ (143:16).

B. To be assigned to both upper (SAA₂) and lower (BF) Egyptian dialects.

1) Achmimic, Subachmimic and Fayyumic (AA₂F).

- a. $\Delta\eta$ (143:4) beside S $\omicron\eta$ (138:18; 144:6; and $\omicron\bar{\eta}$, sic!, 143:3).
- b. $\omicron\gamma\bar{\eta}\delta\Delta\eta$ (138:29), $\delta\bar{\eta}\delta\Delta\eta$ (144:24) beside S $\omicron\gamma\eta\delta\omicron\eta$ (138:25), $\delta\bar{\eta}\delta\omicron\eta$ (144:25).
- c. $\zeta\Delta\eta$ (138:4) beside S $\zeta\omicron\eta$ (138:10, 19).

2) Achmimic, Fayyumic and Bohairic (AFB).

- a. the second present $\Delta\kappa'$ (138:9) beside S $\epsilon\kappa'$ (elsewhere).
- b. $\zeta\Delta\beta\eta$ (140:2) beside S $\zeta\Delta\beta\epsilon$ (140:41).

3) Achmimic, (Subachmimic), Fayyumic and Bohairic (A(A₂)FB).

- a. the relative first perfect form $\epsilon\tau\Delta\Delta'$ (144:30) occurs once beside S $(\epsilon)\eta\tau\Delta\Delta'$ (seven times).

II. Second, we list forms not classified as standard Sahidic which occur without their Sahidic counterparts.

A. To be assigned to upper-Egyptian dialects.

1) Achmimic (A).

- a. $\pi\bar{\rho}\rho\iota\epsilon$ (139:24; 144:18, 22, 24) instead of S $\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon$.

2) Subachmimic (A₂).

- a. the pronominal conditionalis $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\gamma\delta'$ (139:28)

instead of S $\epsilon\pi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\nu}$, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\nu}$ and $\epsilon\pi\upsilon\lambda\alpha$. Crum, 59a, lists $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\nu}$ as archaic, from which all the other forms could have derived.

- b. $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon$ (141:30; 144:9; 145:2) instead of S $\mu\epsilon$ ("love").
- c. $\mu\delta\iota\eta\epsilon$ (139:17) instead of S $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ (see below under A_2F).
- d. $\bar{\rho}\eta\epsilon\pi$ (144:31; cf. B. $\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\beta$, Crum 221a, Kasser 36b) instead of S $\bar{\rho}\lambda\omicron\epsilon\iota\epsilon$. Also $\bar{\rho}\eta\alpha\pi$ (144:30), which is either a "Sahidizing" of the Subachmimic $\eta\epsilon\pi$, or is the actual Sahidic form of Bohairic $\epsilon\pi\eta\eta\beta$ ("be lord," "dominate").
- e. $\zeta\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ (144:8) instead of S $\zeta\delta\tau\beta\epsilon\epsilon$.
- f. $\delta\lambda\omega\tau$ (144:3,5,8; qualitative of $\delta\omega\omega\tau$) instead of S $\delta\omega\omega\tau$.

3) Achmimic and Subachmimic (AA_2).

- a. $\bar{\eta}\mu\epsilon$ (seven times) instead of S $\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$.
- b. $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}$ (139:5; 141:16; 143:9; 145:7) instead of S $\mu\bar{\eta}\tau\delta\acute{\epsilon}$.
- c. $\pi\omicron\eta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}$ (142:35; for A_2 $\pi\alpha\eta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}$?) instead of S $\pi\omicron\eta\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}$ ("turn").
- d. $\lambda\delta\upsilon\lambda\bar{\eta}$ (140:26) instead of S $\lambda\omicron\upsilon\lambda\bar{\eta}$ (?).
- e. the adjectival use of $\bar{\mu}\pi\upsilon\lambda\delta$ (142:5; usually AA_2 "much," "very") is noted by Crum as occurring once in Sahidic.
- f. the negative habitude $\mu\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ (139:33; 142:35; 143:5) instead of S $\mu\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}$.
- g. the past temporal $\bar{\eta}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}$ (140:42) instead of S $\bar{\eta}\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\acute{\epsilon}$.

4) Achmimic influenced Sahidic (S^a).

- a. $\varsigma\alpha\eta$ (138:4,10,19) instead of S $\varsigma\omicron\eta$ (cf. also under AA_2F).
- b. $\omega\delta\epsilon$ (143:30) instead of S $\omega\delta$ ("rise").

B. To be assigned to upper (AA_2) and lower (BF) Egyptian dialects.

1) Achmimic and Fayyumic (AF).

- a. the demonstrative $\tau\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ (139:7) instead of S $\tau\delta\iota$.

2) Subachmimic and Fayyumic (A_2F).

- a. $\mu\eta\iota\eta\epsilon$ (139:16) instead of S $\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\eta\epsilon$ (see above under A_2).

- b. $\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon$ (145:17) instead of S $\lambda\omega\omega\mu\epsilon$.
- 3) Achmimic, Subachmimic and Bohairic (AA₂B).
 - a. the singular possessive article of the third person plural is always $\pi\omicron\upsilon\prime$ (139:7; 141:42; 142:1; 145:5), $\tau\omicron\upsilon\prime$ (141:34). The plural form is S $\nu\epsilon\upsilon\prime$ (139:1,15,16,37; 140:31; 141:32,37; 142:2; 143:14) except for the form $\nu\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\rho\eta\upsilon\prime$ (138:5; a secondarily added title).
- C. To be assigned to lower Egyptian dialects (BF).
 - 1) Bohairic (B).
 - a. $\delta\tau\kappa\delta\varsigma$ (145:35) instead of S $\delta\lambda\tau\kappa\delta\varsigma$ ("marrow").
 - b. $\kappa\omega\varsigma$ (141:17) instead of S $\kappa\omega\omega\varsigma$ (n.f. "corpse").
 - c. $\psi\delta\epsilon\iota$ ("nose" 142:23), an orthographic variant of B. instead of S. $\psi\delta$, $\psi\epsilon$.

III. Phonological Variations.

- A. The form $\zeta\omega\omega\tau$ (138:2; "I, too") *versus* the form $\zeta\omega$ (145:20, "me, too"), a variation which leads one to suspect that the *incipit* and the colophon were composed by different authors.
- B. The doubling of consonants.
 - 1) N is doubled in the following instances:
 - a. before δ in $\bar{N}\bar{N}\delta\psi\bar{N}\zeta\epsilon$ (138:10,34).
 - b. before $\omicron\upsilon$ in $\bar{N}\bar{B}\epsilon\bar{N}\bar{N}\omicron\upsilon\psi\bar{M}\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$ (140:27).
 - c. before $\tau(\zeta)$ in $\bar{N}\bar{N}\theta\epsilon\bar{N}\prime$ (139:6).
- C. Assimilation of .
 - 1) N is always assimilated to M before π except in $\zeta\bar{N}\pi\kappa\alpha\pi\bar{N}\omicron\varsigma$ 143:33.
 - 2) N is assimilated to M before ψ in $\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron\bar{M}\psi\gamma\chi\eta$ (141:18).
 - 3) N is usually not assimilated to p before p (e.g. 138:27; 139:24,34,36; 140:4; 141:26; 142:16f) except for two instances: $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\zeta\bar{N}\bar{p}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ (138:20; 141:6).
 - 4) N is occasionally assimilated to M before M in $\epsilon\tau\rho\omega\chi\zeta\bar{N}\bar{M}\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma\bar{N}\bar{N}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ (139:36), $\tau\varsigma\delta\beta\eta\bar{M}\bar{M}\eta\epsilon$ (140:2) and $\omicron\upsilon\phi\delta\alpha\bar{N}\tau\delta\varsigma\iota\delta\bar{M}\bar{M}\eta\epsilon$ (140:21), but cf. $\bar{N}\bar{M}\tau\omicron\bar{N}$ (144:15) etc.
 - 5) doubling of N is resolved in $\zeta\bar{N}\bar{N}\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{N}\zeta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (143:25) and in all first and second futures except $\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{N}\bar{N}\delta\omicron\iota\bar{N}\epsilon$ (145:10).

- 6) N apparently is omitted in ΤΕΤΕ ΜΑΥΥΝΡΑΤΣ
()ΤΑΓΔΠΗ (139:33).

IV. Orthographical Variations.

A. Defective and plene-writing.

- 1) The plural indefinite article ζΕΝ' (cf. 138:35; 139:11; 140:2,4; 143:1) appears to be written defectively as ζΝ' in 141:41 and 142:23.
- 2) The first person plural masculine possessive article is written as ΠΝ' (139:20; 142:20) instead of ΠΕΝ'; the other forms are normal.
- 3) The "until" form (ΥΔΑΝΤῩ; 144:34) is also written plene (ΥΔΑΝΤΕΥ' 141:14f).
- 4) The plene form ωρεχ (142:34) occurs for ωρῆ .

B. The variation of ΕΙ and Ι .

- 1) After vowels: ΠΔΕΙ (138:22; 142:23) beside ΠΔ'Ι (eleven times); ΤΔΕΙ (140:10; 141:28; 142:20f) always, but cf. ΑΑ₂F ΤΕΕΙ (139:7); ΝΔΕΙ (138:37; 140:19,32; 141:20; 142:29) beside ΝΔ'Ι (138:1,2,42).

The first person singular pronominal suffix of prepositions is usually ΕΙ : ΜΜΟΕΙ , (138:13), ΝΔΕΙ (138:26), ΝΜΜΔΕΙ (138:14); but cf. ΕΡΟ'Ι (138:5), ΝΔ'Ι (138:22). The form ΝΔ'ΙΔΤ' is always ΝΔΕΙΔΤ' (145:1,3,5). The verb ΟΥΧΔ'Ι occurs as ΟΥΧΔΕΙ (143:6). The noun (ΤΟ'Ι occurs as (ΤΟΕΙ (140:24). The explicative ΟΥΟ'Ι (143:16; 144:12,14) occurs beside ΟΥΟΕΙ (143:9,15,17,18,21; 144:2,10,37). Finally, the construct form of the demonstrative is always ΠΕΕΙ', ΤΕΕΙ', ΝΕΕΙ' in preference to ΠΕΙ', ΤΕΙ', ΝΕΙ'.

In Greek words, the spelling Ι generally occurs more often than ΕΙ in *Thomas the Contender*, e.g. ΔΠΙΛΗ = ἀπειλή; ΕΠΙΔΗ = ἐπειδή, ΠΙΘΕ = πείθειν. The causal conjunction ἐπειδή, usually ΕΠΙΔΗ (140:3,18; 141:5,30; 142:23,25) is also written plene ΕΠΕΙΔΗ (138:10). The form ΕΠΕΙ ΔΕ (138:7) is probably defective for ΕΠΕΙΔΗ . The Greek noun ἐπιθυμία is written ΕΠΙΘΥΜΙΑ (140:3,25) as well as ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΑ (140:32; 141:32).

In the verbal system, the first person pronominal suffix is written plene, e.g. circumstantial

€€Ι' (138:3), preterit Ν€€Ι' (138:3), condition-
 alis €€ΙΥΔΝ' (138:24), first perfect Δ€Ι' (140:7),
 except for the relative perfect €ΝΤΔΙ' (138:2).

- 2) After a consonant: ΔΤ€Ι (143:16) occurs beside
 ΔΤ€ΕΙ (140:25).

C. The author is reluctant to write three vowels in a row
 and thus prefers:

- 1) €ΜΟΚΖ ΔΔ[€] (138:26f) for €ΜΟΚΖ ΔΔΔ€.
 2) ΔΥΩ ΥΝΔΔΥ ΝΒΛΛΕ (140:25) for ΥΝΔΔΔΥ ΝΒΛΛΕ

D. Internal juncture of Τ and Ζ into Θ; and Π and Ζ
 into Φ.

- 1) Τ + Ζ mostly, e.g. Θ€, (Π, Ν) €ΘΗΠ, (Π) €ΘΟΟΥ
 ("evil"), but not in €Τ ΖΝ' (143:19, 29, 35; 144:18).
 2) Π + Ζ always, i.e. ΦΟ (143:2), ΦΟΟΥ ("day,"
 139:36; 143:6, 7; 144:7).

V. Scribal Conventions.

A. When Ν is the last letter in a line and would have
 closed a syllable, it is sometimes replaced by a supra-
 linear stroke over the vowel that would have preceded
 it, e.g. €Ο̄ for €ΟΝ (138:10, but cf. €Ο̄Ν sic! 138:19),
 €ΖΟ̄Υ for €ΖΟΥΝ (143:1), ΥΔ̄ / ΤΕΟΥΩΠΕ for ΥΔΝ / ΤΕΟΥΩΠΕ
 (143:11f), €ΥΔ̄ / ΠΡΡΙΕ for €ΥΔΝ / ΠΡΡΙΕ (144:21f),
 but there are cases where this feature is absent, e.g.
 ΥΔΝ / ΤΕΥΒΩΛ ΕΒΩΛ (141:14f), ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ / (144:13)
 and ΝΜΤΟΝ / (144:15). This scribal device does not
 usually apply where the Ν would carry the supralinear
 stroke, or when it represents the first person plural
 pronominal suffix, e.g. ΜΜΟΝ' (141:3).

VI. The following scribal corrections made by inserting missing
 letters into the text just above the line are to be noted:

- A. ΤΟΤΕ is inserted above the line in 141:9.
 B. Ν is crossed out in ΜΝΠΡΩΧΖ~~Ν~~ ΠΚΩΖΤ, "the burning
 (ρωχζ) in the fire," to read ΜΝ ΠΡΩΧ Ζ^Μ ΠΚΩΖΤ "the
 burning (ρωχ) in (ζ^Μ) the fire" (141:14).
 C. Ο is inserted above the line in ΠΕΚΥΔΔΕ^Ο ΝΔΤΦΘΟΝΟ€
 "your sufficient word" to read ΠΕΚΥΔΔΕ Ο ΝΔΤΦΘΟΝΟ€
 "your word is sufficient" (142:21).
 D. € is inserted above the line in ΤΒΩ... Δ€ΥΙΤΟΥ ΜΜΔΥ
 to read ΤΒΩ... Δ€ΥΙΤΟΥ ΜΜΔΥ, "the vine...removed
 them" (144:35).

VII. Punctuation. The punctuation tends to be irregular, and is missing in many places where it would be expected.

- A. The supralinear stroke lacks in: COOVN (138:20), $\text{MPATETN\text{X}I}$ (138:35), $\text{N\text{Z}EN\text{T}N\text{Z}}$ (140:4), $\text{Y\text{C}A\text{A}N\text{W}}$ (140:16), OVN (or is this Greek $\text{o\text{v}\text{v}}$?; 140:18), $\text{P\text{W}K\text{Z}}$ (142:2), $\text{Z\text{N}}$ (142:16), $\text{Z\text{I}T\text{O}\text{O}T\text{Y}}$ (143:17), and $\text{N\text{M}T\text{O}N}$ (144:15).
- B. The supralinear stroke is mistakenly present in $\text{CO\text{N}}$ (138:19) and $\text{O\text{N}}$ (143:3).
- C. The reason for supralineation in $\text{\text{X}\text{W}\text{Z}\text{M}\text{E}}$ (141:3) and $\text{Z\text{M}\text{Z}\text{A}\text{A}}$ (141:31; 143:32) eludes me.
- D. There is in addition to the supralinear stroke a form of punctuation resembling an apostrophe mark, sometimes so small as to resemble a point, e.g. $\text{E}\theta\text{H}\Pi'$ which is used with some irregularity, in what seem to be the following situations:
 - 1) It occurs at the end of syllables closed by a consonant (except for z , x and b) in Coptic and Greek words, as well as proper names, e.g. $\text{PM\text{N}Z\text{H}\text{T}'}$ $\Gamma\text{A}\rho'$ $\text{EY}\text{A}\text{H}\text{K}'$ $\text{E}\text{B}\text{O}\text{A}$ (140:14), $\text{P}\text{A}\text{X}\text{EY}'$ Nbi $\text{E}\text{W}\text{M}\text{A}\text{C}'$ (139:15).
 - 2) It replaces the supralinear stroke in words such as: $\text{Z}\omega\text{T}\text{T}'$ (139:24), $\text{X}\omega\text{A}\text{K}'$ (139:15), $\text{K}\omega\text{Z}\text{T}'$ (141:9), and in pronominal forms such as: $\text{N}\delta\text{Y}\text{O}\text{P}\text{Y}'$ (139:30), $\text{P}\text{E}\text{T}\text{E}\text{V}\text{N}\text{T}\text{A}\text{N}\text{Y}'$ (141:19), $\text{W}\text{T}\text{P}\text{T}\omega\text{P}\text{Y}'$ (141:2), $\text{E}\text{T}\text{O}\text{O}\text{T}\text{Y}'$ (139:32), $\text{Z\text{I}T\text{O}\text{O}\text{T}\text{K}'}$ (138:24), $\text{Z}\text{H}\text{T}\text{Y}'$ (140:5), $\text{E}\text{T}\text{B}\text{H}\text{T}\text{Y}'$ (140:7), etc.
 - 3) Occasionally it separates the second and third person masculine singular possessive adjective from its noun, e.g. $\text{P}\text{E}\text{K}'\text{Z}\text{H}\text{T}'$ (138:7), $\text{T}\text{EY}'\text{OY}\text{C}\text{I}\text{A}$ (139:30), particularly when the noun occurs on the next line, e.g. $\text{A}\text{P}\text{EY}'/\text{OY}\omega\text{Y}\text{E}$ (140:29f), $\text{N}\text{EY}'\text{A}\text{L}\text{Y}\text{C}\text{I}\text{C}$ (140:30f).
 - 4) Occasionally it separates the relative converter from its infinitive, e.g. $\text{A}\text{Y}'\text{OY}/\omega\text{Y}\text{B}$ (139:14), $\text{A}\text{Y}'\text{OY}'/\omega\text{Y}\text{B}$ (142:11).
 - 5) It can separate the conjugation prefix from its infinitive, e.g. $\text{A}\text{Y}'\text{OY}/\omega\text{Y}\text{B}$ (142:5f), $\text{A}\text{Y}'\text{OY}'/\omega\text{Y}\text{B}$ (142:9f).

- 6) It occurs mostly at the end of lines, separating a prefixal element from its noun or infinitive on the following line: e.g. ἀτρεῖ' ἰωλ' (140:2f), ἄν' / οὐ (140:13f).
- 7) It can serve to separate the indefinite plural article from its noun, e.g. ἑν' εἰδωλόν (141:16).
- 8) It occurs after vowels as well, but only at the end of a line: πῆτα μοεῖτ' γὰρ (sic.) ἡτοῦ' (140:20), πῆταραν πῆ δτβω' (140:12).
- 9) Finally, it does not occur between a word and the enclitic πῆ, or between the proclitic ἀε' and the following word.
- 10) In sum, this type of punctuation seems to serve sometimes as syllable divider, sometimes as a continuation mark at the end of a line, sometimes as an *Ersatz* for the supralinear stroke, and sometimes, like the stop sign ('), it serves to delimit meaning units. There is, however, not enough regularity in its employment in any of these categories to reproduce the precise algorithm governing its use.

Having collected the linguistic and orthographic peculiarities of the text of *Thomas the Contender*, we may characterize its language and orthography.

It appears that there are about as many forms departing from Sahidic but which have Sahidic parallels in the Text (List I) as there are forms departing from Sahidic without Sahidic parallels in the Text (List II). However, within the category of forms which consistently depart from Sahidic, we may rely only on those forms which are extremely frequent if we are to use them as a criterion for judging the scribe's *Sprachgebiet*. If *Thomas the Contender* had attained the length of the *Apocryphon of John* or the *Gospel of Philip*, both of Codex II, we might have found that the forms which, in a short tractate like *Thomas the Contender*, depart consistently from Sahidic would not have done so in a longer tractate. Therefore, we can only use as evidence the consistently departing forms which occur very often, such as A πῆπῆ for S πῆπῆ, A₂ μῆεῖε for S με, AA₂ ῃμε for S εἰμε, AA₂ μῃτε for S μῃτῶ or μῃτῶ, the AA₂ negative habitude μῶ for S με, the AA₂ past temporal ῃταρε for S ῃτερε,

and the AA₂B third person plural possessive article ΠΟΥ and ΤΟΥ (but cf. ΝΕΥ for Σ ΠΕΥ and ΤΕΥ).

The majority of the dialectal variations in both of the foregoing classes are upper-Egyptian, and in particular Subachmimic, or Achmimic-Subachmimic. Only a few are found in both upper and lower Egyptian dialects, and even fewer are specifically lower-Egyptian. A large part of the variations are probably orthographical, such as the occurrence of Ε at the end of words (ΖΩΤΒΕ, COOYNE, etc.).

On the basis of the information here listed, we conclude that the language of *Thomas the Contender* is not the classical Sahidic of the later Bible translations. The language has not been orthographically standardized, to judge from the rather large amount of spellings differing from attested Sahidic forms but which are matched in the texts by spellings that are attested in Sahidic.

In addition, we have two very rare forms: ΔΤΚΔC (145:35), which to my knowledge is only attested in the Berlin Gnostic papyrus 8502 (49:17) and in the *Apocryphon of John* in Codex II (CG II, 1, 63:19; 64:19); $\bar{\rho}$ ΝΕΠ, ΝΔΠ (144:31; 144:30); the former is attested only in the Subachmimic Manichean *Psalmbook* and in the *Gospel of Truth* (CG I, 2, 20:17; 25:3), whereas the latter is entirely unattested (but may be an orthographical variant of the former).

It is possible to characterize the language of the text as a mixed dialect. Although forms occur which are attested in all the dialects (Sahidic, Achmimic, Bohairic, Fayyumic, and Subachmimic) none of the special characteristics of Achmimic (the letter ζ), Bohairic (spirantization of Π, Τ, Κ) or Fayyumic (lambdacism) occur, so that we have to do at most with Sahidic and Subachmimic. All of the forms which consistently depart from Sahidic are attested in Subachmimic except for one Achmimic attestation (Π $\bar{\rho}$ ΠΙΕ), which would suggest that the original scribe thought these to be the normal form of the word. The fact that the scribe in many cases vacillated between Subachmimic and Sahidic forms of the same word would suggest that the scribe knew and wrote a mixed dialect lying between the areas where Sahidic and Subachmimic were spoken. Thus the scribe would not have been at home either in the Sahidic of the Bible translations or in the Subachmimic of the Coptic Manichaea, but rather

in a separate dialect. Since this type of dialect found in Codex II, and in *Thomas the Contender* in particular, becomes increasingly rare as Achmimic, Subachmimic and Sahidic became normalized, it may be a very early dialect. Since it tends to disappear even before Achmimic and Subachmimic eventually gave way to Sahidic, a process completed sometime in the fifth century, the dialect of *Thomas the Contender* may have been employed by a dialectal group which gradually gave way to those who represented more standardized dialects. This would mean that the dialect of *Thomas the Contender* is of some antiquity, a judgment which tends to be confirmed by the apparent early date of Codex II, dated paleographically by S. Giversen as being written slightly before the writing down of the British Museum Manuscript Oriental (Coptic) 7594, dated in the middle of the fourth century.⁷

We may conclude with the observation of William H. Willis, Professor of Greek, Duke University, with which I substantially agree, and to which the evidence adduced here substantially points:

I believe the dialect of *Thomas* to be the dialect of the region Dishnah-Nag Hammadi in the third and early fourth centuries. It is also the dialect of the Mississippi Crosby Codex, alleged by some to have been found at Dishnah, and which was part of the orthodox Christian library most of which was acquired by the Bibliothèque Bodmer in Geneva (including also the Chester Beatty Joshua). But there by the second half of the fourth century we find already classical standard Sahidic, e.g. P. Bodmer XXII (Jeremiah-Lamentations-Baruch). It strikes me as simply Subachmically-influenced early Sahidic native to this region.⁸

NOTES

¹This division represents a slight modification of that employed by H. J. Polotsky, "The Coptic Conjugation System" *Orientalia* (1960), pp. 392-422.

²Within Polotsky's system, the designation of the preterit particle as a sentence converter is not altogether apt, because it can lead to confusion. It has the difficulty of obscuring the difference between two traditionally separate conjugation bases, the imperfect "basic" tense and the preterit converter, which in Bohairic, Achmimic and Fayyumic appear to be distinct morphemes. In these dialects the preterit prefix is $N\delta^{\circ}$, $N\delta p\epsilon^{\circ}$, $N\delta\lambda\epsilon^{\circ}$, while there remains the form NE° , $NEp\epsilon^{\circ}$, $NE\lambda\epsilon^{\circ}$, which forms an independent conjugation base, called the imperfect tense. In Sahidic, however, all these morphemes are the same (NE° , NE° and $NEp\epsilon^{\circ}$), so that they can all be considered as preterit converters.

³W. C. Till, "Die Satzarten im Koptischen," Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Mitteilungen, Band II, Heft 3, Berlin (1954), p. 382.

⁴ ϕw appears to be a *Nebenform* of $\phi w\omega z$, both from $w\eta$ which coalesced with the root wh° > wh from which "w" has dropped leaving $\gamma\delta^{\circ}$ (Steindorff, *Lehrbuch* ¶313). This often occurs as a prefix in upper Egyptian dialects: $\gamma\delta^{\circ}$, $\gamma\delta\kappa^{\circ}$ etc. Steindorff (*Lehrbuch* ¶355) calls it third perfect, although Polotsky claims it to be on the one hand (*Etudes* 14A) an element in a negated second tense: $NE\gamma\delta^{\circ}$ δN , and on the other hand (*Coptic Conjugation System* II, 4) to be the original affirmative of $\overline{M}\overline{N}\overline{\delta}\overline{\tau}\overline{\epsilon}^{\circ}$. It is possible that the $\delta\gamma^{\circ}$ form of the first perfect (often in the *Gospel of Thomas* as the relative first perfect when no new subject is introduced) is also derived from $w\eta$ directly, by the dropping of the initial "w". Neither of these forms, $\gamma\delta^{\circ}$ or $\delta\gamma^{\circ}$ occurs in *Thomas the Contender*, and no example of $\gamma\delta^{\circ}$ is as yet known to me from Nag Hammadi.

^{4a}See now Codex XI, 1 and 2 (Subachmimic) where the first perfect conjugation base comprises $\delta\psi^{\circ}$; $\delta\gamma\phi\psi^{\circ}$, δ° , $\gamma\delta^{\circ}$, $\delta\gamma\delta^{\circ}$ and relative $\overline{N}\overline{\tau}\overline{\delta}\overline{\gamma}^{\circ}$.

⁵See footnote 2 above.

⁶"Die Sprache der Hypostase der Archonten," durchgeführt auf Wunsch von Professor K. Aland.

⁷S. Giversen, *Apocryphon Johannis* (Copenhagen: Protestant Apud Munksgaard, 1963), pp. 38-40.

⁸Privately communicated in a personal letter dated October 24, 1969.

CHAPTER II

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COMMENTARY

The *incipit* of *Thomas the Contender* constitutes both the designation of the content of the work and its legitimization. That the *incipit* is a later addition is proved by its linguistic features alone. The language is rather good Sahidic and betrays forms which, by and large, are absent from the remainder of the work. The plural demonstrative is elsewhere *NΔEI* (138:37; 140:19,32; 141:20; 142:29) while the form *NΔī* occurs only in 138:1,2 and possibly in 138:42 (directly following a lacuna). The two relative perfect prefixēs *ENTΔ^ε* occur only in 138:1,2, whereas elsewhere we find the form *NTΔ^ε* (140:34,41) and *ETΔ^ε* (144:30). Furthermore, the third person plural possessive article is always (nine times) *NEV^ε*, except in 138:4 where the form *NOV^ε* occurs in *NOVEPHV*. Finally, the form *MMAY* for the *nota accusativi* *MMOON* is unique in the document.

The designation *NWΔXE EΘHT* immediately recalls the opening lines of the *Gospel According to Thomas* (CG II, 2:32:10):¹

Ev.Th. 32:10-12	Th.C. 138:1-3
NΔEI NE NWΔXE EΘHT	NWΔXE EΘHT NΔī
ENTΔIC ETONZ XOON	ENTΔY WΔXE MMAY NΔI PCWP
ΔYV ΔYCZΔICOY	NIOVΔC ΘWMΔC
NΔI ΔIΔYMOOC IOVΔΔC ΘWMΔC	NΔI ENTΔICZOY
	ΔNOK ZWWT MΘΔIΔC

In the case of the *Gospel of Thomas*, the *incipit* title "hidden words" is appropriate for the contents, since the characterization of its contents as *λόγοι* reappears within the body of the work:

Many times have you desired to hear these words (*ΔΤΕΤΝP*
ΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙ ΕCΩΤM ΔΝΕΕΙWΔXE) which I say to you
... (Log. 38)

If you become disciples to me and hear my words
(*NTETNCΩTM ΔNΔWΔXE*) these stones will minister
to you. (Log. 19)

Whoever finds the explanation of these words
(*ΘEPMHNEIΔ NNEEIWΔXE*) will not taste death.
(Log. 1; cf. John 8:52)

Clearly the *Gospel of Thomas* purports to be a collection of Jesus' "words" or sayings. On first inspection, this is not

the case with *Thomas the Contender*, even though it is designated in the *incipit* as "hidden words." *Thomas the Contender* purports to be a dialogue, not a loosely connected chain of sayings.

Taken as a whole, however, *Thomas the Contender* cannot be considered a unity. One of the clearest clues to its composite nature is that only three-fifths of the tractate is in dialogue form. The dialogue proper extends from 138:4-142:26. The last words of this block have Thomas saying:

You have indeed persuaded us, Lord. We realized in our heart and it is obvious that this is so, and your word is sufficient. But these words that you speak to us are laughing-stocks to the world and are sneered at, since they are not understood. So how can we go preach them since we are reckoned as in the world? (142:19-26)

At this point, Thomas disappears altogether from the dialogue.

It looks very much as though this concluding speech of Thomas is composite. That is, the dialogue section of the tractate originally ended with the words: "You have persuaded us, Lord. We knew in our heart and it is obvious that this is so, and your word is sufficient." The following words about the task of preaching mocked words look like an editorial link designed to introduce the next major block of the tractate, which begins with a section that deals with those who mock Jesus' words.

This second major block of the tractate is not a dialogue, but is rather a homily consisting of an introductory apocalypse (142:26-143:7) followed by a collection of woes (143:7-145:1) and beatitudes (145:1-8), concluded by an admonition and promise of salvation (145:8 *ad. fin.*).

The actual dialogue comes to a formal close with Thomas' affirmation: "your word is sufficient." But immediately Thomas continues on by speaking of Jesus' words (plural) rather than Jesus' word (singular). The shift from singular to plural suggests a change in either the topic or the referent of the ensuing discourse; the topic shifts from Jesus' λόγος (πικρυδαδε) to his λόγοι (νικυδαδε ετκλω ἡμοον ναν). At the same time reference is made to the task of preaching these λόγοι, which is hindered by the fact that the world mocks them.

Since the topic now shifts to the subject of Jesus' λόγοι, we must attempt to discover the identity of these "words," and it is natural to look for them in the second section of the

tractate. The closest thing resembling λόγῳι in this section is the long series of woes and macarisms, perhaps including the closing admonition as well. Now these woes and macarisms are not λόγῳι in exactly the same sense as are the λόγῳι of the *Gospel of Thomas* since their format is not a chain of isolated sayings, each introduced by "Jesus said" etc. However, their designation as λόγῳι becomes quite clear when we adopt a slightly different point of reference, in this case, the *Gospel of Matthew*, where three of the five major discourse sections are denoted as collections of λόγῳι by the concluding formula: (ἐγένετο) ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς λόγους τούτους. (Mt. 7:28; 19:1; 26:1; cf. 11:1; 14:53). Most significant among these is the Sermon on the Mount, paralleled by the Lucan "Sermon on the Plain." A significant part of both of these collections of λόγῳι consists of beatitudes, and in the Lucan version we find also woes (Lk. 6:24-26). Another of Matthew's discourse sections, although not designated as λόγῳι by a concluding formula, consists almost entirely of woes against the scribes and Pharisees (Mt. 23). We conclude then that in Christian literature the term "words" (λόγῳι, ῥῥῥῥῥῥ) can be a *terminus technicus* for collections of sayings of Jesus.²

The phrase with which the second section of *Thomas the Contender* is introduced: "but these words which you speak to us," is very probably the reflection of a technical designation of the following series of sayings (woes and blessings) as λόγῳι. If it is only a reflection, is it possible to find a more immediate source for the designation of the second section as λόγῳι? It seems likely that an affirmative answer is suggested by the *incipit* of *Thomas the Contender*, which we regard as a later addition to the tractate as a whole. The *incipit* claims that the material it entitles is "the hidden words which the Savior spoke to Judas Thomas, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaias." Here we have the designation λόγῳι (ἀπόκρυφοι) which designates, not the ensuing dialogue, but much more the woes and beatitudes of the second section. Thus, it is natural to suspect that the *incipit* title was to some extent borrowed from the title of the second section as it originally existed (without a dialogue prefixed to it), and that it originally made no mention of Thomas, who is never mentioned in the homiletic-discourse material of the second section. If now we designate the dialogue proper

(138:4-142:26) as section A, and the sayings of the remaining section (certainly the woes, beatitudes, the final admonition, and perhaps the introductory apocalyptic section) as section B, we can schematize the process of the composition of *Thomas the Contender* as follows:

1. There existed an originally independent collection of sayings (section B) entitled something like "The Hidden Words which the Savior spoke, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaiias." This collection consisted of the woes and beatitudes which we presently find in section B, and was perhaps prefixed by the introductory apocalypse which served to announce urgency in heeding the following woes, beatitudes and final admonition.

2. This collection of sayings (section B) was then prefixed with the main dialogue between Thomas and the Savior (section A). It is quite possible that parts of this dialogue, or even all of it, served as a source document for the current form of section A. The title of this source document may have been something like "The Book of Thomas the Contender writing to the Perfect." That section A originally bore this title is suggested by the fact that only A makes mention of Thomas, and the motif of perfection (138:36; 139:12; 140:10f). This combination of A and B could have been suggested by their serial appearance in a written document, but their current combination is probably intentional.

3. Once combined, the original title of section A was suffixed to the entire combination of A and B such that the whole work was attributed to Thomas.

4. The original title of section B ("The secret words which the Savior spoke, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaiias") was then expanded by the addition of Thomas as recipient of the Savior's words, and the demotion of Mathaiias to the scribe, to produce the present *incipit*: "The hidden words which the Savior spoke to Judas Thomas, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaiias. I was walking, listening to them speak with one another." Since this step was effected at the cost of contradicting the subscript title naming Thomas as the scribe, and since the *incipit*, as we have shown, bears evidence of being composed by an author separate from that of either section A or B, it is likely that the composition of the *incipit* is the latest stage in the redaction of *Thomas the Contender*.

5. Finally, the completed work was copied by yet another scribe into the contents of Codex II, since the language of the

colophon written by the scribe of Codex II differs from that of the *incipit*: it uses the first person form $\zeta\omega$ (145:20) of the intensifier $\zeta\omega\omega\omega$, while the author of the *incipit* uses (138:2).

The main reasons behind this hypothesis are three: the uniqueness of the language of the *incipit* as compared to the rest of the document; the fact that the dialogue ends after the first three-fifths of the document leaving a long monologue of the Savior; and the fact that important motifs in B (the sun and moon, the grapevine and weeds, the description of Tartaros, and the Jesuanic formulae [truly I say to you, woe to you, blessed are you, watch and pray]) are missing in A, and conversely important motifs in A (the Thomas material, visible and invisible, bestiality, "truth," perfection, the wise man, $\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\upsilon\mu\iota\alpha$, knowledge, and light) do not appear in B.

On the other hand, important motifs in B are also found in A, such as the fire of passion, the derangement caused by lust, and the mention of preaching. This fact gives some reason to believe that the prefixing of A to B was intentional, and that, while it is likely that much of A existed prior to the time of its redaction with B, it is also likely that A was to some extent harmonized with B by the redactor who combined A with B and who also composed the *incipit*. The intention of the redactor in combining A with B must have been to produce a literary vehicle more suitable to his intended purpose than the original form of either B or A alone would have been. Some rationale for this process will be offered in our concluding section when we come to discuss the literary profile of *Thomas the Contender*.

At this stage, however, we wish to make it clear that while the ascetic message of abstinence from the body and its fiery passions gives a certain homogeneity to the entire tractate, the two sections A and B basically derive from separate authors. Striking confirmation for this is provided by the distribution between A and B of three Coptic words which are among the most frequent in Coptic Gnostic revelation literature: $\kappa\omicron\omicron\upsilon\nu$ ("knowledge," "to know," thirteen times in A, in B once); $(\bar{p})\omicron\upsilon\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu$ ("to illumine," "light," fourteen times in A, three rather innocuous occurrences in B); and $\omicron\upsilon\omega\nu\zeta\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ ("to appear," "be visible," "revelation," twenty-six times in A, one innocuous occurrence in B). The lack of these *termini technici* in B plus

the distribution of motifs mentioned earlier persuade us that *Thomas the Contender* is a combination of two originally separate sources, the first (A) of which has undergone some harmonizing currently impossible to isolate with certainty. The redactor who combined them then prefixed the whole by an *incipit* composed from the original titles of the two sources.

It now remains to deal with the question of the names "Thomas" and "Mathaiias" as they occur in the *incipit*. It is quite certain that the name "Judas Thomas" is at home in section A of *Thomas the Contender*, which is a dialogue between the Savior and Thomas, whose name is mentioned sixteen times. But the name Mathaiias is mentioned nowhere else in A or B, save in the *incipit*, and thus we are led to conjecture that the most likely explanation for this is that it originally occurred in the title to section B, which was then expunged and included in the present *incipit*. Since the current subscript title naming Thomas as scribe contradicts the current *incipit* naming Mathaiias as scribe, it is clear that both titles did not stem from the same author; one of them is a later addition. Because the language of the *incipit* differs from that of the rest of the tractate, it is more likely that the *incipit* is a recent construction, and the subscript title ("The Book of Thomas the Contender writing to the Perfect") was the original title to section A, but now displaced to the end of the tractate as the title of the whole.

Assuming that section B, a collection of the Savior's (secret?) λόγους, originally bore a title ("The Secret Words which the Savior spoke to Mathaiias") which connected those λόγους with the figure of Mathaiias, we must now seek to clarify the significance of the name Mathaiias *vis-à-vis* the sayings collection of section B.

To begin with, the name of Mathaiias in various spellings has been used to designate a certain transmitter of the sayings, both "canonical" and secret, of Jesus. There is the statement of Papias of Hieropolis ca. 130 A.D.: "So then, Matthaïos compiled the sayings (τὰ λόγια) in the Hebrew language, but each interpreted them as he was able."³ This is traditionally taken to refer to the composition of the *Gospel of Matthew*, but since Schleiermacher most scholars have held that the *Gospel of Matthew* was not written in or translated from a Semitic language, but was originally written in Greek in dependence on the

Greek *Gospel of Mark*. Thus it is always possible that τὰ λόγια refers to some kind of sayings collection which various scholars have attempted to identify with Q or with a primitive Aramaic gospel. Without trying to debate the question as to the precise relation of Papias' statement to either the *Gospel of Matthew*, or Q, it is clear that the name of a certain Matthaïos was bound up with some compilation of Jesus' sayings.

Yet another tradition concerning an individual named Matthias (sic.) is found in the *Elenchos* of Hippolytus, where he calls attention to a Basilidean source which he ascribed to Matthias:

Basilides and Isidore, the true son and disciple of Isidore, say that Matthias spoke to them secret words (λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι) which he heard from the Savior when he was taught privately. (*Ref.* VII 20.1; cf. 20.5)⁴

In addition, Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromateis* (II 9,45.4; III 4,26.3; VI 6,35.2; VII 13,82.1; cf. VII 17,108.1) mentions and quotes certain *Traditions of Matthias*. While none of the quotes occurs in *Thomas the Contender*, one of them could serve as a virtual *précis* of *Thomas the Contender*:

They say that Matthias also taught as follows: "To strive with the flesh and abuse it without yielding to it in any way for unbounded lust, but to increase the soul through faith and knowledge." (*Strom.* III 4,26.3)⁵

In spite of the orthographical variants, it is possible that Mathaias, Matthaïos, Matthias may together point to a certain individual to whom tradition ascribed the role of recipient and traditioner of the words (λόγοι, λόγια) of Jesus. He is clearly connected by Papias with a tradition of λόγια, and by Hippolytus with a tradition of λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι, while the *incipit* of *Thomas the Contender* designates him as privy to and scribe of these words spoken, not totally privately, but in the company of Thomas. Clement credits him with being an ascetic teacher, as does the *incipit* of *Thomas the Contender* by implication, and Papias. Therefore, if the name Mathaias entered the *incipit* of *Thomas the Contender* by being borrowed from the title of section B of *Thomas the Contender*, it is reasonable to suppose that section B forms a portion of the stream of traditions about a certain Matthew who was a recipient of the Savior's secret words. The variation in the orthography of

Matthew's name would then have arisen through attempts to harmonize this Matthew's name with the names of other Matthews, e.g. the tax-collector, or Iscariot's replacement, etc. Even if the name Mathaiias had never been connected with the original form of section B, his reputation as a recipient and a traditioner of the Savior's words may have secondarily attracted his name into the *incipit* of *Thomas the Contender*. This would have been done, however, in contradiction to the obvious attempt to designate Thomas as the Savior's partner in dialogue, as well as to the subscript title's designation of Thomas as scribe of the entire *Book of Thomas the Contender*. Such a process of attraction seems less likely than that Mathaiias' name was originally part of the title of section B of *Thomas the Contender*; at least it seems certain that his name was not part of the original title to section A, since his name is never mentioned in section A.

The fact that the *incipit* designates the tractate as "secret words" (ἄλλα λέει πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπόκρυφου) could have resulted in three ways: 1) "secret words" derives from the original title to section B which named Mathaiias as scribe; 2) "secret words" derives from the original title to section A, naming Thomas as scribe; or 3) "secret words" was added by the redactor of A and B by analogy with the *Gospel of Thomas*. Alternative (2) is improbable owing to the non-λόγος (dialogue) character of A. Alternative (3) is a good possibility, but does not account for the inclusion of Mathaiias' name in the *incipit*, and alternative (1), however, has the merit of helping to account for the inclusion of Mathaiias' name in the *incipit*, and providing a good characterization (λόγος) for the contents of section B, as well as a reason (authorship by Mathaiias, a traditioner of Jesus' secret words, according to Hippolytus) for describing the λόγος as secret (ἀπόκρυφος).

Therefore, we regard the *incipit* of *Thomas the Contender* as being composed out of the original title of section B ("The Hidden Words the Savior spoke, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaiias") which, when A ("The Book of Thomas the Contender") was prefixed to B was expanded to yield the current *incipit* title: "The Hidden Words which the Savior spoke to Judas Thomas, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaiias. I was walking as I listened to them speak with one another."

138:4-7. The first (A) section, the dialogue proper, is introduced by the Savior's offer to reveal (δωλπ ετβε) to Thomas the things about which he has pondered in his mind, while Thomas has time in the world.

The temporal clause ζωc ευντaκ νδoβεlυ ζω πκοcμοc implies first of all that the Savior's revelation is an activity that occurs in the world. As the ensuing dialogue shows, the revelation is imparted by speech, and, as far as we can tell, by speech taking place between two embodied beings. In 138:1f this communication must occur before the Savior's Ascension (a subject to be discussed later). The implication is that the phrase "while you (Thomas) have time in the world" sets a limit beyond which revelation cannot occur, and must be interpreted as "while you (still) have time (left) in the world." Thus, if we ask for what it is that Thomas has time in the world, we answer first of all: "for hearing the Savior's revelation."

However, as we read further in the document we shall see that Thomas requires time not only for hearing the revelation, but also for preaching it to others (138:25f; 141:19-25; 142:21-26). Thus the second implication of the opening phrase of the Savior's speech is that Thomas possesses time (perhaps better: "opportunity") for executing a mission of preaching.

The Savior tells Thomas that he will reveal to him the things about which Thomas has pondered in his mind (literally, "heart," ζωτ). As is true in the Synoptic portrayal of Jesus, apparently the Savior in *Thomas the Contender* also has unusual powers of perception, and can recognize the state of mind of those around him (cf. Mk. 2:8 par.; 8:17 par.; 12:15 par.; 14:18 par.). Thomas does not get a chance to state directly what he is pondering in his mind, so we must assume that the Savior recognized these questions without asking Thomas. But because of Thomas's response to the Savior's opening speech ("Therefore I beg you to tell me about the things I ask you before your Ascension," 138:22f), which implies that the Savior has not yet told him the things he wants to know, we cannot be sure whether the things the Savior is going to say in his opening speech are the things which Thomas is pondering. Thus at the most we should expect that the Savior's opening speech is an introduction to the dialogue, rather than a summary of the things which Thomas (and the reader) is going to learn about.

138:7-21. Next, there follows the Savior's instruction for Thomas to inquire and become aware of who he is, in what way he exists, and in what way he will come to be, because he is called the Savior's twin and true companion. Having already addressed Thomas as "brother" in the introduction, here the Savior rather than *addressing* Thomas as his twin and true friend, actually seems to refer to a piece of tradition that Thomas is his twin and true friend: $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\kappa\eta\ \delta\upsilon\chi\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\omicron\kappa\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\epsilon\iota\psi\ \delta\upsilon\omega\ \pi\alpha\psi\epsilon\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\mu}\mu\eta\epsilon$ "since it has been said that you are my twin and true companion." To be compared is 138:10; $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\eta\ \varsigma\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa\ \chi\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\omicron\omega$ "since you are called my brother." To see the significance of this tradition that Judas Thomas is the twin brother of the Lord, we must briefly trace its history.

We must begin with the actual name Judas Thomas. Nowhere in the New Testament is there any express connection between the names Judas and Thomas. Thomas is mentioned merely as one among the twelve apostles (Mt. 10:3; Mk. 3:18; Lk. 6:5; Acts 1:13). When we come to the *Gospel of John*, we first encounter the redundant name $\Theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \delta\ \lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \Delta\acute{\iota}\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (Jn. 11:16; 20:24; 21:2). We say redundant because $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\upsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$ (twin) is a Greek rendition of the Aramaic ܬܐܬܝܢ (twin) which has been transliterated into Greek as $\Theta\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}(\varsigma)$. Thus far, all we have is the mention of an individual named "Twin" or "Thomas," but not of *Judas* Thomas.

The only Judas, besides Judas Iscariot, who is expressly connected with the apostles is a shadowy figure of the Lucan tradition called Ἰούδας Ἰακώβος , Judas son of James (Lk. 6:16; Acts 1:13). However, we also have the tradition of a certain Judas who is one of Jesus' brothers (Mt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3). Finally, we must take into consideration another most significant canonical witness, the Epistle of Jude, written by $\text{Ἰούδας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου}$.

Taken as a whole, this evidence points to the existence of Judas who is the brother of Jesus (Mt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3), a James who is brother of Jesus (Gal. 1:19; Mt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3), and a Judas who is a brother of James (Mt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3; Jude 1), all in addition to Judas Iscariot. In the face of this evidence it is tempting to suggest that all these Judas figures, with the exception of Iscariot, were the same person, but we have no way of being sure, since the sources themselves may have confused the names. Nevertheless, there seems to be adequate evidence

(Mt. 13:55; Mk. 6:3; Jude 1) of a primitive tradition that there was an apostle Judas who was the brother of Jesus.

But what of the figure Judas Thomas? Here we have rather slim evidence, since the New Testament does not connect these two names, except in Jn. 14:22 where instead of 'Ιούδας οὐχ ὁ 'Ισχαριώτης the Curetonian Syriac version witnesses 'Ιούδας Θωμάς. Perhaps there is little else that can be said here except to sum up this evidence in the words of Helmut Koester, whose suggestions concerning the canonical Thomas and Judas traditions have influenced the above line of argumentation:

What is lost in the canonical tradition, however, is the actual, original name of the Apostle (Thomas): Judas. That this was his true name is as probable as is the fact that Peter's given name was Simon. Yet, this Judas is also called the (Twin) brother of the Lord, which raises the question whether the canonical tradition did not after all preserve the name of this Apostle elsewhere: in the name of the author of the Epistle of "Judas (Jude), the brother of James," since this James is certainly the brother of the Lord. Though not desiring to indulge any further in the complex problem of *desposynoi* I would like to affirm that the identity of Judas, the brother of the Lord, and the Apostle Thomas is more likely a primitive tradition than a later confusion - a primitive tradition which was, to be sure, suppressed by later orthodox developments; already 2 Peter, by incorporating the Epistle of Jude, takes a second step in this development; the initial step is reflected in the *incipit* of Jude itself, where "brother of the Lord" is avoided in favor of "brother of James." In any case, it is not impossible that the origin of the primitive designation "Judas Thomas, the brother of the Lord" in the *Gospel*⁶ of Thomas is the actual historical activity of this Apostle in Edessa or in another area of Palestine-Syria from which Edessene Christianity derives its beginnings. The alternative would be that an early Christian group adopted the name of one of the *desposynoi* at a later date. This is quite possible in view of the role of Jesus' family in the early decades of Christianity. But since this group thus would have preserved an original form of his name that has been lost in the canonical tradition, such adoption must have taken place before the composition of the canonical Gospels.⁷

Whether or not the antiquity of this tradition can ever be demonstrated, it is important to note that it must have been very important in the Osrhoëne, especially in Edessa, the traditional resting place of the bones of the Apostle Thomas.⁸ This fact is witnessed to not only by the Syr^C reading of Jn. 14:22 ('Ιούδας Θωμάς), but even indirectly by the Abgar Legend

in Eusebius (*H.E.* I, 13,11).⁹ At the same time, however, the Abgar Legend tends to deny Thomas' role in the evangelizing of Edessa by having him send Thaddeus (=Addai) in his stead after Jesus' Ascension. However, Walter Bauer has pointed out that this tradition of Thaddeus as the apostle to Edessa is late and suspect:

Of this report, which ostensibly rested for centuries in the custody of the record office in Edessa, there is certainly no trace in the pre-Eusebian period, even in Edessa itself. Ephraem (d. 373), who lauds the conversion of the city in rhetorical exuberance, mentions indeed the apostle Addai, but drops not a single hint about the correspondence.¹⁰

The most extensive work which deals with Judas Thomas and which connects him with Eastern Syria is the *Acts of Thomas*. Originally composed in Syriac,¹¹ the *Acts of Thomas*

... represents the Gnostic Christianity of Syria in the third century, which was domiciled in the region of Mesopotamia (somewhere between Edessa and Mesene) and was only catholicized at a relatively late date (in the 4th and 5th centuries; cf. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei*, p. 6ff). Close connections with the Bardesanian Gnosis can be seen in the Wedding Hymn of Sophia and in the "Mother" epicleses, but there is in addition a long free quotation from the Bardesanian "Book of the Laws of the Lands" in the speech in c. 91 (Bornkamm, *Mythos und Legende*, pp. 85ff). That the Bardesanites composed apocryphal Acts and put the doctrines into the mouth of the Apostles is moreover expressly stated by Ephraem Syrus (cf. Bauer, *op. cit.* pp. 40f). All the same, the *Acts of Thomas* give the impression of a "vulgar" Gnosticism (Lipsius I. 345), and are distinguished from Bardesanes himself (not from his school, cf. H. H. Schaefer, *Bardesanes von Edessa*, ZKG 51, 1932, pp. 21ff) by their radical dualism and their severely Encratite tendency. The latter links them all the more closely with Manichaeism, which itself took its origin from the Bardesanian Gnosis and made its appearance in the latter's sphere of influence in the century in which the *Acts of Thomas* came into being.

This is shown also by the canon of ascetic ethics which is expressly formulated at several points in the *Acts of Thomas* (cc. 28, 126) - rejection of the pleasures of the table, of avarice and of sexual intercourse - and which was adopted by the Manichees in their precepts for the *Electi* (*tria signacula*). This ascetic canon is certainly pre-Manichaean. The same holds for the numerous particular ideas and conceptions, which have their exact parallels indeed in Manichaeism but derive in fact from the older Gnosticism. From this point of view we can understand the diffusion and appreciation of these Acts among the

Manichees, and the fact that traces of Manichaeism are almost certainly to be found in the doxology to the Wedding Hymn (c. 7), and in the epiclesis (c. 27) and in the Hymn of the Pearl. The acts as a whole however prove to be a connecting-link between the older Gnosticism and Manichaeism. They allow us to recognize a pre-Manichaean Syrian Gnosticism, out of whose elements Mani shaped his own doctrine. Possibly, as Schaeder has conjectured (*Gnomon*, 1933, pp. 351f), the very figure of Thomas, the Apostle of Syria, played an extremely important role for Mani. According to the Arabian Fihrist he was called by an angel "at-taum." This angelic name is only the transposition of the Aramaic "toma," which at one and the same time is the proper name and signifies "twin." This is now confirmed by Mani's own account (*Keph.* 14f), where in the place of that angel there appears the "living Paraclete," whom Mani must have identified with him.¹² The exact counterpart to the "twin" of the *Acts of Thomas* is formed by the term "bosom-friend," frequent in the Coptic texts¹³ (Widengren, *The Great Vohu Mana*, pp. 25ff). The new Manichaean texts also show that the Thomas legend, as presented in the *Acts of Thomas*, was well known in Manichaeism. Thomas is the Apostle to India (MPSB 194:13 et. al.), who met his death at the hands of four soldiers who thrust him through with lances (*ib.* 142:17ff; cf. *Acts of Thomas* 165, 168). The Gnostically interpreted figure of the Apostle Thomas may thus have been considerable for Mani's understanding of himself. It mediated to him the apostolic connection with Jesus, and appeared in his eyes indeed his alter ego, just as Mani's missionary journey to India before his appearance in Babylon corresponds to that of the Apostle.

The Gnosticism documented in the *Acts of Thomas* evidently provided the Manichaeism which was soon thereafter systematically developed with a considerable portion of its mythological material, and the "vulgar" form probably with its essential content. That in Catholic circles also these Acts could be widely read and valued, without concern, is not surprising, since the translation of the Gnostic myths into legend seems to have made the heretical poison largely ineffective for uncritical readers. The period of origin of the *Acts of Thomas* is settled by their place in the history of religions between Bardesanes and Mani; they will have been composed in the first half of the 3rd century.¹⁴

Having given reason for situating the *Acts of Thomas* within the tradition of the early third century Gnosis of the Osrhoëne, we obtain a valuable point of reference for the traditions about Thomas contained therein. According to the *Acts of Thomas*, Judas Thomas is the brother of James the Brother of Jesus (c. 1). He is the twin of Jesus whom he resembles in appearance (c. 11), and in fact, in order to avoid confusion, Jesus must say: "I am

not Judas who is called Thomas, I am his brother." In c. 31 of the Greek version Thomas is called "the twin of Christ," and in c. 39, he is called "the twin of Christ, the apostle of the Highest and fellow-initiate in the hidden word of Christ, who receives his secret words." (cf. also cc. 10, 47, 78).¹⁵

Another key focal point in the Judas Thomas tradition which we have already mentioned is the *Gospel of Thomas*. Because this Gospel circulated in Egypt in the form of P. Oxy. 1 "probably written not much later than the year 200"¹⁶ it has been often conjectured that it originated in East Syria, around A.D. 150 or earlier. H.-C. Puech has showed us that the prologue of the *Gospel of Thomas* is echoed in the *Acts of Thomas*, since according to both, the ἀπόκρυφα λόγια have been revealed to Thomas by Jesus the Life giver (A.Th. 39 Syr. ܐܠܗܐ) or the living Jesus (G.Th. Log. 1 ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܗܝܘܐ):

It is therefore clear that either the prologue of our gospel is echoed in the *Acts of Thomas* or both are influenced by the same tradition. Such a relation between the *Acts* and the *Gospel of Thomas* is confirmed by the only other passage in the Coptic document in which the Apostle Thomas appears, to play moreover an important part:

Jesus said to his disciples: "Make a comparison to me and tell me whom I am like." Simon Peter said to him: "Thou art like a wise man of understanding." Thomas said to him: "Master, my mouth will not at all be capable of saying whom thou art like." Jesus said to him: "I am not thy Master, because thou hast drunk, thou hast become drunk from the bubbling spring which I have measured out." (cf. A.Th. cc. 37, 39, 147). And he took him, he withdrew (cf. Lk. 9:10), he spoke three words to him (cf. A.Th. c. 47). Now when Thomas came up to his companions, they asked him: "What did Jesus say to thee?" Thomas said to them: "If I tell you one of the words which he said to me, you will take up stones and throw at me; and fire will come from the stones and burn you up." (CG II, 2: 34:25-35:14).

It would be possible to establish further but less distinct connections between the *Acts* and the *Gospel of Thomas* (e.g. 136 and Logion 2, c. 147 and Logion 22, c. 170 and Logion 52). ...On the whole we may conclude from all these connections that the *Acts* are dependent on the gospel.¹⁷

In view of the preceding evidence, it is justifiable to conclude that there was at home in the Osrhoëne a primitive tradition according to which Judas the brother of James was considered to be the twin (δίδυμος Θωμᾶς) brother of the Jesus, to whom the Lord entrusted secret words. To quote Koester: "the

Thomas tradition was the earliest form of Christianity in Edessa, antedating the beginning of both Marcionite and orthodox Christianity in that area."¹⁸

It is interesting to see this tradition appearing in *Thomas the Contender*, a writing belonging to the same Codex as the *Gospel of Thomas*, but many of whose features also approximate those of the *Acts of Thomas*. Therefore we begin to suspect that *Thomas the Contender* is in all probability, at least in its present form, a product of this same East Syrian Gnosis in which the tradition of Thomas, twin brother of Jesus and recipient of his secret teaching, appears to be solidly at home. Indeed the highly ascetic character of *Thomas the Contender* tends to confirm this thesis.

Now the Savior has said that since it is well known (ΔΥΧΟΟC ΧΕ) that Thomas is his twin and true companion, Thomas should seek to become aware of who he is. That is, since Thomas is commonly called (CEMONTE EPON XE) the Savior's brother, it is not fitting that he be ignorant of himself (138:10-12), otherwise, presumably, he could not really be the twin of the Savior who is himself the knowledge of the truth (138:13). This self-knowledge, according to *Thomas the Contender*, is knowledge of one's identity (NTK NIM), knowledge of the circumstances in which one finds himself (ΔΚΥΟΟΠ ΝΔΥ ΝΖΕ, second present) and knowledge of one's destiny (ΕΚΝΔΥΩΠΕ ΝΔΥ ΝΡΗΤΕ). One needs only to compare this with the famous formula of the *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 78,2: "the knowledge (of) who we were, what we have become, where we were or where we were placed, whither we hasten, from what we are redeemed, what birth is and what rebirth,"¹⁹ to see that *Thomas the Contender* makes no mention of the knowledge of one's origin, but only of one's present state and future destiny. Here there is involved no elaborate cosmogonic myth which serves to explain the origin of the evil world of matter in which one is imprisoned through bodily existence.²⁰ If knowledge of one's origin is vital to the author of this passage in *Thomas the Contender*, it is at most presupposed and not vital enough to specify. Bodily existence is rather simply a present fact which needs no explanation; it is dealt with in the present and future tense throughout this text. On the contrary, what we have here is more like the biblical Gnosis of 2 Pet. 1:3:

He has granted us from his divine power all things pertaining to life and godliness through the knowledge of him who called us to his own glory and excellence, by which he has granted us precious and very great promises, so that through these you may become partakers of the divine nature, fleeing the corruption in the world due to passion.

So also Gnosis in *Thomas the Contender*, while close to that described in the *Excerpta*, appears to be rather more concerned with one's destiny than with one's origin, because the question of one's origin seems to be at most presupposed, but not directly posed.

To make a comparison within the Thomas tradition, the parallel to *Thomas the Contender* 138:9 in the *Acts of Thomas* 15 demonstrates by contrast the future orientation of *Thomas the Contender*: "thou hast shown me how to seek myself and to recognize who I was and who and how I now am, that I may again become what I was."²¹ In the *Acts of Thomas*, the bridegroom, newly converted to spiritual marriage, is to become what he was, while in *Thomas the Contender* one becomes what he will be.

Not only is Thomas to know himself, but by coming to know himself, he will automatically come to know the depth (βάθος) of the All. The converse of this may be contained in the *Gospel of Thomas*, Log. 67: ΠΕΧΕ ΙΣ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΛΟΟΥΝ ΜΠΤΗΡΥ ΕΥΡΕΡΩΣ ΟΥΔΑΥ ΡΕΡΩΣ ΜΠΜΑ ΤΗΡΥ. Unfortunately the grammar is not clear as to what the knower is deficient in: ΕΥΡΕΡΩΣ ΟΥΔΑΥ. Perhaps ΟΥΔΑΥ is meant to render σεαυτόν, but this gets us no further. Probably the translation of the Jung Codex Committee interprets as well as can be done: "Whoever knows the all but fails (to know) himself lacks everything."²² It is quite difficult to tell what is meant by "the depth of the All" in *Thomas the Contender*. βάθος is a term often applied to recondite or advanced knowledge²³ while "the All" generally refers to the *Pleroma*, to the universe and its structure. Thus something like the knowledge of inner meaning of the universe becomes the possession of those who know themselves.

The relationship between self-knowledge and the knowledge of the All is a major Hermetic theme:²⁴

Let the man who has Mind recognize himself as immortal, and that the cause of death is desire, and know all things that exist....

He who has recognized himself has come into the good above all things, but he who has loved the body

which derives from the deceit of desire, continues wandering in the darkness, suffering in the senses the things of death. (C.H. I,19).

Therefore the Hermetic watchword is expressed in the word of God: "For God said: 'Let the man who has mind recognize himself' (C.H. I,21; cf. XIII 22: 'by use of the mind, you have come to know yourself and our Father.'") This is not to say that the necessity to know oneself is uniquely Hermetic; indeed such a call goes back at least to the Delphic Oracle. What it does indicate is that the call to self-knowledge is an extremely widespread theme in the Hellenistic world, and that it came to be regarded as the key to knowing God and the All. In short, it is salvific knowledge. For those of old who consulted the Delphic Oracle, self-knowledge was a kind of reflective, objective seeing of one's capabilities and limitations as they really are so that one could control himself: know that you are a man, not a god. In hellenistic times, "know thyself" means: know that you are essentially divine. Generally, this knowledge is rather obtained by a vision granted from without (often through a sacred tradition) and whose object is not the unchanging essence of what is changing, but rather a transcendent being beyond and apart from what is changing (e.g. in Poimandres, the "*Nous*"); insofar as knowledge is of the self, it is not reflection on one's capabilities and limitations, but rather of the tragic history of the soul.²⁵ Self-knowledge in *Thomas the Contender*, however, is half-way between these two, since knowledge of the self leads to knowledge of the All, yet self-knowledge does not involve reflection on the tragic history of the fallen soul. Self-knowledge in *Thomas the Contender* is awareness of one's present circumstances (cf. 143:24f) and of his future.

The Savior's opening speech comes to an end immediately after the gnomic proverb concerning knowledge of oneself and of the All with these words:

Therefore you are my brother, Thomas, and you have beheld the one who is hidden from men; that is, the one against whom they stumble without knowing.

It is worth noting at the outset that the first three of the Savior's speeches end with clauses introduced by "therefore" (ΕΤΡΕ ΠΑΙ 6Ε ..., 138:19,35; 139:11). Thus there is reason to suspect some redactional or otherwise stylizing activity at

work in the composition of the Savior's speeches. This becomes more apparent when it is noted that none of the concluding "therefore" clauses draws a conclusion which logically or psychologically follows from what was said immediately prior to it. Each of the "therefore" clauses makes an observation about the participants in (or readers of) the dialogue ("you have beheld the hidden one"; "you are disciples and have not yet received the majesty of the Perfection"; "you are babes until you become perfect"). Thus these clauses probably represent the redactor's interpretation of the material immediately preceding them.

When it is said that Thomas is the Savior's brother, *and* has beheld "the one hidden" (or "that which is hidden," $\pi\pi\epsilon\theta\eta\pi$) from men, upon whom they stumble without realizing it, the speech must be about Thomas' brother, the Savior, whom men stumble upon, but do not recognize. Thomas, however, even though he is ignorant, has at least recognized that the Savior is the knowledge of the truth (138:13); he has recognized the one hidden from men, and thus is on the way to knowing himself (138:15f), and eventually, the All. Now it appears that knowledge of the Savior is the link which holds the material of the Savior's opening speech together. But it does so only with a certain amount of strain, since the passage is full of inconsistencies.

To begin with, the concluding "therefore" clause does not really follow from the proverb that immediately follows it. Again, if we back up a little, we will find that the sentences in 138:12-16 also betray inconsistencies:

138:12f
And I know that you have
understood, for you had already
understood that I am the
knowledge of the truth.

138:14f
While you walk with me, even though
you are ignorant you have already
known and you will be called "The
one who knows himself."

According to these sentences, Thomas has understood who he is because he had already understood that the Savior is the knowledge of the truth (cf. Jn. 14:6); at the same time, while he walks with²⁶ the Savior, he is "ignorant," yet "he has already known" (what?) and thus will be called the one who knows himself. It is difficult to see how Thomas can be called the one who knew, the one who is ignorant, and the one who will know himself, all at the same time. One explanation may be that we are dealing with a Platonic epistemology according to which knowledge comes about by the recollection of what the immortal

soul has always known (*Meno* 85, etc.). According to this theory, Thomas *has* indeed known and therefore *now* knows virtually, and with the help of the Savior's revelation will recollect clearly what he once knew and thus become one who knows himself. Again, the inconsistency could be explained even better by assuming that indeed Thomas does not and never did know himself, but rather only knew (by tradition?) that the Savior is the knowledge of the truth, and because of this can be taught by the Savior to know himself.

A more suitable explanation of this inconsistency is to assume that there are two basic themes which have been conflated into the Savior's opening speech: 1) The tradition of Thomas as the twin brother of Jesus who ponders things in his heart, who has recognized the Savior as the knowledge of the truth and therefore has beheld that which is hidden from ignorant men; 2) the gnostic call to self-knowledge which is the key to the knowledge of the All.

ΠCΔΝ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΖΩC ΕΥΝΤΑΚ
 ΜΗΔΥ ΝΟΝΟΕΙΩ ΖΜ ΠΚΟCΜΟC
 CΩΤΜ ΕΡΟΪ ΝΤΑΒΩΛΠ ΝΑΚ
 ΕΤΒΕ ΝΕΝΤΑΚΜΕΕΥΕ ΕΡΟΟΥ
 ΖΜ ΠΕΚΖΗΤ ΕΠΕΙΔCΗC ΔΥΧΟΟC
 ΧΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑCΟΕΙΩ ΔΥ ΠΑΧΘΡΜΗC
 ΕΠΕΙΔΗ CΕΜΟΝΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΧΕ ΠΑCΟΝ

ΠΕΤΕCΥΕ ΔΝ ΠΕ ΕΤΡΕΚΥΩΠΕ
 ΕΚΟ ΝΑΤCΟΟΥΝΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΜΜΙΝ
 ΜΜΟΚ ΔΥ ΠCΟΟΥΝΕ ΧΕ

ΔΚΜΜΕ
 ΔΚΟΥΩ ΓΑΡ ΕΚΜΜΕ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΧΕ ΔΝΟΚ
 ΠΕ ΠCΟΟΥΝ ΝΤΜΗC ΖΩC ΕΚΜΟΟΥC
 ΔΕ ΝΜΜΔΕΙ

ΚΑΝ ΝΤΑΚ ΟΥΑΤCΟΟΥΝ

ΔΚΟΥΩ ΕΚCΟΟΥΝΕ {ΔΥΩ}

CΕΝΔΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΚ ΧΕ ΠΡΕΥCΟΟΥΝΕ
 ΕΡΟΥ ΜΜΙΝ ΜΜΟΥ ΧΕ ΠΕΤΕ ΜΠΥCΟΥΝΩΥ ΓΑΡ
 ΜΠΥCΟΥΝ ΛΑΔΥ ΠΕΝΤΑΥCΟΥΝΩΥ ΔΕ ΟΥΔΑΥ
 ΔΥΟΥΩ ΟΝ ΕΥΧΙ CΟΟΥΝΕ ΔΠΒΔΘΟC ΜΠΗΡΥ

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΔΪ ΔΕ ΝΤΟΚ ΠΑCΟΝ
 ΘΩΜΑΣ ΔΚΝΔΥ ΔΠΠΕΘΗΠ
 ΕΒΟΛ ΖΝ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΕΤΕ ΠΔΪ ΠΕ
 ΕΤΟΥΧΙ ΔΡΟΠ ΕΡΟΥ
 ΕΝCΕCΟΟΥΝ ΔΝ

Section 1
 (Thomas is aware)

Section 2
 (Thomas is ignorant)

The preceding analysis of the Savior's opening speech at least has the merit of eliminating some of the redundancy (ἀνω ἰσοοῦνε δὲ ἀκῆμε ἀκούω γὰρ ἐκῆμε ἴμοι... ἀκούω ἐκκοοῦνε) and inconsistency (ἀκούω γὰρ ἐκῆμε ἴμοι δὲ ἀνοκ πὲ πκοοῦν ἤτμηε ζωε ἐκμοοῦνε ὅε νμμδεὶ καὶ ἤτῃκ οὐατκοοῦν ἀκούω ἐκκοοῦνε). If it be correct, we have two sections:

1. Brother Thomas, while you have time in the world, listen to me and I will reveal to you about the things you have pondered in your heart. Since it is said that you are my twin and true companion... since you are called my brother...you have been aware, for you have already been aware in my case that I am the knowledge of the truth. Since you walk with me...you have already known and...Therefore you are my brother, Thomas, and you have seen that which is hidden from men, that is, that which they stumble upon, since they are ignorant.
2. Inquire and know who you are, in what way you exist and in what manner you shall come to be...It is not fitting that you should be ignorant of yourself. And I know that...even though you are ignorant...you will be called the one who knows himself, for the one who has not known himself has known nothing but the one who has known himself has also already obtained knowledge of the depth of the All.

On this theory, section 2, perhaps in a form very much like the one immediately above, would have provided the basic inspiration and source for the Savior's opening speech, around which the material from section 1 (though not from a source taking the form immediately above) was added. Such a conflation would have produced the redundancy and inconsistency noted above; these were not serious enough, however, for the author to smooth out any more than they are in their current form.²⁷ The objectionable καὶ ἤτῃκ οὐατκοοῦν has been ameliorated by the immediately following ἀκούω ἐκκοοῦνε, although a certain amount of tolerable redundancy has been generated. The isolation of section 2 in the form proposed has the merit not only of a smoother flow of speech, but also of exhibiting a more periodic structure. It also contains representative renderings of wide-spread traditions such as that reflected in *Exc. ex Theod.* 78,2 and *A.Th.* 15, as well as the pithy piece of antithetic parallelism: the one who has not known himself has known nothing, but the one who has known himself has known everything ("the depth of the All").

The material gathered into section 1 consists only of the Thomas tradition and was probably not in any source, but derived directly from the author of the first half of the *Book of Thomas the Contender*.

This material would have been inserted in order to authenticate the urgency and truth of the message "know thyself" to the community which accepted the authority of the Apostle Thomas in his capacity as twin brother of the Savior and one privy to his secret words. As twin of the Savior, Thomas was in a unique position to understand the revelation:

The Savior secretly taught these same things not to all but only to some of his disciples who could comprehend them and understand what was signified by the scenes, enigmas and parables that came from him.²⁸

One should compare this with the use of the same type of "brother of Jesus" tradition in the two Apocalypses of James in Codex V. In the first Apocalypse, James is called Jesus' brother: "I have shown you these things, James my brother, for I have not heedlessly called you my brother, even though you are not my brother in the material (sense)" (CG V, 2, 24:12-15), and in the second Apocalypse, the Mother says to James: "Do not be overawed, my son, that he has called you 'my brother,' for you were nourished with the same milk. Therefore he calls me 'my mother'... He is your milk-brother" (CG V, 3, 35:15-23). In the first Apocalypse the identification of James as the (spiritual) brother of "the Lord" serves to identify this "Lord" as Jesus (very much like the identification of Thomas as the twin brother of Jesus identifies the "Savior" of *Thomas the Contender* with Jesus), while in the second Apocalypse of James the identification of James as Jesus' milk-brother serves mostly to glorify the figure of James. Thus we have at least two examples of authenticating the teaching of two dialogues as deriving from Jesus by stressing that the other partner of the dialogue is a brother of Jesus.

Finally, we may regard the last sentence (ΕΤΒΕ ΝΑΙ ΟΕ ...) of the Savior's opening speech as an editorial link which not only changes the subject of the Savior's speech from self-knowledge to seeing "that which is hidden from men" but also forms a bridge to Thomas' response, which introduces the next major subject of the tractate.

We must remember, however, that this source theory cannot be *proved*, since we lack surviving *Vorlagen* from which either

of the sections derives. It only has the merit of accounting for the redundancy and inconsistency within the Savior's speech. 138:21-27. Thomas' reply to the Savior's opening speech is not a response to the call to self-knowledge. Rather it relates to the conclusion of the Savior's speech, which we regard as an editorial bridge to the next subject of the tractate. That is, the subject of the dialogue changes from self-knowledge to hidden things *versus* visible things.

Thomas' response begins with a reference to the setting of the dialogue: Thomas desires an answer to the things he has been pondering in his heart. It also adds the additional piece of information that the dialogue is to be regarded as occurring prior to the Savior's ascension (ἀνάληψις). The term ἀνάληψις first occurs within the Biblical writings in Luke 9:51 at the critical point where Jesus turns towards Jerusalem ("It came to pass when the days approached for him to *be received up*, he turned his face to go to Jerusalem"). There is no doubt that Luke refers to the post-resurrection assumption of Jesus into heaven (Acts 1:9 ὑπολαμβάνω).

But we have no certain idea of what the ἀνάληψις means in *Thomas the Contender*, since we do not know what place the orthodox traditions of the crucifixion and resurrection held in the scheme of its author. The only hint we receive is that Thomas wants to know the things he seeks *before* the Savior's ascension (ΖΩΗΝ ἸΤΕΚΔΝΑΛΗΜΨΙΣ, 138:22f) as a result (ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑ' ΔΕ..., 138:22) of being told that he has *seen* that which (or: the one who) is hidden (ΠΠΕΘΗΠ) from men while they only stumble on it (or: him) without knowing (138:19f). At this point in the dialogue, all that Thomas could have *seen* is either the Savior as he walked with him (138:14) or perhaps, in a more noetic sense, he has seen what he "already knew" about Jesus, that he is "the knowledge of the truth" (138:12f). If the former alternative be adopted, we might infer that he has seen the Savior as an ordinary man, walking along with him. If the latter be true, then Thomas has seen only some truth independent of the form in which the Savior currently exists. In view of the mention of walking with the Savior (138:14, which may derive from John 12:35 where it means that the disciples are with the φῶς τοῦ κόσμου) we could assume that what Thomas "saw" was the Savior as "the knowledge of the truth," as "our light" (139:20),

which suggests the Savior in an exalted form. We can thus assume that the Savior's ascension is immediately pending, since Thomas seems eager to have his questions answered before this event; apparently he will not get another chance to ask them.

Another clue to the significance of the ascension may be provided in 139:20-31, where Thomas confesses: "You are our light, since you enlighten, Lord," to which Jesus responds: "It is in light that light exists." When Thomas responds to this with the question as to why this light which shines in men's behalf rises and sets, the Savior says:

O blessed Thomas, this same visible light shone for your sake, not in order that you might remain in this place, but rather that you might come out of it. And when all the elect abandon bestiality then this light will withdraw (ἀναχωρεῖν) up to its essence (οὐσία) and its essence will welcome it, since it is a good servant.

Since Jesus is identified with this light, then it is implied that Jesus is a descending and ascending (ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἀναχωρεῖν) figure. That is, there may be a parallel between ascension (ἀνάληψις) and withdrawal or departure (ἀναχώρησις) which occurs when men abandon bestiality (i.e. receive the message of this tractate). Thus there is no saving work performed by the Savior such as the crucifixion and the resurrection.²⁹ The only significant events in the life of the Savior are a descent, perhaps an embodiment, a mission of revealing secret words to his disciples as he does here with Thomas, and an ascension. Hence we can assume that the Savior is a revealer figure who has descended, has walked with Thomas, revealing to him secret words, and is soon to ascend back to the Pleroma or to the light-substance. However, this scheme is so unimportant to the author of *Thomas the Contender* that none of it is expressly mentioned except walking with Thomas, revealing secret words to him, and the ascension, which provides the limit beyond which this sort of revelation dialogue or question-and-answer session cannot take place. What is important is that Thomas received these secret words before this limit was imposed, before the ascension occurred.

We see something of the same situation reflected in the Acts of the Apostles. In order to replace Iscariot and thus restore the number of twelve apostles, Peter proposes the following criterion:

Thus, one of the men accompanying us during the whole time the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day he was taken up from us, one of these must become with us a witness of his resurrection. (Acts 1:21f)

While for Luke an apostle had to have been with Jesus the whole time between baptism and ascension, and have witnessed the resurrection, it is possible that in *Thomas the Contender* only the fact of having walked with Jesus before the ascension is important. In the case of Acts, we can infer the importance of having been with Jesus prior to the ascension. In his introduction Luke says that for forty days Jesus instructed the apostles ἄχρι ἡμέρας. . . ἀνελήμφθη (Acts 1:2). When they came together and asked him if he was going to give the Kingdom back to Israel at the present time he refused to answer the question, but claimed that the Holy Spirit would come and empower them from then on. When Jesus ascends, this *angelus interpretes* tells them that Jesus will not return until he returns the same way he ascended; in effect, that means that the authorized period for didactic revelations from the Resurrected One is over; the apostles already have all the Gnosis they need and now need only to depend on the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Consequently a control can be exercised over claims to secret revelations from appearances of Jesus; any such revelations since the ascension are out of order. From this example taken from orthodox Christianity, we can see why there would be an effort made, such as is done in *Thomas the Contender*, to insure that any secret Gnosis, if it were to have any authenticity, had to be referred to an apostle who received such Gnosis from the Lord before his ascension. This could be one reason why so many dialogues between the Savior and his disciples are set after the Resurrection and, presumably, before his ascension.³⁰

However, we cannot be absolutely sure that the author of *Thomas the Contender* entertained the same notions about the significance of the ascension as we feel are evident in the Acts. For example, in the *Pistis Sophia* Jesus is represented as having spoken for eleven years with his disciples (1a) but the main body of the revelation occurs only after he ascends on the fifteenth day of Tobe and descends the next morning (4b-8b); the Gnosis is imparted after the ascension in this case. In *Thomas the Contender*, Thomas' request to hear the Gnosis before the

ascension may mean no more than that he wanted to hear it before Jesus (perhaps by levitation) went away to another (unspecified) place. Again, the ἀνάληψις of *Thomas the Contender* may even refer to the final ascent of the revealer at the final time, the time when all the elect have abandoned bestiality (139:28f), and Thomas wants the Gnosis so that he can preach to the remaining elect before the light (=the Savior) reascends to its essence (=the Pleroma). Such an "end of time" interpretation fits well the apocalyptic tenor of the rest of the tractate, although we cannot be sure that elements of both interpretations are not involved. One the other hand, the fact that a Day of Judgment (143:7) figures in the scheme of this tractate may imply that such a time may be still far off. But simply because it seems to lie far off in much literature (most of which reflects the problem of the delay of the Parousia) does not mean that it does so in *Thomas the Contender*. The only passage in *Thomas the Contender* that might have answered our question lies in a lacuna in section B (144:37-145:1). The most that can be said is that the final ascent of the Light-Savior will not occur until all the elect abandon bestiality, and that such an abandoning seems to depend upon the response of the elect to Thomas' preaching (141:19-25; 142:19-26). We simply do not know, however, whether Thomas is to 1) hear the Gnosis before the Savior's ascension and preach it after his ascension or 2) both hear and preach the Gnosis before the Savior's (final) ascension. If 1) applies, we approach the Lukan scheme: conversations with the apostles - ascension - time of mission - final judgment; if 2) applies, we have the scheme: conversation with the apostles - time of mission - final judgment (?) - ascension. Because we do not know the temporal reference of the words ἀνάληψις (138:23), ἀναχωρεῖν (139:29f) and φθόν ἡττικρίσις (143:7), we must be open to either possibility. Under either alternative, however, we can see why it is urgent that Thomas receive the answers to his questions before the Savior's ἀνάληψις.

The final sentence of Thomas' response to the Savior: "and it is apparent to me that the truth is difficult to do before men" is peculiar in that one would expect it to read "difficult to speak (or proclaim) before men." Rather we have $\text{C}\mu\kappa\zeta\ \delta\delta[\zeta]\ \text{N}\nu\alpha\lambda\pi\bar{\nu}\ \bar{\text{N}}\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$. It looks as though this sentence has been inserted at the end of Thomas' reply to form a bridge to the

Savior's next response when he says: "if the works of the truth which are visible in the world are difficult for you to perform, how indeed will you perform the things pertaining to the exalted majesty and the things pertaining to the Pleroma which are not visible?" The relevant parts in parallel are:

Thomas
138:26f

ΔΥΩ ΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΔΕΙ
ΔΕ ΤΜΗΕ

CMOKZ ΔΔ[c]
NNΔΖPN NPWME

The Savior
138:30-32

ΕΥΠΤΕ
NΖBHYE NTMHΕ
ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΚΟΜΟC
CEMOKZ ΔΤΡΕΤNΔΔΥ

To begin with, ΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ has a different meaning ('be apparent, obvious') in Thomas' speech from that which it has in the Savior's (ΕΤΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΜ ΠΚΟΜΟC, "which are apparent, visible, revealed in the world"). Secondly, if this conclusion to Thomas' speech were original, why doesn't the Savior simply say: "if the *truth* is difficult for you to perform..." rather than: "if the works of the truth which are visible..."? The only explanation of the Savior's use of the plural expression "works of the truth which are visible in the world" can be that the Savior began his response by using the plural expression "if the things which are visible to you are hidden before you, how can you hear about the things which are not visible?" Thus the material in the Savior's speech belongs together by virtue of the use of the plural, while Thomas' reference to doing the truth (sg.) does not fit well with the Savior's "works of the truth." The third and most basic reason that Thomas' reply and the Savior's next response do not belong together is that, while up to this point Thomas has been addressed in the second person singular (thou), all of a sudden and for no apparent reason he is addressed in the second person plural (you). No new characters have been introduced, and if the use of the plural is meant to include Mathaiias among those whom the Savior addresses, why did the dialogue begin as if the Savior were speaking only to Thomas? Besides, we have had reason to doubt the originality of the inclusion of Mathaiias, the scribe, among the witnesses to the dialogue. We are therefore dealing with a literary seam, whose function is to provide a smooth transition to a new section of the Savior's teaching on a new subject (visible *versus* invisible things).

138:27-139:12. This entire section of the dialogue, as we have just pointed out, is characterized by the use of the plural form of address, as though Thomas has suddenly become the representative of a larger audience. To be noted is the fact that as soon as the subject changes from self-knowledge, pertaining to Thomas, to that of Thomas' task of speaking about the hidden things to men (138:24-27), the plural form of address is employed. We are obviously dealing with a dialogue composed of different sorts of materials. We should at this time list, for convenience' sake, the breakdown of the "thou" and "you" sections of *Thomas the Contender*:

Thomas='I, Thou'	Thomas='We, You'
138:1-138:27	138:27-139:12
139:12-139:20 (?)	139:20-141:25
141:25-142:18	142:18-142:26
(Thomas disappears from the dialogue at 142:26)	

The Savior's answer to Thomas' question is a beautiful example of the dialectical method of inquiry into the transcendental realm *via* the use of the principles of understanding applicable to the phenomenal realm, which achieved its greatest exposition in Kantianism. The argument is *a minore ad majus* - if you cannot see the visible, how can you see the invisible; if you cannot do earthly things, how can you do the things of the Pleroma? The obvious parallel to, and perhaps the inspiration for this piece of dialectic is John 3:12: εἰ τὰ ἐπίγεια εἶπον ὑμῖν καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε, πῶς ἂν εἴπω ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια πιστεύετε;³¹

What corresponds to the Johannine τὰ ἐπουράνια is the Pleroma of *Thomas the Contender*. The meaning of this term as it occurs parallel with ΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΕΤΧΟCΕ, ("the exalted Majesty"), we should assume that we are dealing with a state of being rather than a substance. In most Gnostic systems, the term Pleroma designates "the totality of the aeons,"³² but we find no doctrine of aeons in *Thomas the Contender*. It is tempting to connect the term Pleroma with the οὐσία of the light (139:29-32), but no such connection is made in the tractate. If the term Pleroma means the same thing as ΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΕΤΧΟCΕ, we can infer that, as the only other occurrence of this term in

Thomas the Contender implies, ΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΝΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ (138:36), the Pleroma means some state of future perfection which is the goal of Thomas' striving. In the second half of the tractate (section B), this goal is described as rest (ἀνάπαυσις, 147:13) and eternal union with the king (145:15) in what appears to be a bodiless existence (145:8ff).

The Savior tells Thomas (and those with him?) that without this ability to understand earthly and visible things, not only will he not attain the understanding of the exalted Majesty and the Pleroma, but also he cannot be called ἐργάτης, laborer. Thus the goal of Thomas' understanding is not for his own future enlightenment alone. It has a much wider implication in terms of Thomas' present life, in which he is to act so as to be worthy of the name ἐργάτης. Paul applied this term to his opponents, both those in Corinth (2 Cor. 11:13) and those in Philippi (Phil. 3:2). Dieter Georgi has observed that this term applies to the missionary as one doing hard work:

Nicht nur 1 K.3,3-15 und 9,6ff., sondern auch in dem synoptischen Worten (Mt. 9,37f. par.; Mt. 10,10 par.) und in dem johanneischen Passus 4,35-38 sind Vorstellungen und Bilder aus der Arbeitswelt mittelbar oder unmittelbar auf die christliche Missionarbeit übertragen. 1 Tim. 5,18 und Did. 13,2 nehmen das Herrenwort Mt. 10,10 auf. 2 Tim. 2, 15f. dient ἐργάτης ebenfalls als Kennzeichnung des christlichen Verkündigers.³³

Thus Thomas' goal is not only to understand the things of the Pleroma, but also to preach about this to others (cf. 138:25f). But as long as Thomas should remain ignorant of these things, and even of visible earthly things, he is no ἐργάτης, but only a disciple (ΕΤΒΕ ΠΑΙ ΝΤΩΤΝ ΖΕΝΒΟΥΕΙ) and has no share in the majesty of the perfection (ΜΠΑΤΕΤΝΧΙ ΜΠΜΕΓΕΘΟΣ ΝΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΕΙΟΣ).

It is interesting to note that in *Thomas the Contender* the disciple seems to be a lower order of person, one who is not perfected, and cannot even be called an ἐργάτης. It seems that such an estimation also prevails in the *Gospel of Thomas*, for here the disciples are ignorant of the presence of the ἀνάπαυσις and the new κόσμος (Log. 51), of the presence in their midst of the Living One (=Jesus, Log. 52 and 91), do not know who Jesus is (Log. 43), and do not even bother to seek the things that they will find from the words of Jesus (Log. 92). Elsewhere,

it is implied that they have not yet entered the Kingdom (Log. 22 and 37; cf. Log. 21). The theme of the ignorance of Jesus' disciples is thus widespread, occurring not only in the *Gospel of Thomas* and *Thomas the Contender*, but also in the *Gospel of Mark* (Mk. 4:13,41; 6:51f.; 7:17f.; 8:17-21,33; 9:10,32; 10:26).

Taken as a unit, the Savior's reply bears the marks of a conflation, i.e., the material at the end (138:34-36) shifts from the discussion about visible and invisible to that of being missionaries and disciples who have not been perfected. Furthermore, the fact that 138:35 (ετβε πδϊ) draws a conclusion from a set of rhetorical questions produces a case of evident, although unobjectionable, *anacoluthon*. This conclusion is borne out by Thomas' response (138:37-38), which picks up neither the theme of being a missionary, nor that of attaining the perfection, but rather that of visible and invisible. This response, however, continues in the plural, as if Thomas were the representative of a larger group.

The first part of the Savior's answer (138:39-139:12) lies in a lacuna which cannot be restored with any certainty. The thesis of the answer is that visible things are typified by beasts (139:2f) who, because they derive from intercourse, are always embodied, having to nourish themselves from other embodied things. This results in change and thus eventual dissolution. On the other hand, things which are above, which are not visible, have no need to nourish themselves from other visible things, but are self-nourished (εβαλ ζν τονοννε οναατοϋ), and thus have hope of life. The basic comparison seems to be inspired by Psalm 48:13, 21 (LXX): ἀνθρωπος ἐν τιμῇ ὧν οὐ συνῆκεν παρασυνεβλήθη τοῖς κτήνεσιν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις καὶ ὁμοιώθη αὐτοῖς, (Man, being in honor, does not last; he is to be compared to the unintelligent beasts and is like them.), and Ecclesiastes 3:18-21 (LXX):

And I said in my heart concerning the babblings of the sons of men that God is testing them to show that they are but beasts. For the banes of the sons of men and the banes of the beasts are the same. As the death of the one, so is the death of the other, and one breath belongs to all. All things tend to the same place, all things come from dust and all things return to dust. And who knows the spirit of man, whether it goes upward, and the spirit of the beasts, whether it descends into the earth?³⁴

This motif enjoyed wide currency in heterodox Christianity. On the basis of Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III, 18,102 G. Quispel claims that the use of Ps. 48:13 was a favorite text of the Messalians and that its ascetic application goes back to the Encratite Julius Cassianus:³⁵

If birth is evil, the blasphemers are speaking evilly of the Lord who shared in birth, and evilly of the virgin who gave birth to him...Therefore docetism is to be charged to Cassianus and also to Marcion, and even to Valentinus - (Christ's) body is psychic - since they say: "Man is like the beasts" (Ps. 48:13) when he enters upon wedlock. But it is when a man, heated up with lust, really wants to mount a strange woman for intercourse, then in truth such a man has become a wild beast, "Wild horses have they become, each man neighing after his neighbor's wife." (Jer. 5:8). Cf. also III,9,67.

The likening of man to an unreasoning beast is a theme which also occurs independently of Biblical tradition, for example in the Neoplatonism of the Hermetica:

The sensations of these men are much like those of the irrational animals, and are a mixture of anger and passion; they do not admire the things worthy of contemplation, paying attention only to the pleasures and appetites of the body, and they believe man has come to be for the sake of these things.³⁶

Furthermore, the body of man changes not only because it eats of other bodies, but also because it derives from intercourse, which is not able to produce anything else but this same kind of changeable and perishable body.³⁷

The idea developed by the Pre-Socratics, that the invisible is always the same while the visible, typified by the body, is always changing and perishes was most fully developed by Plato:

"Now," said Socrates, "shall we assume two kinds of existences, one visible, the other invisible?" "Let us assume them," said Cebes. "And that the invisible is always the same and the visible constantly changing?" "Let us assume that also," said he. "Well then," said Socrates, "are we not made up of two parts, body and soul?" "Yes," he replied. "Now to which class should we say the body is more similar and more closely akin?" "To the visible," said he; "that is clear to everyone." "And the soul? Is it visible or invisible?" "Invisible, to man, at least, Socrates." (Phaedo, 79 ab; cf. 79e)³⁸

Again:

The body is most like the human and mortal and multi-form and unintellectual and dissoluble and ever-changing. (Phaedo, 80b)

and:

The body, which lies in the visible world and which we call the corpse, which is subject to dissolution and decomposition... (Phaedo, 80c).

We are therefore dealing with ideas which must have been well-known in Hellenistic thought. But unlike Platonic and Hermetic tradition, which stressed the more ideal and philosophic implications of the changeable and perishable nature of the body, *Thomas the Contender* stresses the minatory implications of it. While the former are optimistic in their confidence that the burden of the body can be overcome by contemplation and exercise of the mind, in *Thomas the Contender* the reader can only watch and pray that he will come out of the body with all its passions (145:8ff). The reader cannot save himself; all he can do is to deny the body and hope that he is included among the elect who abandon bestiality (139:28).

As we shall see, the biggest obstacle which bodily life presents to the reader is that it derives from intercourse, which on two occasions is condemned. In section A of *Thomas the Contender*, it is said that the body will always be bestial because it derives from intercourse (139:8-11), and in section B the body is the subject of a woe: "Woe to you who love intimacy (συνῆθεια) with anything feminine and the polluted intercourse with it" (144:8-10). Section B simply offers a blanket castigation of intercourse, while section A offers a more philosophical condemnation. Here it is condemned because a different sort of thing (διαφορά) from a beastly body cannot be produced from the intercourse of beasts; it only succeeds in propagating bestiality.

Having given this metaphor of the bestiality of the body to illustrate what is meant by visible things, the Savior concludes (139:11f) his speech, "So, therefore, you are babes until you become perfect (τέλειος)," in exactly the same way as he concluded his immediately preceding speech (138:35f): "Therefore you are disciples and have not yet received the majesty of the perfection (τέλειος)." Again, because the conclusion (ἐπεὶ τῶν ὁρίων) does not follow from the body of the speech, we regard

the conclusion to the present speech, too, as secondary. In view of the antithesis (ζενκονει = νήπιοι vs τέλειοι) the conclusion probably derives from the New Testament, though a precise citation cannot be determined:

We will come together...so that we shall no longer be babes tossed and blown about by every wave of doctrine, by the cunning of men, by the craftiness that produces deceitful artifices. (Eph. 4:14).

For everyone partaking of milk is unexperienced in the word of righteousness, for he is a babe. Solid food is for the perfect, for those having senses trained by practice to distinguish between good and evil. (Heb. 5:13f; cf. 1 Cor. 3:1-3; 1 Pt. 2:2).

Before we go on to Thomas' response, which forms a bridge to the next subject, we should review the teaching of the tractate so far. At the same time we should note that *Thomas the Contender* and the *Gospel of Thomas* treat in order the same subjects:

	Ev. Th.	Th. C.
1. Secret words spoken to Judas Thomas	Introd.	138:1f
2. Seek and inquire	Log. 2	138:8, (22ff)
3. Know thyself	Log. 3b	138:8-10
4. Hidden and revealed	Log. 5, 6b	138:19-33
5. Beasts and eating	Log. 7	138:39-139:11

This parallelism of sequence may be accidental, but it is striking enough to notice. There is the possibility that the author of section A of *Thomas the Contender* may have begun with the first few of the Logia of the *Gospel of Thomas* in mind. If these two works attributed to Judas Thomas both originate from the Syrian Osrhoëne, it is hard to see how a work so important as the *Gospel of Thomas* could escape the attention of the author of section A of *Thomas the Contender*. Thus the *Gospel of Thomas*, sharing ideas in common with *Thomas the Contender* could easily have served as an inspiration for the latter work, although the latter work in no sense is a duplication of, or demonstrates extensive borrowing from the former.

Up to this point, the dialogue has centered around soteriology from the perspective of epistemology, the need to know oneself as the key to knowing the All and to know what is visible as the prelude to knowing the invisible. This knowledge is basically anthropocentric, concentrating on one's present condition, e.g. as embodied.

139:12-31. In Thomas' response (139:12-20) to the foregoing speech of the Savior, we encounter a simile whose function is to change the subject from a primarily anthropocentric epistemological soteriology to one centered on a redeemer myth.

The simile states that people (excluding the Savior) who try to explain things which are not visible or revealed (ΝΕΤΕ ΝΙΣΕΘΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ) do not know what they are talking about. They are like archers who aim or shoot their arrows³⁹ at night when they cannot see the target. But when the light comes and hides the darkness, then the "target," indeed the work of each (ΠΥΛΩΒ ΜΠΟΥΔ ΠΟΥΔ , cf. 1 Cor. 3:13), will appear.⁴⁰ This light is then confessed to be the Savior:

and you are our light, since you enlighten, Lord! ⁴¹

The comparison of light with one who speaks the truth, bringing what is hidden to light is found in the Clementine *Recognitions* 8,4:

It seems to me that those who speak the word of truth and who illumine the souls of men are like the rays of the sun, which when they have come forth and appeared to the world, can no longer be concealed or hidden, while they are not so much seen by men as they afford sight to all.⁴²

In the Clementine parallel, the proof-text is Mt. 5:14f:

You are the light of the world. A city on a hill cannot be hidden. Nor do they light a lamp and put it under a bushel, but rather on a lampstand and it gives light to everyone in the house.

The entire figure thus applies to those whose task it is to enlighten others, namely preachers or missionaries. But according to *Thomas the Contender*, without the Savior as light, they only shoot in the dark.

The subject has thus shifted from the rather Platonic discussion concerning the visible and invisible to a confession of the Savior's identity. To be sure, he is the one who is to illumine for everyone the things which are invisible in order that they can be seen, but of even greater importance is the fact that he is identical with this revealing light. It is he who enlightens and dissolves the darkness of the world.

The identification of the Savior with the light that enlightens and disperses the darkness is prominent in the Gospel of John:

1. It was the true light which enlightens every man (1:9)
2. I am the light of the world. He who follows me will not walk in the darkness. (8:12; cf. 9:5; 12:46)
3. Walk while you have the light, lest the darkness engulf you. He who walks in the darkness knows not where he goes. (12:35)

The Savior's response lets us know explicitly for the first time that the Savior is Jesus, by means of a casual introductory formula to his reply: "Jesus said: 'It is in light that light exists.'" (139:21; cf. 144:37). Therefore we can be certain that we are dealing with Christian, or at least Christianized, material in this section.

The phrase $\pi\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\psi\omega\tau\iota\varsigma\ \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho\ \pi\alpha\rho\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ can mean either that Jesus, as the light, exists in a greater light, perhaps the light-world of the Pleroma, or else that light exists in the Savior, the man of light. The latter concept occurs in the *Gospel of Thomas*, Log. 24:

There is light within a man of light, and he illumines the whole cosmos. If he does not give light, it is dark.

The former concept seems to be expressed by Thomas' next question and the Savior's answer to it (139:22-31):

Lord, why does this visible light which shines in behalf of men rise and set?
The Savior said: "O blessed Thomas, this same visible light shone for your sake not in order that you would remain here, but that you might leave it, and whenever all the elect abandon bestiality, then this light will revert upward to its own essence, and its essence will welcome it, since it was a good servant."

The most illustrative parallel to this concept is contained in the Manichean *Kephalaia* 67:

Again he spoke to his disciples when he was sitting in the midst of the congregation: Just like the sun, the great Phoster, when he comes in his rising at the time when he is about to shine on the world, spreads his beams on the whole earth, and also when it is about to set, his beams disappear and set, not a single beam is left on the earth, just so it is with me, in the image of the flesh in which I established myself and appeared in the cosmos. But all my sons, the Elect, the righteous, who are mine in every land, are like the beams of the sun. And in the time when I am about to go out of the world and go to the house

of my people, I shall gather all the Elect, who have believed in me, to that place. I will draw each one of them to myself at the time of his departure. I will not leave one of them in darkness. (165:27-166:9)

To this should be compared the redemption scheme of the Valentinian document *De Resurrectione* from the Jung Codex:

We are his (the Savior's) beams and we are encompassed by him until our setting, that is, our death from this life. We are drawn into heaven by him like the beams (are drawn) by the sun since we are not encompassed by anything. This is the spiritual resurrection. (CG I, 3: 45:31-39)

In these excerpts from two Gnostic systems, the Savior (Mani and/or Christ) is compared to the sun which withdraws its beams from the world when it sets: the Savior as the illuminator of his elect draws his elect out of the world as he ascends, and gathers them into the world of light: the idea may be derived from John 12:32 where ὁ υἱ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου refers to both the crucifixion and resurrection: "And I, if I be elevated from the earth, will draw all men to myself."

It is thus that Clement of Alexandria interprets the hymn of Ephesians 5:

He (the Lord) awakes from the sleep of darkness and raises up those who wander in error. "Awake," he says, "O sleeper and arise from the dead and he shall give you light, Christ, the Lord," the sun of the resurrection "who was born before the morning star," who bestows life by means of his beams. (Protrepticus IX, 84)⁴³

The foregoing illustrations show that the identification of Jesus with light, whose *locus classicus* is the Gospel of John, was, for orthodox and heterodox alike, illustrated by the model of the sun which was thought not only to project its rays (when it rises), but also to receive them back to itself (when it sets). If, in *Thomas the Contender*, Jesus is being compared with the light of the sun, as is suggested by Thomas' use of the terms rise (ἡγέρθη) and set (ἔσβησεν), then its rising and shining seems to be a metaphor for the message of redemption, and its setting the signal of the reception of this message of the elect. The fact that the light is called a good servant (ὁ καλὸς δούλος) recalls the "laborer" terminology applied to the preacher-missionary (cf. the term ἐργάτης, 138:34). It seems that the work of the light is to be viewed "evangelistically" rather than

metaphysically or substantially, as if the light were attracting, as like to like, light particles back to the light-world. To be sure, the light goes back to its οὐσία, but this seems to refer to the Savior, the good servant, rather than to the souls of the elect who have abandoned bestiality because of the shining of the light. It is quite possible that the term ἀνάληψις (140:23) is to be interpreted by this motif of the reversion of the light-ray back to its source; the Savior's ascension is a return to the world of light, as in the Gospel of John the Son returns to the Father.

Finally, it should be observed that in section B of *Thomas the Contender*, the light performs, not the function of attracting particles of light back to the world of light, but rather the more preliminary and more restricted function of instigating the dissolution of the body in the same way the sun dissolves the seed to produce a plant or withers the weeds to allow the vine to grow (140:10-18; 144:3-6, 21-36).

The fully developed metaphysical model of this scheme of redemption is nicely described in the following sketch of the Manichaean system:

The liberation, separation, and raising up of the parts of light is helped by the praise, the sanctification, the pure word and the pious works. Thereby the parts of the Light (i.e. the souls of the dead) mount up by the pillar of dawn to the sphere of the moon, and the moon receives them incessantly from the first to the middle of the month, so that it waxes and gets full, and then it guides them to the sun until the end of the month, and thus effects its waning in that it is lightened of its burden. And in this manner the ferry is loaded and unloaded again, and the sun transmits the Light to the light above it in the world of praise, and it goes on in that world until it arrives at the highest and pure Light. The Sun does not cease to do this until nothing of the parts of the Light is left in this world but a small part so bound that sun and moon cannot detach it (this the final conflagration will free).⁴⁴

While the rising and setting of the light in *Thomas the Contender* is paralleled by that of the moon in the Manichaean system, *Thomas the Contender* does not call the elect "Light" or "sparks of light," nor does it explicitly mention the sun or the moon. While the sun seems to be presupposed as the *tertium comparationis*, the moon has no part at all in the redemption scheme of *Thomas the Contender*.

139:32-140:6. The Savior's speech is now complemented by a formula of continuation (δύονωζ εἰσοοτῃ ἄβι πᾶσι παλεῖ χε'), a device by which new material is introduced with a minimum of editorial bridging. The bridge with what the Savior has just said consists of two antithetically parallel sentences, the first with the catchword "light" which relates to the foregoing, and the second with the catchword "fire" which introduces the new subject of discourse.

O unsearchable love of
the light! (139:32f)

O the bitterness of the
fire which burns in the
bodies of men and in their
marrow! (139:33-35)⁴⁵

Here a basic contrast is established between God's love for man and the bitter passion which burns in man. The second member introduces the major theme of the tractate, namely, the fiery sexual passion which is the major characteristic of the tomb-like body which imprisons men's souls and corrupts them.

Thus far, with the exception of the section on the bestiality of the body, the text has had a positive message, centering on the Thomas tradition, the necessity to know oneself, the task of the missionary, and the mission of the light. Now, however, we will notice that the message becomes negative and extremely minatory, a section containing an apocalyptic scene of punishment. Whereas at first the message of the text was to be commended by the Thomas-twin tradition, we shall see that in what follows, it is to be accepted under the threat of a fiery punishment in Hell.

Fire is the common element between men's embodied predicament and the eventual fate to which that predicament leads. The punishment corresponds in kind to the sin punished; one whose body is enflamed with lust will be punished by fire.

This fire which burns inside men's bodies (139:34; in their "limbs and marrow" is hendiadys) makes them crazy with drunkenness and, although the text is damaged at this point, surely represents the passion by which males and females are impelled towards one another in secret as well as openly (139:38-42). That some such relationship between the fire and males and females must have occupied the lacuna is supported by the Manichaean *Kephalaia* which, by similarity of language (σετε, ζαυτ, ζημε, κίμ), could indeed have used this section of *Thomas*

the *Contender* as a source: ΤCETE ΜΝ [ΤΖΗΔΟΝΗ [ΕΤ]ΟΥΗΖ ΖΝ ΝΖΔΥΤ ΜΝ ΝCΖΙΔΜΕ ΕCΛΩΒΥ ΜΜΑΥ ΔΖΟΥΝ ΔΝΕΥΕΡΗΥ (26:15ff - "the fire and pleasure which dwell in males and females, enflaming them for one another"); ΤCETE ΜΝ ΤΖΗΔΟΝΗ [ΕΤ]ΟΥΗ[Ζ] ΝΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΤΚΙΜ ΔΡΑΥ ΔΖΟΥΝ ΔΝΟΥΑΡΗΥ (27:3f - "the fire and pleasure which dwells in them impelling them to one another").

Fire as a metaphor for passion was wide-spread in the ancient world. As one of the four elements earth, air, water, and fire, fire was understood as essential to animal generation:

It must be understood that this hot and fiery principle is interfused with the whole of nature such that it constitutes the male and female generative principles, and thus necessarily causes the birth and growth of all animals and things whose roots are planted in the earth.⁴⁶

While the philosophic tradition gave fire as the generative element a positive evaluation, the ascetic tradition, both orthodox and heterodox, tended to view it in a derogatory manner.

The Syrian Makarios distinguishes between fire in the good sense (akin to the Spirit) and fire in the bad sense. Of the latter he says:

And there is an unclean fire which inflames the heart and thus overruns all the members and goads men into licentiousness and countless evils. And so, stimulated and gratified within the heart, they end up in fornication.⁴⁷

In discussing the old and new birth, the Pseudo-Clementines oppose the fire of sexual passion to the water of baptism:

regenerated by water, by good works they extinguish the fire of their old birth.⁴⁸ For our first birth descends through the fire of lust, and thus by divine dispensation, this second one is introduced by water, which extinguishes the nature of fire.⁴⁹

According to Hippolytus, the Naasenes also conceived of sexual passion or impulse under the metaphor of fire, as their exegesis of Is. 41:8 shows:

You, Israel, are my servant; do not fear. If you pass through rivers, they will not overwhelm you. If you pass through fire, it will not consume you. "Rivers" means the moist substance of generation, and "fire" the impulse and lust for generation.⁵⁰

The metaphor of fire as lust is found elsewhere in the Nag Hammadi Corpus, e.g. the *Teachings of Silvanus* (CG VII,4,108:4-6): "Do not burn yourself, O miserable one, in the fire of lust."

The Hermetica also employ the metaphor of fire, but to express man's appetites in general, rather than simply sexual passion. In the *Poimandres* (Ch I, 23), Poimandres, the *Nous*, says that he is far removed from godless men:

. . . giving way to the avenging demon, who, applying the sharpness of fire impregnates (sic. θρώσκει; read τειρώσκει, "pierces"?) him in his senses and arms him the more for lawless deeds, such that a greater punishment meets him. And this man does not cease holding onto the desire for boundless appetites, struggling blindly without end. And this torments him and heaps all the more fire upon him.⁵¹

The Rabbis apparently could conceive of the evil inclination as a fire. In the tractate *Kiddushin* 81a it is probably the evil inclination which R. Amram conjures out of himself: "Then it went out of him in the guise of a pillar of fire. Then he said: 'I perceive that thou art fire, and I am flesh; but I am stronger than thou.'"⁵²

The metaphor of fire abounds in later works on chastity and virginity, where we encounter such language as:

Thus the flame of resuscitated lust recalled them into the glowing heats of bygone youth. . . although the blood, still inexperienced, grows hot and stimulates the natural fires and the blind flames that stir in the marrow to seek a remedy.⁵³

In the Pseudo-Titus Epistle:

O flames of lust! . . . O exhalations of the flesh!
The glowing fire hidden deep in the heart nourishes
a conflagration! . . . Thou canst not expect to bind
glowing coals on thy garment and not set the robe
alight.⁵⁴

In the face of the widespread use of the metaphor of fire for sexual passion, one cannot expect to find a specific source from which this metaphor in *Thomas the Contender* is drawn. Nevertheless, there can be no mistaking that "fire" stands for sexual ἡδονή and ἐπιθυμία in the pejorative sense. This fire has total control over those who succumb to it (140:22-37) and, correspondingly, is the ultimate instrument of punishment⁵⁵ used in Hell by the Tartarouchos (142:42-143:4) and founds Hell on three points of the compass (143:2-4). The fire burning in men makes them crazy and drunk (143:27) and blind (140:2-5); it is insatiable (143:16) and inextinguishable (144:15). To judge from what remains of the text in the lacuna, it is the fire which is responsible for agitating men and women (139:38-42).

The Savior concludes this exclamation of the bitterness of the fire with a piece of advice, the first part of which appears to be some sort of wisdom saying: "Everyone who seeks the truth from the truly wise one (ΤΟΔΘΗ ΜΗΗΕ) will make himself wings in order to fly, fleeing from the lust (ἐπιθυμία) which burns the spirits of men. And he will make himself wings to flee from every visible spirit."

The wisdom saying, "Everyone who seeks the truth from the truly wise one will make himself wings to fly," is peculiar in that the expression "the truly wise one" is feminine in gender, reminding us of personified wisdom, Sophia. Yet Sophia never figures elsewhere in the tractate. The Coptic Gnostic tractates almost always use the Greek noun σοφία to describe the heavenly being, pre-existent with the father, who descends to the earth revealing Gnosis to men and making them spiritual before her reascent. The noun σοφία occurs at 140:15, but in the general sense of the wise man being perfect in all σοφία. Elsewhere, we find only such expression as σοφός and ρμῆζητ ("wise" or "discerning" man) both of which are masculine: "Since it is impossible for a wise man (ρμῆζητ) to dwell with (or: answer)⁵⁶ a fool, for the wise man (σοφός) is perfect in all wisdom (σοφία). To the fool, however, the good and the bad are one and the same, for the wise man (σοφός) will be nourished by the truth..." (140:15f). Thus we are led to understand the term "wise one" in a more general sense, not in that of the gnostic Sophia myth, but probably in that of the Hellenistic-Jewish hypostatization of wisdom such as is found in Proverbs, Sirach, and in the λόγος-wisdom of Philo, etc.

The gnomic style of this sentence (140:1ff) leads us to expect it to derive from a proverb. Unfortunately no such proverb is known to me. The only notable occurrence of the motif of flight from lust I can find is in Philo's tractate *Legum allegoria* III, 14f where Jacob, his name not yet having been changed to Israel, flees from Laban, who symbolizes perceivable material things:

For instance, if having seen beauty you are captivated by it, and you are about to get tripped up over it, secretly flee from its sight...for in such cases safety consists in secret flight.⁵⁷

Thus, although there can be no case of dependency, the motif of flight from lust and from visible spirits appears to belong to the sphere of paraenesis in general.

The metaphor of wings which are possessed by the one who consults wisdom is more widespread than the motif of flight. In his discussion of immortality and reincarnation in the *Phaedrus* (249c) Plato supposes that it is the mind of a philosopher which becomes winged and so escapes the 10,000-year cycle of reincarnation; by the recollection (μνήμη) of divine things and separation from the merely human, he becomes truly perfect. To be winged is to dwell with the gods, but the soul which loses its wings settles down into an earthly body (246c,d).

For Philo, those souls who are neither attracted to material things nor to mortal life, and who

observe the great folly of it (mortal life), call the body a dungeon, even a tomb, and fleeing as from a prison or grave are lifted above on light wings towards the aether and range the heights forever.⁵⁸

The collocation of wings and flight is apparently a metaphor of Hellenistic paraenesis usually applied to the denial of or abstinence from the material bodily things of life, and may derive ultimately from Plato. But in *Thomas the Contender* the metaphor can be reversed, for there are also "some with wings who rush to visible things, things which are far from the truth" (140:18f). These are the opposite of the man instructed by wisdom. Rather than fleeing lust and material things, they are attracted to them like insects to a candle in the evening: "For that which leads them, the fire, will give them an appearance (φαντασία) of truth" (140:20f). Philo of Alexandria exhibits both applications of the metaphor of flight in his *Questions and Answers in Genesis* (Armenian version, Ralph Marcus, trans., Loeb Library). On Gen. 27:39 he says:

But let all thanks be given to a gracious and beneficent one who does not permit the mind to be emptied and bereft of an excellent and most divine form when it descends into an earthly body and is burned by the necessities and flames of desire, for these are a true Tartarus, but he permits it to spread its wings sometimes and to behold heaven above and taste of that sight. For there are some who through gluttony, lechery, or over-indulgence are always submerged or sunken, being drowned in passion. And these wicked men do not wish to raise themselves up. (*Quest. and Ans. Gen. IV*, 234)

140:6-18. These two passages, the one about those who have wings to flee (140:1-5) and the one about those who have wings to flee to visible things (140:18f), may have appeared one after the other in the material from which this tractate has been composed. This supposition is strengthened by Thomas' reply to the Savior's saying about the man who has wings to flee lust and visible spirits:

And Thomas answered, saying: "Lord, this indeed is what I am asking you about, since I have understood that you are the one who is good for us, as you say." (140:5-8)

Now the Savior has said nothing of the sort; Thomas' response does not follow from the Savior's previous speech, nor from anything he has previously said in the tractate. Nor in fact does the Savior's ensuing reply to Thomas' statement follow from what Thomas said, in spite of the *επει ναι* ("therefore"):

Therefore it is necessary for us (sic!) to speak to you, for this is the doctrine for the perfect. If, then, you desire to be perfect you must observe these things; if not, your name is "Ignorant," since it is impossible for a wise man to answer (or: "dwell with") a fool, for the wise man is perfect in all wisdom (*σοφία*). To the fool, however, the good and the bad are the same. For the wise man will be nourished by the truth and will become like a tree growing by the meandering stream (or "torrent"). (140:8-18)

Besides the fact that this is not a conclusion to Thomas' affirmation of the Lord's goodness, we are also in the dark as to the identity of "these things" which Thomas is to observe. The entire passage appears to be a collocation of two originally separate themes, that of becoming perfect, and that of the wise man. It is difficult to see how the theme of perfection has again crept in (mentioned much earlier in 138:35f), unless through attraction by the theme of seeking truth from the truly wise one (140:1f); the theme of the wise man is clearly connected with that of 140:1f, that of seeking truth from the truly wise one (*Sophia*?). It may have been that these themes of perfection and of the wise man originally followed one another in a source used by the author of *Thomas the Contender* and that he has lifted the whole and inserted it within an originally unified passage employing the metaphor of wings:

originally a unity?	{	140:5b-8a (the Lord is good)}	}	140:1-5 (wings)	}	origi- nally a unity	
		140:8a-12 (perfection)		}			140:18b-20 (wings)
		140:13-18a (the wise man)					

The identity of such a source may not be irrecoverable, however. While we have observed that the passage in Plato's *Phaedrus* (249c) may have been the ultimate source for the metaphor of the wise man who has wings, it may not be too farfetched that the same passage in the *Phaedrus* may also have been the ultimate source of inspiration in connecting the theme of the wise man's wings with that of perfection. For, having just said that only the mind of the philosopher has wings to ascend into communion with God, he continues:

Now a man who employs such memories rightly is always being initiated into perfect mysteries and he alone becomes perfect (τέλειος) . . . separating himself from human interests and observing the divine. (249c,d)

It is just possible that this continuation inspired the splitting of the "wings-source" and the insertion of the discussion about perfection.

The material which we suppose to be inserted consists of Thomas' response plus the Savior's declaration about the perfect wise man. Thomas' response, like his declaration that Jesus is the light, is a confession which the reader of the tractate must also affirm if he wants to become perfect. When he says "that indeed is what I am asking you about," the reader is informed that the central message of the tractate has to do with the necessity (and wisdom!) of fleeing the fire of sexual lust which burns in one's body. The ensuing confession, "since I was aware that you are the one who is good for us, as you said," even though it does not follow from anything the Savior has said, has the effect of closely relating the Savior to the "truly wise one." As Thomas consults the Savior (perhaps he through whom the truly wise one speaks, concerning the plight of a soul imprisoned in a lustful body) the reader too is directed to the statements of the Savior for the answer to his own similar plight.

That Thomas' statement has been placed here in order to point out the crucial point of the tractate is confirmed by the Savior's response when he says, "Therefore it is necessary for us to speak to you, for *this* is the doctrine of the perfect."

That the Savior, who hardly ever refers to himself, and then only in the first person singular, here refers to himself in the first person plural, is either an instance of the royal self-reference "we" (cf. 1 Jn. 1:1), or else a conscious literary device. If it is a literary device, it is possible that 1) "us" refers to the Savior and to the "truly wise one," 2) "us" refers to the Savior and to Thomas, or 3) "us" was in a source copied by the scribe. Thomas' previous declaration that the Savior is the one who is good for us has, as we said, the effect of identifying the Savior and the truly wise one, or at least closely conjoining them, in which case 1) is correct. On the other hand, in view of Thomas' immediately preceding confession and commendation of the Savior before the reader of the tractate, it is attractive to understand the "us" as a literary device which does not refer to the Savior as addressing Thomas, but rather collectively refers to both Thomas and the Savior as addressing the reader of the tractate. This second alternative becomes even more attractive when we note that we are still in the section of the tractate in which Thomas is addressed in the plural "you," as if he were the representative of a larger group. Only here the sense would be: "Therefore it is necessary for us (that is, Thomas and the Savior, and indeed the author of the tractate) to speak to you (the readers of this tractate), for this is the doctrine of the perfect. If you desire to become perfect, you (the readers) will observe these things; if not, your name is 'stupid.'" If this solution is too far-fetched, then we are reduced to concluding that "us" lay in some source used by the scribe, and has no particular significance.

At any rate, we have been alerted that the doctrine of the perfect is to follow the Savior's advice and flee the burning lust of the body, and in fact every visible (i.e. this-worldly) entity. If one does not observe these things, he is a stupid fool, and will not be able to dwell with the wise man perfect in all wisdom (who presumably is the Savior).

The gnomic sentences about the wise man and the fool are probably not to be found in any extant collections of words of the wise; but they certainly conform to the message of the wisdom books of the Septuagint. Whether the reading be "the wise man cannot dwell with a fool" (οὐωλ̣ μ̣ν̣) or "cannot answer (οὐωλ̣μ̣ ν̣) a fool," there is enough evidence in the Book of

Proverbs to show that the necessity of a wise man to have nothing to do with a fool was an important notion of the wisdom tradition (cf. Prov. 14:7; 23:9; 26:4; cf. Philo, *De mut. nom.* 37).

While the wise man is perfect in all wisdom (or: "is perfecting all wisdom," $\chi\alpha\kappa\kappa \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda \tilde{\nu}\kappa\omicron\phi\iota\alpha \nu\iota\mu$), the fool doesn't know the difference between good and evil. According to Hebrews 5:14, this is the distinction between the perfect and the immature: "Solid food is for the perfect, who possess faculties trained by habit to distinguish good from bad."

Thus we are in the sphere of Hellenistic Jewish wisdom morality which thinks of wisdom as the nourishment of the wise. The theme of the types of nourishment is popular in the New Testament (I Cor. 3:1-3; Heb. 5:12-14; I Pt. 2:2); solid food is for the perfect. According to *Thomas the Contender* the nourishment of the wise man is "the truth" ($\tau\mu\eta\epsilon$). That we have to do with Jewish wisdom tradition is confirmed by the only definite literal quotation to be found in *Thomas the Contender*, from Psalm 1:3, a wisdom psalm. The (wise) man who has meditated on the Lord's law

ἔσται ὡς τὸ ζύλον
τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ
τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων

γινώσκτε ἡε Ἐπισην
ἐτητ ζιχῆ
πμογ Ν'εωρμ

The section under discussion (140:6-18) appears to be not only an insertion into a previously unified section dealing with the fire of lust and the use of wings to escape it (139:23-140:5) or to submit to it (140:18-37, yet to be treated), but also a *pastiche* of motifs from Hellenistic-Jewish wisdom influenced by the Septuagint (the wisdom books and Psalm 1). The motivation behind such an assertion would be to provide an interpretation of the saying about making wings to flee lust; this is the doctrine of the perfect, the way to escape evil, the way to increase through nourishment by the truth.

140:18-37. According to our analysis, this section is actually the second half of the Savior's speech begun at 139:33, but which was interrupted by the section on wisdom and perfection (140:5-18). The theme is the obverse of the previous application of the metaphor about wings: While there are some who have wings to flee the lust burning in their bodies, and flee visible spirits (140:1-5), there are also those "who have wings to rush upon ($\tau\omega\tau \zeta\iota\chi\tilde{\nu}$) the things that are visible, things far from the truth (140:18-20).

The reason that these people, unlike the wise man who is nourished by the truth, rush to things far from the truth is that they are led (ΔΙΜΟΕΙΤ) by the fire which gives them an "illusion of truth" (ΦΑΝΤΑΣΙΑ ΜΗΜΕ).⁵⁹ The reason that the fire attracts men to the visible is that it shines on them with a beauty which will perish (140:22), while the Savior shines as the true light from the substance of the light above (139:20-31). The light given by fire is a material, earthly light which will sooner or later be extinguished, but the light of the Savior comes from the world above. In this metaphor the fire represents not only lustful passions of the body, but all material visible things, including the body. The fire gives the kind of light by which the senses of the body perceive, so that those who are guided by the fire cannot see true reality. Their souls are imprisoned in dark sweetness (140:23f); seized with aromatic ἡδονή (140:24), blinded with insatiable desire (140:25),⁶⁰ nailed fast with a stake (140:26-28), jerked about by a bit (χαλινός) in the mouth, (cf. the myth of Timarchus in Plutarch's *De genio Socratis*, 592; also Plato, *Phaedrus* 256), fettered with chains (140:30f), and bound by bitter lust for the perishable things of the earth (140:31-37).

The plight of such men's souls is much like that of philosophy, which, according to Plato (*Phaedo* 82E-83E), when it first takes possession of the soul, is welded (προσκεικολλημένη) to the body and compelled to σκοπεῖσθαι τὰ ὄντα as through prison bars (διὰ εἰργμοῦ) and thus wallows in ignorance. Philosophy sees that the worst thing about this imprisonment is ὅτι δι' ἐπιθυμίας ἐστίν. It is necessary that ἡ τοῦ ὡς φιλοσόφου ψυχὴ οὕτως ἀπέχεται τῶν ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν since:

Each pleasure and pain nails it (the soul) as with a nail to the body and rivets it and makes it corporeal, accepting as true whatever the body says.

And these pleasures and pains compel the soul to believe that visible objects (τὰ ὁρατά) are reality (ἐναργέστατόν τε εἶναι καὶ ἀληθέστατον).

In *Thomas the Contender* this is precisely the function of the fire considered as the passion which burns in men's bodies. It makes men think that visible things are reality, whereas in fact they are only illusions of truth (ΦΑΝΤΑΣΙΑ ΜΗΜΕ). And because of this there is hardly a ray of hope to escape this

predicament since they are caught by it and will *never*⁶¹ escape it. The passage thus ends by saying that the lust for visible and changeable things (the body and its lusts) will always drag them down to earth (the visible realm), which means their death and corruption (140:32-37).⁶² To this should be compared the following statement of Socrates:

And, my friend; one must believe it (the corporeal) to be burdensome and heavy and earthly and visible. And such a soul is weighed down and dragged back into the visible sphere through fear of the invisible and of Hades, and, as it is said, flits about the graves and tombs around which shadowy shapes of souls have been seen, such souls as produce shades; these were not set free in purity, but retain something of the visible, and thus they are seen.⁶³

It seems an inescapable conclusion that the author of *Thomas the Contender* is ultimately dependent on Plato at this point in his discussion of the fiery lust of the body which causes the soul such grief. While there is no case of literal citation, and while Plato does not apply the metaphor of fire to the bodily lusts, the similarity in motif, language ("dragged," "visible," "lust," "pleasure") and metaphor (imprisonment, blinding of perception, being nailed fast, movement from above to below, etc.) is striking enough to conclude that motifs that occur in Plato's *Phaedo* have reached the pen of the author of Section A of *Thomas the Contender*. While it is not likely that he read the *Phaedo*, it is easily possible that motifs occurring in the *Phaedo* were passed on to him or to his community *via* the work of the Alexandrian Platonists, such as Philo, Clement and Origen.

140:37-141:4. The next section, introduced by Thomas' response to the Savior's bitter description of the plight of the soul imprisoned in the body with its fiery lust, again seems to be a transition point changing the subject from the damage which the fire of ἐπιθυμία does to the soul to that of the soul and its rest. We are not at liberty to make any firm judgments about this section since nearly half of it lies in a lacuna, breaking the train of thought. All that can be deduced is that Thomas responds by making a common observation (γονονζ εβολ αυω αυχοο<ε> ξε', "it is apparent and is said that") having to do with the soul (ψυχή, 140:40) in relation to those who are not aware of something (ἢνετε νεεοοονν δ[... 140:39). The Savior answers this observation (αγονωωβ δε ἡβι must be continued by ηεωρ

since there follows material to which Thomas again responds in 141:2) by some kind of proverb or gnomic utterance which may derive from wisdom tradition (ΠCΔΒΕ ἄρως ἄταγ. . . "the wise man who. . .") The saying concerns a wise man who did something (lies in the lacuna) and then "after he found it he rested himself on it forever and was unafraid of those who wanted to disturb him." The mention of "finding" suggests the popular theme of seeking and finding (e.g. Luke 15, Gospel of Thomas Log. 2;92;94; Philo, *De fuga et inven.* 120-176, esp. 126-142). This recalls the theme of the man who has sought the truth from the truly wise one (140:1f) and then flees all lust and every visible spirit. Thus the following restoration of 140:41f is probable:

ΝΑΕΙΔΤΥ ᾧ ΠCΔΒΕ ἄρως ἄταγ[υ]
[ΝΕ ἄΤ ΜΗΕ ΔΥΩ ἄΤ] ἀρεγῶν τε ΔΥΜΤΩΝ . . .

[Blessed (?) is] the wise man who [sought after the truth and] after he found it he rested on it forever. . .

Whatever it is the wise man seeks and finds and rests upon, it is named by a feminine noun, is something he can rest upon forever in security, and as Thomas' ensuing response implies has something to do with resting "among our own" (people?). It also has something to do with the soul and "those who do not know" something about their soul. Taken together, these hints suggest something like the truth which, once discovered, proves to be an abiding secure reality. Something like the truth would be guaranteed of lasting into the future, since the Savior's next speech is highly apocalyptic both literarily and in terms of content, treating of the future destruction of the body. Whatever it is that the wise man seeks and finds, it is clear from Thomas' response that its salient feature has to do with eternal rest (Μῆτον in the sense of ἀνάπαυσις) among one's fellows.

Our supposition that it is "the truth" which is sought, found and rested upon also receives partial confirmation from the Valentinian document *De Resurrectione* from the Jung Codex (CG I, 3, 43:35-44:2). Unlike those who falsely speculate about the resurrection and who thus:

seek their own rest, which we have received through our Savior, our Lord Christ, we have received it (rest) after we had known the truth and rested ourselves upon it.

In *Thomas the Contender*, the "truth" (τμμε) comes from the "truly wise one" (140:2) and whoever finds it flees from lust. The opposite of the "truth" is the fire, which only gives men an "illusion (φαντασία) of the truth" (140:21) and beguiles them into the life of lust. The "truth" provides a "rest" for the soul, while the fire provides "disturbance" (υπορτη, 141:2). Nourished by the truth, the wise man is secure, "like the tree growing by the meandering stream" (140:16f). This "rest" is apparently a cessation of anxiety about death and the afterlife, and a present anticipation of a new life.⁶⁴ The "rest," according to section B, is conferred by the good One (ζυτοῦτῃ ἁπαραθεοῦ 145:13f), although in section A, it is a state made possible by finding the "truth." To be compared is Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* II 9,45.5: ("He who seeks will not cease till he find, having found he will wonder, having wondered he will reign, and having reigned he will rest"), and also the *Gospel of Thomas* Log. 2 ("He who seeks, let him not cease seeking till he find, and when he finds he will be troubled (υπορτη), and being troubled, he will be amazed, and he will reign over the All.").

Finally, this rest is to take place among "our own," i.e. kindred souls, who have found the truth, the distinction between the truly wise one (σοφία) and the fire, between "the good and the bad" (140:15f) which the fool doesn't recognize. As for Thomas' response (εἰς νοῦν ἐστιν παρὰ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ζῆν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ 141:13f) we cannot tell by the grammar whether he is making the statement "it is good for us, Lord, to rest among our own," or asking the Savior whether it is good to rest among our own. However, in view of the vocative παρὰ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ("O Lord") and the Savior's response ΠΕΤΡῶν γὰρ πε, "Yes,"⁶⁵ it is useful" it seems best to take Thomas' response as a question. The precise reference of "our own" is indeterminate; presumably it refers to those wise men, who like Thomas, have found the truth, and have not been beguiled by the fire. They will all dwell together in rest among the fellows while those beguiled by the fire will be gathered back to that which is visible (141:11); the wise cannot dwell with the fool (140:13).

141:4-18. Unlike some responses of the Savior to Thomas' questions this particular response constitutes a good response, by directly answering what is probably a direct question. The response is both minatory and apocalyptic: it is a good thing to

rest eternally among "one's own" because the σκεῦος of the flesh which is visible will dissolve and come to be among the visible things, presumably corpses or the like.

Again, this response of the Savior seems to be a composite of materials; 141:9-14 seems to introduce material of a different kind into the larger block 141:4-18. Indeed the section itself (141:9-14) does not seem to be a unity:

The Savior said: "Yes (γὰρ) it is useful. And it is good for you since things visible among men will dissolve. For the vessel of their flesh will dissolve and when it comes to naught it will come to be among the visible things, among things that are seen. (141:4-9)

And then the fire that they see will give them pain on account of the love of the faith that they formerly possessed (141:9-11).

They will be gathered back (πάλιν) to that which (or: the one who) is visible. But as for those who see among the things that are not visible, without the first love they will be destroyed by the concern for this life and (by) the burning of the fire (141:11-14).

Only a little time until that which (or: the one who) is visible dissolves; then formless εἶδωλα will arise and in the midst of the tombs they will dwell over the corpses forever in pain and destruction of soul. (141:14-18).⁶⁶

This structuring of the content is suggested by the fact that the main topic seems to be the dissolution of the flesh into the corpse (141:4-9, 14-18, apparently a unity) into which intervening material introduces the theme of love - "the love of the faith" and "the first love" (cf. Rev. 2:4) - and reintroduces the theme of the fire. Furthermore, after the first section (141:11-14) is introduced by the phrase "they will be gathered back to that which is manifest" (141:11) in an effort to relate what follows (141:12-14) back to the larger block (141:4-9, 14-18) encompassing the inserted material, and in particular to the phrase "come to be among the visible things, among things that are seen" (141:8).

The use within the inserted material of the term "love of the faith" (ΤΑΓΑΠΗ ΑΤΤΙΣΤΙ) and "first love" (ΤΥΟΡΠ ΑΓΑΠΗ, cf. Rev. 2:4) tends to give the whole block a Christian flavor, while the mention of fire tends to relate the whole block to the "fire" theme of the entire dialogue. That the complete prediction of the dissolution of the body is to be understood in relation to the fire (or lust) as well as in relation to Christian tradition is demonstrated by the following phrase from the second section (141:11-14) of the inserted material: "without the first love they will perish in the concern for this life and (for) the burning of the fire." The first half of the phrase "without the first love they will perish in the concern for this life" supplies through its New Testament terminology (ΔΕΝ ΤΥΟΡΠ ΑΓΑΠΗ; cf. Rev. 2:4 τὴν ἀγάπην σου τὴν πρώτην ἀφῆκες, and ΚΕΝΑΤΑΚΟ Ζῆ ΠΡΟΟΥΛ ΜΠΒΙΟΣ, cf. the interpretation of the parable of the sower, Mk. 4:19 par., where the seeds sown among the thorns are those who first hear the word, but αἱ μερίμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος choke the word) a Christian flavor to the whole. The second half certainly refers to the concern for the body's desires under the metaphor of fire, and could, by such association, be meant to refer again to Mk. 4:19, αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι εἰσπορευόμεναι by way of the fleshly body to corrupt the soul.

Having said that the entire block has a Christian flavor and that it refers also to the fire of passion, we must ask what sort of material is it that is placed in such a context? The answer to this is that the encompassing material (141:4-9, 14-18), which when placed together reads as a unity, appears, like other material in section A of *Thomas the Contender* ultimately to derive from or be inspired by Plato's *Phaedo*. For the sake of convenience we repeat part of the passage quoted above in the commentary on *Thomas the Contender* 140:18-37 above, and continue with the remainder:

And, my friend, one must believe it (the corporeal) to be burdensome and heavy and earthly and visible. And such a soul is weighed down and is dragged back into the visible sphere through fear of the invisible and of Hades, and, as it is said, flits about the graves and the tombs around which shadowy shapes of souls have been seen, such souls as produce shades; these were not set free in purity, but return something of the visible; and thus they are seen. . . and these are not at all the souls of the good, but those of the base, which are compelled to

wander around such places to pay the penalty for their former evil style of life. And they wander about such a place until through the desire of the hounding corporeal, they are (again) imprisoned in the body.⁶⁷

141:18-25. Thomas' response is one of alarm at the Savior's description of the fate of the fleshly body. He responds with a series of questions which center on the theme of his missionary task (see above). The series is introduced by the diatribe formula such as is used by Paul, e.g. in Romans 3:5; 4:1; 7:7; 8:31; 9:14,30: τί (οὖν) ἐροῦμεν = οὐ πετέ οὐκ ἔταυ ἀδοα (141:29f). The use of a series of questions to introduce a discourse is known in other dialogues of the Savior with his disciples: e.g. *The Letter of Peter to Philip* (CG VIII,2, 134:20-135:2, questions by disciples), *The Sophia Jesu Christi* (BG 8502 79:15-18, by the Savior; 117:13-17, by a disciple), *The Thought of Our Great Power* (CG VI,4, 36:30-37:2, a series of rhetorical questions answered by the speaker; not a dialogue), *The Apocryphon of James* (CG I,1, 15:30-34, questions by disciples; this is a dialogue reported in epistolary form), and the *Dialogue of the Savior* (CG III,5, 126:6-8, 18-20, by disciples). The examples within this literature of questions such as "What will we do or say in the face of these things, etc.?" are very frequent. The questions which Thomas asks the Savior are designed to heighten the sense of danger in which those who are unaware of the Savior's teaching exist. As such they are "blind men," "miserable mortals," who only plead excuses for the state in which they are. They are bound by the flesh without realizing that it is a lustful prison within which blazes the fire of passion. They claim innocence by saying: "We came to do good and not for cursing," as Paul enjoins the Romans to act in the face of persecutors: εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας (ὁμᾶς, Χ, A, D, etc.), εὐλογεῖτε καὶ μὴ καταρᾶσθε, Rom. 12:14). Yet at the same time they also betray their lustful predicament by pleading that if they hadn't been born in the flesh, they would never have experienced the fire. Taken together, these two claims placed in the mouth of these men tends to equate them with ordinary mortal men; in fact, if their first claim is a reflection of Romans 12:14, the miserable mortals could be Christians who have no idea that they are doing anything else than what is good, but their second claim belies their innocence by revealing their awareness of the fire of lust. They conform with the Pauline injunction by doing good and not cursing, but since they do not admit

the reality of their passions, they are not true ascetics who know that they must avoid the fiery passion of the body. Unfortunately, no more corroborating evidence is available as to the identity of the miserable mortals, and although the hints of their identity contained in this passage point to non-ascetic Christians who do not reject the body, we can only regard this identification as a guess. If the identification happens to be correct, the ensuing speech of the Savior shows that their good intentions are worth nothing, but are rather a cause of blindness to their animal-like existence and eventual consignment to Hell.

141:25-142:2. The Savior responds to Thomas' series of questions with a bitter condemnation of those people who are unaware of the plight of embodiment. He does so in language which refers the reader to the discussion about the bestiality of the visible body (139:5-11). At the same time the reader finds that Thomas is suddenly addressed again in the second person singular ("thou"):

The Savior said: "Truly as for those (men) do not esteem them for thyself as men, but regard them as beasts. For just as the beasts devour one another, so also men of this sort devour one another." (141:25-29)

The meaning of this simile is unclear, since it is hard to imagine what sort of men would devour one another, unless we take this as an (unlikely) reference to cannibalism. We are reminded of the similar statement of 139:2f about bodies which are visible: "but these bodies which are visible eat from creatures which are like them." If it is fair to interpret our current text in the light of this previous statement, to say that men "devour one another" is another way of saying that they are like beasts who devour one another (in the sense that these men eat other bodies, bodies of beasts). This may mean as little as the modern "dog eat dog" as a metaphor for baseness, but it is also worth wondering whether, beside the condemnation of sex, we may possibly have the condemnation of eating meat, presumably because by eating meat these men think that their existence derives from their bodily nourishment. In the earlier discussion of bestiality, it was said that "those who are above live from their own root and it is their fruit which nourishes them," while the visible bodies eat from other creatures. Thus it seems that *Thomas the Contender* is written, among other things, to counsel

not only abstinence from sex, but also from meats, since these only serve to enslave man to his body and blind him to the nourishment brought by the light which shines until "the elect (the abstinent) abandon bestiality" (139:28f) and come out of "this place," the world of embodied life (139:25-27).

A hint of a similar polemic lies in the Latin Hermetic tractate *Asclepius* (a portion of which was found in the Nag Hammadi Corpus, CG VI,8, 65:15-78:43):

When God, the Father and Lord, after he had made the gods, made man from the divine and from more corrupt portions of matter, weighed out in equal measure, evils inherent in matter were mixed with the body permanently, and other evils entered in because of food, which we necessarily require in common with all animals; from these factors it necessarily follows that lustful passions and the remaining evil inclinations find place in the human soul.⁶⁸

Although we have what seems to be reference to abstention from meats, it is clear that the central thrust of the Savior's speech is not bestiality in relation to either cannibalism or abstention from meats, but bestiality in the sense of possessing a lustful body which is deprived of sight.⁶⁹ At this point the metaphors of bestiality and fire are explicitly brought together. These men are beasts, who devour one another in a blind (?) fashion since they love the sweetness of the fire, are servants of death and rush to the works of corruption. Bestiality and lust are similarly connected in the *Teachings of Silvanus*, another Nag Hammadi tractate:

For it is better not to live than to acquire the life of a beast. Watch yourself lest you are burned with the fire (COTE) of fornication. For there are many archers (NPEYΔAK COTE) who are its servants.⁷⁰

The fact is, that the fire of lust enslaves men, and entraps them in the same chain of sexual procreation within which they were also begotten. Therefore, these innocent men who are unaware of the danger of the flesh succeed only in "fulfilling the lust of their fathers" (141:32). Such an idea is known in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*, where the chain of the lust which fills the world is traced back to Adam and Eve:

They formed Adam and Eve, and they begot in order that they might rule the cosmos through them. They completed all the works of lust upon the earth, and the whole cosmos was filled with their lust.⁷¹

Because of this endless cycle of lust, the fate of such men is to be "thrown down to the abyss," to be "afflicted (μαστιγοῦν) by the torment (or: compulsion, ἀνάγκη) of the bitterness of their evil nature (φύσις). Since the speech is about those who intended to do good, but who must admit that, because they have come to be in the flesh, they have succumbed to the fire (141:23-25), we must conclude that being caught in fiery lust is not a matter of voluntary choice, but rather one of compulsion (ἀνάγκη) due to one's nature (φύσις), which is evil. Men love the sweetness of the fire, are servants of death and pursue works of corruption because they are determined to do so by their basic nature.

Their fate, then, is to be thrown down to the abyss, where they will be scourged till they run headlong to "the place which they do not know," presumably Hell (141:33f). What happens thereafter is not clear, since the text is again defective at this point. They can no longer patiently dispose of the parts of their body.⁷² The picture of their punishment is one of utterly mindless abandon, since we encounter such phrases as ΠΛΙΒΕ Μῆ ΠΥΨῚ, "madness and derangement," "rejoicing over" something, "thinking that they are wise," being "frenetic" and "occupied with their actions" (ΕΡΕΠΟΝΖΗΤ ΠΟΟΝΕ ΕΡΟΟΝ ΕΡΕΠΟΝΜΕΕΝΕ ΖΙ ΝΕΥΠΡΑΞΙC). And, what is more, we read that "it is the fire that will burn them" (142:2); i.e. that by which one sins, by that shall one be punished. Taken as a whole, this passage is a description of punishment of Hell, and thus is a prelude to the far more elaborate description of punishment in Hell which we shall encounter in section B. However, as each description occurs in section A and B respectively, we shall see that the two do not form a unity.

142:2-9. Thomas responds to the Savior's grave pronouncement with great anxiety over those who fall under it: "O Lord, what will the one thrown down to them do (to whom "them" refers cannot be determined; perhaps the demons of Hell), for many are those who fight against them." At this point, the Savior responds with what must be a question "Is it for yourself that you possess that which is visible (or: the one who appears, ΠΕΤΟΥΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ)?" since Thomas answers, "It is you, Lord, for whom it is fitting to speak, and I, to listen to you." The Savior's question is obscure, not only because it seems to have nothing to do with Thomas' question about the fate of those in Hell (since it concerns Thomas himself), but also because the grammar itself is puzzling.

The phrase $\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\eta\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\alpha$ can read either "he who is visible" or "that which is visible." If we take it in the personal sense, it seems that it is only the Savior who can be referred to as "he who is visible," and thus the Savior is asking Thomas if he really possesses the Savior. If, however, we take the phrase in the impersonal sense, "that which is visible," then we are talking about visible things. To judge from the section 138:27-139:12, "that which is visible" refers to the material realities of this world, and in particular to the body (139:2f), as opposed to the invisible things of the Pleroma. This consideration, plus the fact that after Thomas' answer (actually refusal to answer), the Savior offers an extended metaphor which apparently concerns the body, tends to drive us to the conclusion that the Savior answers Thomas' anxiety over the miserable mortals who are to be punished in Hell by directly asking Thomas if he has a body.

If Thomas admits that he really does have a body (which seems to be the force of the second tense with the ethical dative, "is it for yourself that you possess" (i.e. "do you really have"), then he has reason to be anxious over the punishment of the bestial body in Hell. But Thomas indicates that only the Savior can answer this question.

142:9-18. Assuming that the question which Thomas refuses to answer is whether he possesses "that which is visible," that is, a body, then the Savior's response should probably be construed as an answer to this question.

The response takes the form of a conceit, or extended metaphor which typified "that which is visible" (the body) as a sexual entity (in the pejorative sense) whose process of procreation by the male sperm can be likened to the germination of a seed. Just as the seed ("that which is sown"), in the process of germination, dissolves under the action of rain ("water") and sunlight ("fire")²³ and lies under the soil ("in tombs of darkness") and after a long time the fruit is revealed which is then pruned ($\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$), and eaten by man and beast, so also the male sperm ("that which sows" and "is sown") dissolves in the fire (the male and female generative principles, cf. Cicero *De. nat. deor.* II, 28) and water (the moisture of the vagina) and hides in the womb (tombs of darkness), and after a long time another fleshly body is revealed (the fruit of the evil tree of the flesh) which is then punished ($\kappa\omicron\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$;

as one having been begotten in the flesh, cf. above) and killed in the mouth of beasts and men (cf, men who like beasts devour one another), all at the instigation of the rains, winds, air and the light above. Again, the metaphor can be applied not only to the reproduction of the body, but also to the history of the body's life: it both sows and is sown, and because of the fire of lust will be dissolved (consigned to death) and as a corpse inhabit the dark tombs of Hell where the true fruits of its life will be revealed and receive retribution (κολάζειν is in this type of literature the typical expression for punishment in Hell, κόλασις).

Such a metaphor of the body as a seed is also to be found in Paul's description of the resurrection body in 1 Cor. 15: "Fool, what you sow will not come to life unless it die, and what you sow is not the body that is to be, but a bare kernel, perhaps of wheat, or something else." Again, a similar metaphor closer to the meaning intended in *Thomas the Contender* is contained in Plato's *Phaedo*:

For because it (the soul that considers visible things to be real) is of like opinion with the body and rejoices in the same things, it is compelled, it seems to me, to have the same habits and upbringing and never depart in purity to Hades, but always depart contaminated with the body, so that it immediately falls back into another body, like the sowing of a seed.⁷⁴

The soul which, on the contrary, has avoided the deception of the body:

need not at all fear. . . that it will be torn assunder at its departure from the body, blown apart by the winds, and fluttering away vanish, and no longer be anywhere.⁷⁵

Whatever may have inspired the composition of the metaphor of the seed in *Thomas the Contender*, it is clear that although Thomas receives no direct answer to his question, the answer to it is ready at hand. Thomas may happen to have a body, but unless he is willing to undergo its fate, he had better disown it: "Is it for yourself that you possess that which is visible?" No, it is just an unfortunate accident. I do not possess it for my benefit, but, unless I can come free of it, for my damnation.

142:18-26. With this response of Thomas to the Savior's conceit on the body, we not only leave the block of material in which

Thomas is addressed as "thou" (141:25-142:18), but also encounter the formal end of the dialogue: "You have indeed persuaded us, Lord. We knew in our mind and it is obvious that this is so, and that your word is sufficient."⁷⁶

The return to the use of the plural ("us," "we") in the conclusion to the dialogue itself (and to section A) may be a device of the author of section A to involve the readers in the conclusion: they, along with Thomas, are convinced.

We must, however, raise the question whether the return to the plural is a sign of redactional work. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the four "thou" blocks all belong to section A and respectively treat: the Thomas tradition (138:4-27); the metaphor of shooting arrows in the dark plus the confession of the Savior as "our light" (139:11-21); Thomas' confession that the Lord is "the one who is good for us" (140:5-8); and finally, the inexorable punishment of those bestial men who love the sweetness of the fire, the inexorability of which is demonstrated by the metaphor of the seed (141:25-142:18). Each of the four blocks appears to be "Christian" in the sense that in them Thomas is central, by virtue of being personally characterized (138:4-27), or directly confessing something about the Savior (139:11-21; 140:5-8), or being asked a direct personal question (142:6-9). It is very possible that these "thou" blocks may have originally formed an entire dialogue between Thomas and the Savior in which each addressed the other in the second person singular. Blocks of "you" material would have been inserted into the dialogue in order to expand the scope of the dialogue by introducing the themes: "visible" and "invisible" as well as "Perfection" (138:27-139:11); the light which shines to get the elect to abandon bestiality *versus* the bitter fire of lust (139:23-140:5); and of "Perfection" *versus* the fire which leads men astray as well as the subject of "visible" and "invisible" (140:8-141:18). That is, the material dealing with visible *versus* invisible and the light *versus* the fire of passion is largely confined to the plural sections, while the "thou" sections have much more to do with Thomas himself. Such a situation would be quite natural and not cause any suspicion at all if the dialogue ran smoothly, since it would be natural for the Savior to use "thou" when directing his attention to Thomas. But the fact that the "thou" sections always seem to change the subject, plus the fact that one of them

(140:5-8) is an absolute *non-sequitur*, give reason for suspecting that the flow of the dialogue is not altogether "natural." Indeed we have a section (139:25-31) which, since it is addressed directly to Thomas (ὁ ΠΑΡΑΒΟΛΟΣ ΘΩΜΑ) we would expect to be cast in the second person singular, but, instead, it uses the second person plural. All of this could be a sign of redactional activity on the part of a redactor who combined section A with section B. However, the contrasts between the singular and plural blocks is not great enough to merit the conclusion that section A is a conflation of two sets of material characterized by the singular (deriving from the redactor) and plural (deriving from the original section A) forms of address respectively. Alternatively, this irregularity we have noticed could be accounted for by assuming that originally the dialogue of section A was composed with a wider audience in view, a situation which the vacillation between singular and plural appears to convey, and that some of the questions and statements put to the Savior which receive answers cast in the plural were asked by another group, for example, the disciples (i.e. for "his disciples said to the Lord" was substituted "Thomas said to the Lord"). While there is not enough evidence to draw any conclusion, whatever evidence of irregularity there is should be brought to the attention of the reader.

To return to the passage at hand (142:18-26), we again note that we have come to the formal end of the dialogue, since Thomas (or rather "we") is convinced by the Savior and concludes that his word is enough. It is also the material end of the dialogue, since at this point Thomas disappears altogether from the tractate.

Yet the tractate continues on, as though nothing had ended, by the addition of a new subject of discussion:

But these words which you speak to us are laugh-
ingstocks to the world and are sneered at, since they
are not understood. So how can we go preach them,
since we are reckoned as in the world? (142:21-26)

Thus, for all intents and purposes, the dialogue is picked up again as though nothing had happened, except for the fact that from here on to the end all we have is a long homiletical speech by the Savior, linked together by continuation formulae (ἀφορμῶν ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν, or ἵν 143:8; 144:37). What has actually happened is that a new subject has been introduced, since what

follows is an apocalyptic section in which the Savior condemns to Hell (a Hell with different features from the Hell of section A) those who mock his words. We are persuaded that the question of the mockers which continues Thomas' concluding response is redactional. It is designed to introduce a homily (section B) of the Savior on subjects not greatly different from those covered in the dialogue. In the comment on the *incipit* (138: 1-4) we have presented evidence to show that it derives from a source other than the dialogue (section A), in particular from the original title of the following homily or "sayings" document (section B).

142:26-143:7. The second (B) section of the tractate is a long homily consisting of apocalyptic prediction and woes, delivered by the Savior against those who mock his words, plus three beatitudes and a promise of (the) future rest for those who hear them. The apocalyptic section, 142:26-143:7, is addressed to those who reject his words. This oblique reference to his audience is prefaced by the Jesuanic formula $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\eta\nu\ \uparrow\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \eta\eta\tau\bar{\eta}\bar{\nu}$ ($\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta\eta\nu\ \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\ \bar{\upsilon}\mu\bar{\iota}\nu$):⁷⁷ "Truly I tell you (plural), as for the one who (singular) will listen to your word and (at the same time) turn away his face (=attention) or sneer at it or smirk ("curl his lips") at these things, truly I tell you. . ."

Such a person "will be delivered over to the Archon above, who rules over all the powers ($\acute{\epsilon}\xi\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}\iota$) as their king." No further clue as to the identity of this Archon is given. As the ensuing description of punishment progresses, we may have to do with different sources, as is hinted at by two renderings of the expression "deliver over," $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\lambda\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\gamma\ \delta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\gamma$ (142:30) and $\varsigma\epsilon\eta\lambda\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\delta\omicron\nu\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\omega\nu$, plus occasional changes from the singular to the plural (142:38,42; and $\tau\eta\eta\epsilon$, "you," 142:40).

Apparently the Savior is referring to a punishment after death, since this individual is handed over to the Archon who is above, who rules over all the powers ($\pi\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu\ \epsilon\tau\bar{\eta}\pi\varsigma\delta\alpha\nu\tau\pi\epsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\iota\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\chi\bar{\eta}\ \bar{\eta}\epsilon\zeta\theta\upsilon\varsigma\iota\delta\ \tau\eta\rho\omicron\nu$) and he will cast this soul down to the abyss. This Archon is the same sort of being mentioned in Eph. 2:2:

. . . once you conducted yourselves according to the era of this world, according to the Archon of the $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\alpha}$ of the air, the spirit controlling the sons of disobedience.

The Archon of *Thomas the Contender* is very similar to the highest demon of the Latin *Asclepius*, who is judge of souls. Trismegistos tells Asclepius that when the soul has left the body, there will be held a trial of its merits:

It (the soul) passes under the power of the highest demon. When he finds a soul to be godly and righteous, he allows it to abide in the region most suited to it; if, however, he sees it to be marred with the stains of sin and defiled by vice, hurling it down from above, he delivers it over to the tempests and whirlwinds of the (part of the) air frequently in conflict with fire and water, so that by eternal punishment it is continually swept and buffeted to and fro by streams of (cosmic) matter between heaven and earth. 78

In *Thomas the Contender*, the soul of the mocker will be turned about by the one who rules the ἐξουσία (=angels? cf. the list in I En. 20) and cast from heaven down to the bottom of the abyss (under the earth? Δὴ ἤτις ὑδπιτῆ ἀπνον). This abyss is further identified as a narrow dark place of imprisonment in which it is impossible to turn or move "on account of the great depth of Tartaros and the wide wall of Hades. The mention of both Tartaros (τάρταρος) and Hades (ἀμντε, "Hades," "the western place") is probably hendiadys, and has no special significance, for example, as evidence for a conflation of sources. The remainder of the description of Hell is largely lost in a lacuna. A possible restoration is:

- 142:35, He can neither turn or move on account
 36, of the great depth of Tartaros and πι[χοί]ε 79 ε
 37, [τιπορ]ῳ ἢτε ἀμντε παῖ ετταδρην δ[ρω]υ ε[ν]
 38, [ωτπ] ἡμοον εζονν ερου ξε[κδδ]c ἡνεβ[ρ]
 39, [πβολ] ἡcen[α]κω ἀν εβολ [ππο]ν[α]βε80 [α]ω
 40, [νι]αρχων ετ[ν]απωτ ρδ τ[η]νε81 c[ε]να[π]α[ρ]αδιδ[ο]ν
 41, [ἡ]μοον εζρ[α]ι ε[π]α[ρ]γελοc π[α]ρ[τ]ρονχοc 82
 42, [ἡ]4αῖ ἡζενμαcτιζ ρc[α]τε ε[π]η[π]ητ ἡcωον
 143:1, [ἡ]ζενφ[α]γελλοον (sic!) of fire casting a shower
 shower of sparks
 2, into the face of the one pursued.

On the basis of this restoration, Tartaros appeared in *Thomas the Contender* as a deep dark hole surrounded by broad walls (or rivers?) which imprison the one who is punished, who is then delivered over to Tartarouchos, the chief angel of Hell for scourging with whips of fire. Furthermore we read that a threatening, seething fire surrounds Hell on the West, South and North, with the only exit towards the East (143:2-5). But the one who is hemmed in by this fiery threat is unable to find the

way to the East and be saved, "for he did not find it in the day he was in the body with the result that he might finally find it in the day of judgment" (φοον ἄτκρίσις). Of course, at the day of judgment, it will be too late to repent and be saved.

One of the earliest lengthy descriptions of Tartaros is found in Hesiod's *Theogony*:

And there, in all their order are the sources and ends of gloomy earth and misty Tartarus and the unfruitful sea and starry heaven, loathsome and dark, which even the gods abhor. It is a great gulf, and if once a man were within the gates, he would not reach the floor until a whole year had reached its end, but cruel blast upon blast would carry him in this way and that.⁸³

Such is the nature of "the great depth of Tartaros." In the treatment of Tartaros, Plato refers (*Phaedo* 112A) to a similar description of Tartaros in Homer's *Iliad* 8.14. It occurs in a speech to the gods: Zeus warns against giving aid to the Trojans or Danaans, or else

. . . I shall take and hurl him into the murky Tartarus, far, far away, where is the deepest gulf beneath the earth, the gates whereof are of iron and the threshold of bronze, as far beneath Hades as heaven is above earth.⁸⁴

According to this, Hades is not only a deep gulf, but also has iron gates and bronze thresholds. In the *Theogony* 807-812,⁸⁵ where, after a literal repetition of a portion of the passage just quoted from the *Theogony* (736-739=807-810), Hesiod says:

And there are the shining gates and an immovable threshold of bronze having unending roots and is grown of itself.⁸⁶

Owing to the lacuna in *Thomas the Contender*, we cannot tell whether the feature of iron gates and bronze threshold was in the text; there does not seem to be adequate space and clues to allow it. Hesiod, however, does make mention of a wall which confines the Titans in Tartaros (cf. *Thomas the Contender* 142: 39),

. . . for Poseidon fixed gates of bronze upon it, and a wall runs all round it on every side.⁸⁷

The descriptions of Tartaros in Plato's *Phaedo* (111c-113c; cf. *Republic* 614ef) and in Vergil's *Aeneid*, 548-625, which are very closely related in many details, are much more elaborate

than these earlier versions. In his edition of the Achmim fragment of the *Apocalypse of Peter*, Albrecht Dieterich⁸⁸ has argued forcefully that these descriptions of punishment in Tartarus ultimately derive "aus westgriechischen orphische-pythagoreischen Vorlagen" (p. 123), and that Plato's version (upon which Vergil's work is dependent?, cf. *ibid.* p. 150) was created from material known to him in Athens and later in Sicily as well as through Orphic mystics who had been in contact with the Pythagoreans of lower Italy, where there had occurred a conflation of the doctrine of the heavenly ascent of the soul with that of reward and punishment in the underworld (p. 125). Dieterich supposes that:

Es muss ein grosses orphisches Buch gewesen sein, in dem Form des Berichtes über einen Hinabsteig zum Hades, ähnlich wie in der Republik auch, über alles das, was der Hinabsteigende gesehen, von diesem selbst berichtet wird: von den Totenrichtern, von dem Gericht, von den zu Bestrafenden und ihren Strafen, von den Flüssen der Qual und dem Tartaros, von den zu Belehrenden und den Gebilden der Seligen, von der zweiten Wahl der Lebenslose, dazu auch von dem ersten Sündenfall und der Busse, die dafür gesetzt sei.⁸⁹

Whether or not Dieterich's theory can be sustained at all points, it is clear that the picture of punishment in Tartaros enjoyed wide currency in the Hellenistic world, and that its major purpose was minatory: to frighten men into leading a moral life. As it is applied in *Thomas the Contender*, it threatens with doom the man who mocks the Savior's words.

The chief agent of punishment is the angel Tartarouchos (ΤΑΡΤΡΕΛΟΣ ΤΑΡΤΑΡΟΥΧΟΣ), the "one in control of Tartaros."⁹⁰ According to I En. 20:2, it is Uriel who is over the world and over Tartaros. In the *Apocalypse of Peter* (c. 13) Tartirokos (=Tartarouchos) is the one who punishes with even greater torment those who have repented in Hell, where there is no more time for repentance.⁹¹ According to the Greek *Apocalypse of Paul* (16), those who while living showed no mercy are to "be handed over to the angel Tartarouchos (or Temeluchos), who is appointed over punishments," and "he will send them into the outer darkness." The instrument of his punishment, according to *Thomas the Contender*, is a fiery instrument of scourging (probably whips) with which he pursues those to be tormented. Moreover this fiery threat hems him (note the change to the singular) in on all sides except the East, but his embodied

state prevents him from taking this path to salvation, at least prior to Judgment Day.

Fire is the major instrument of punishment in the literature dealing with punishment in Hell. In *Thomas the Contender* it is the more ironical in that the instrument of punishment is analogous to that by which the tormented sinned in earthly life, the fire of passion. In the present section it is difficult to tell whether the fiery threat which hems in the tormented on three points of the compass is the fiery whip of Tartarouchos, or whether it is some kind of ring of fire, such as the Pyriphlegethon, one of the rivers of Hades (*Odyssey* 10.513; *Phaedo* 114a), which has become understood as an instrument of punishment. Dieterich observes:⁹²

Das Feuer als so recht eigentliches Element der unterirdisches Pein findet sich verhältnismässig spät (z.B. deutlich Lukian vera. hist. II c. 27). Bei den Griechen wird nie ganz die Vorstellung seiner reinigenden Kraft zurückgetreten sein; die "unheilbaren" z.B. bei Platon werden nie mit Feuer gestraft. Hinzugetreten sind dann freilich Lehren wie die von der ἐκπύρωσις, die durch die Stoiker überallhin drang. Für die Kreise, welche jüdischen Einflüssen zugänglich waren, ist dann das Wort des Jesaias von dem Wurm, der nicht sterben, und das Feuer, das nicht verlöschen wird (Jes LXVI 24 Sept.), wirksam geworden und die durch fremde Einflüsse erst so entwickelte Anschauung von dem feuerigen Thal Gehinnom, Gehenna.⁹³

The conception of the fire being met at every point of the compass occurs in the early second century *Apocalypse of Peter* (Ethiopic version), only the scene is not of punishment in Hell, but of the catastrophes of the day of judgment, where cataracts of fire plummet earthwards melting stars and earth:

And as soon as the whole creation is dissolved, the men who are in the east shall flee to the west and those in the west to the east; those that are in the south shall flee to the north and those in the north to the south, and everywhere will the wrath of the fearful fire overtake them; and an unquenchable flame shall drive them and bring them to the judgment of wrath in the stream of unquenchable fire which flows, flaming with fire.⁹⁴

Here fire is both a feature of the eschatological holocaust, and at the same time an instrument of punishment which is inescapable. Now in the *Apocalypse of Peter* the fire is at all points of the compass; there is no escape whatsoever, since the

fire is a cosmic conflagration. In *Thomas the Contender*, however, the fire is not a cosmic conflagration, but is localized in Tartaros, and whether it is a wall of fire or simply the ubiquitous presence of the punishing angel Tartarouchos, it is met at only three, not four points of the compass.

At this point, it is worthwhile to compare this description of punishment in Hell with the one contained in section A (141:32-142:2). According to the section A account, the miserable mortals, who claim that they would not have known the fire if they had not been begotten in the fire, are to be regarded as beasts who propagate the lust of their fathers. They will be 1) thrown down to the abyss, 2) scourged so as to make them rush headlong to the place which they do not know, and 3) becoming utterly deranged and turned in upon themselves and the state and actions of their bodies, they will be burnt by the fire.

The descriptions of punishment in the current section (B) present the following schedule: he who mocks the Savior's words will be 1) handed over to the highest Archon, ruling over all the powers, who will cast the mocker down to the abyss, where he will be 2) imprisoned in a narrow and dark place, called Tartaros and Hades, and 3) be delivered over to Tartarouchos who will pursue the mocker with fiery scourgings, such that every path of escape is blocked by fire.

Clearly, while the two accounts share in common the motifs of consignment to the abyss and subsequent scourging and burning by fire, they diverge in details. While in the former account the one to be punished is consigned to a place he does not know, in the latter account the "place" is named Tartaros and Hades. While in the former the one to be punished is beaten by the ἀνάγκη of the bitterness of his evil nature, in the latter he is beaten by the fiery whips (?) of Tartarouchos. The divergences in the two descriptions are in our view accounted for by the separate origins of sections A and B, while the similarities may have indeed arisen from an attempt on the part of the redactor to harmonize section A with section B.

Finally, we should note that the problem of the individual's future salvation is posed in terms of an eschatological tension between the present and the future. Punishment in Hell goes on until the day of judgment (cf. 2 Pet. 2:9f). He who undergoes punishment in Hell does not find the eastern way to salvation,

because he did not find it when, being embodied, he still had a chance. On the day of judgment, one can find the way to salvation only if he has already found it in the embodied state. Present and future are thus linked together by an epistemological bond; what one finds out now will determine his fate in the future. Once one has left the body behind, the possibility of finding salvation is forfeited, since it cannot be discovered in Hell. Thus there is a built-in device which operates against those who mock the Savior's words; because they present the way to salvation, one had better listen now, or soon it will be too late. It is this minatory eschatology which sets the conditions under which the reader must hear the woes and blessings that follow.

143:8-144:36. The previous apocalyptic section functions as the introduction to the Savior's concluding speech, which is homiletic in style. The transition from apocalyptic prediction to the woes is marked by an editorial seam; instead of passing smoothly from the underworld scene to the woes, the latter are introduced by the formula: $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \delta\gamma\omicron\nu\omega\zeta\ \delta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\gamma\prime\ \bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \pi\bar{\zeta}\omega\rho\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$, "then the Savior continued, saying:" (143:8f; cf. 144:36f; 139:31f).

The present section consists of twelve woes (perhaps based on the format of the twelve curses of Dt. 27:15-26): eleven woes which are separated from a twelfth woe lying in the subsequent section which is introduced by a repetition of the above formula: $\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \delta\gamma\omicron\nu\omega\zeta\ \delta\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\gamma\prime\ \bar{\nu}\delta\iota\ \pi\bar{\zeta}\omega\rho\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\omega\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varsigma$, "then Jesus (sic) continued and said:". The woes are as follows:

1. Woe to those who hope in things which will not happen (143:9f).
2. Woe to those who hope in the imperishability of what is perishable, i.e. the body and the world (143:10-15).
3. Woe on account of the insatiable fire which burns within (143:15f).
4. Woe on account of the wheel that turns in your minds (143:17f).
5. Woe on account of the fire which destroys soul and body (143:18-21).
6. Woe on account of your captivity in caverns of darkness which prevent you from recognizing your situation. Because of this your minds are deranged, causing a reversal of values.

- a) Your enemies' victory is a delight to you.
- b) Darkness rises on you like the light.
- c) You exchange freedom for servitude.
- d) You make your thoughts into folly, filling your minds with smoke.
- e) You hid your light in the cloud.
- f) - h) lie in a lacuna
- i) You baptized your souls in the water of darkness.
- j) You behaved according to your own desires.

7. Woe to you for not noticing the light of the sun, which judges everything, and the moon, which sees your corpse-like bodies (144:2-8).

8. Woe to you for loving polluted intercourse with women (144:8-10).

9. Woe on account of the afflicting powers of your body (144:10-12).

10. Woe on account of the powers of the evil demons (144:12f).

11. Woe to you who beguile your members in the fire (144:14).

- a) Who will extinguish this fire? (144:15-17)
Who will give you the sun to shine and dissolve the darkness and the polluted water, and give a fragrance to you and all the natural elements? (144:17-21).
- b) Here follows an extended metaphor on the sun, the grapevine and the weeds. What was probably originally intended to be a series of twelve woes is broken after this eleventh woe, the extreme length of whose agrarian metaphor probably caused the twelve-woe format to be forgotten, necessitating the insertion of the second formula "and Jesus continued, saying," after which the twelfth (obliterated) woe follows.

For the sake of convenience, we will refer to the woes according to the enumeration supplied above.

1. The first woe is against the godless ($\bar{\text{N}}\lambda\text{TNOYTE}$) who have no hope. The same style of curse occurs in Sir. 41:8, only the godless are those who despise God's law:

οὐαὶ ὑμῖν ἄνδρες ἀσεβεῖς

οἵτινες ἐγκατελείπετε νόμον θεοῦ ὑψίστου.

Thus, as regards style, we are within the biblical framework.

In the New Testament the most famous examples of this woe-formula

are the woes against the Pharisees and scribes of Mt. 23 (cf. Lk. 11). It consists of the exclamation "woe" plus a form of direct address in the dative, followed by the charge and specification which gives rise to the woe. The charge and specification is introduced by a relative clause whose subject is the same as the antecedent, or else by a causal particle such as $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ $\zeta\iota\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\gamma$ or $\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\omicron\tau\gamma$ (corresponding to the $\delta\tau\iota$ clauses in Matthew).

In this case the charge and specification is that the godless are those without hope. The phrase $\nu\epsilon\tau\epsilon \mu\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\gamma \zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$, or $\mu\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\gamma \zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$, occurs three times in *Thomas the Contender*. Aside from the present context it refers to those who persecute the elect (145:5-7). In the present context it refers to those "who rely on things which will not come to be" (143:10). The phrase $\nu\epsilon\tau\tilde{\nu}\alpha\psi\omega\pi\epsilon$, "things which will come to be," usually has an eschatological reference: according to section A, formless $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\delta\omega\lambda\alpha$ "will come to be" (in this instance, "dwell") over entombed corpses forever (141:15-18); a possibility of future existence is to "come to be" in the flesh (145:8f). Thus the phrase "things which will not come to be" has an eschatological, but pejorative, meaning. Its precise reference, however, seems to be supplied by the next woe, which also treats the question of hope, but more from the point of view of the object of one's hope rather than the presence or absence of hope.

2. The second woe condemns those who hope ($\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$) "in the flesh and the prison that will perish."⁹⁵ This phrase is probably hendiadys for the "perishable fleshly prison" (cf. the $\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ - $\sigma\tilde{\eta}\mu\alpha$ concept generally).⁹⁶ If we take this phrase as the key to the interpretation of the first woe, then "to have no hope," i.e. "to rely on things which will not come to be," is to hope in the flesh which will perish. Our second woe goes on to confirm this identification, and even broaden it to include all material things. To hope in the fleshly, material things of this world and this life is to cause one's soul to perish and hence to be without hope. He who hopes in perishable things will likewise perish.

The remainder of the second woe presents some extraordinarily perplexing grammatical problems.

$\psi\alpha\tilde{\nu}\tau\epsilon\omicron\nu \psi\omega\pi\epsilon \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\omicron\beta\tilde{\omega} \delta\gamma\omega \tilde{\nu}\delta\tau\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$
 $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon \epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\nu \chi\epsilon \epsilon\epsilon\nu\delta\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron \delta\tilde{\nu} \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\zeta\epsilon\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma$
 $\tau\alpha\delta\rho\eta\nu \delta\delta\tilde{\eta} \pi\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma \delta\gamma\omega \pi\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\nu}\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon \pi\epsilon$
 $\pi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\beta\iota\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\nu}\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron \tilde{\nu}\nu\epsilon\tilde{\tau}\tilde{\nu}\psi\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\epsilon$

- a) In the phrase $\omega\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\omicron\beta\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$, $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\omicron\beta\bar{\omega}\bar{\iota}$ is probably a second tense with adverbial complement: "it is until when ($\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\varsigma\ \pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, Crum 573a) that you are oblivious?" = "How long will you be oblivious?"
- b) $\delta\upsilon\omega\ \bar{\nu}\delta\tau\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\mu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \zeta\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\lambda\tau\delta\kappa\omicron\ \delta\aleph$ clearly begins a new sentence and can be translated a number of ways:
- α) "And (as for) the indestructible ones (or: things) which you think they will not perish" (no main clause).
 - β) "And (as for) the indestructible ones, it is concerning them that you think they will not perish" (indicative, second present).
 - γ) "And (as for) the indestructible ones, is it concerning them that you think they will not perish?" (interrogative, second present).
 - δ) "And (as for) the indestructible ones, it is concerning them that you think they will also perish" (indicative, second present, $\delta\aleph$ is AA_2 for $\omicron\aleph$, "also").
 - ε) "And (as for) the indestructible ones, is it concerning them that you think they will also perish?" (interrogative, second present, $\delta\aleph$ is AA_2 for $\omicron\aleph$, "also").

Alternative α) is unsatisfactory since it does not yield a main clause. Alternatives β) and δ) are attractive in that they amount to emphatic (second tense) accusations, which harmonizes well with the "woe" form. Alternatives γ) and ε) are attractive because as interrogatives they are similar in mode to the immediately preceding question ("How long are you to be oblivious?"). On the whole, γ) and ε) seem most attractive for the reason given. Of these two, γ) has the difficulty of amounting to a tautology, since one would of course think that imperishable things will not perish. On the other hand, we could suppose the reference to $\bar{\nu}\delta\tau\tau\epsilon\kappa\omicron$ to be ironic: "And the (so-called) indestructible things, do you think that they will not perish?" But this interpretation has the disadvantage of straining the Coptic. Therefore, taking our cue from the AA_2 form $\delta\aleph$

for S ON which occurs a few lines above (143:4), alternative ε) seems to be the best: "And as for the indestructible things, is it concerning them that you think they will also perish?" = "Do you really think that the imperishable things will also perish?" This has the advantage of: being an interrogative following another interrogative; being an example of forgetful or oblivious thought (cf. ΕΤΕΤΝΟΒΩ, 143:12); and giving a positive meaning to ΝΑΤΤΕΚΟ as distinct from the perishable body. This alternative may be partially confirmed by an apparent chiasmus which we shall point out.

- c) ΕΤΕΤΝΖΕΛΠΙΣ ΤΑΧΡΗΝ ΔΕΝ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ is a proper indicative second present with adverbial complement.
- d) ΔΥΩ ΠΕΤΝΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΕ ΠΕΕΙΒΙΟΣ (cf. Phil. 3:19) is a nominal sentence which fits well in the woe context.
- e) ΕΤΕΤΝΤΑΚΟ ΝΝΕΤΝΨΥΧΟΟΥΕ is puzzling. It could be a circumstantial phrase modifying the main clause d) "Your god is this life," but we would rather expect the subordinating relationship to be reversed: "You are corrupting your souls since your god is this life." The other possibility is to regard e) as an *emploi abusif* of the second tense which results in an emphatic statement: "You are corrupting your souls!"⁹⁷

Now taking the passage as a whole, we note an apparent chiasmic structure to the whole:

- A b) "Do you really think that the imperishables (ΝΑΤΤΕΚΟ) will also perish (ΤΑΚΟ)?"
- B c) "It is upon the world that your hope is set."
- B¹ d) "And your god is this life."
- A¹ e) "You are corrupting (ΤΑΚΟ) your souls (= the imperishable, as opposed to the destructible fleshly body)!"

The B, B¹ members are quite parallel in structure; their object of hope is this world and their god is this life. The A, A¹ members are not parallel in structure, but are reasonably parallel in terminology: while they think that the imperishable things will also perish, they fulfill their thought, since their (imperishable) souls are perishing. The imperishable soul cannot hope in the perishable body.⁹⁸

The net effect of the first two woes is to point out the dire situation of those who hope in all that pertains to the

material world, things which "will not come to be" in the future, but will perish.

3. The third woe again brings in the theme of fire, which is the chief characteristic of the perishable body. This fire, which represents lust, is insatiable and therefore is likely to consume the body entirely.

4. It is difficult to understand what the fourth woe is about. To begin with, it seems to produce a pun when compared to the third woe. At least a portion of the third and fourth woes are parallel: "Woe to you in the fire which burns in you" and "woe to you for the wheel which turns in your minds." There appears to exist a homophony between the κωζτ (koh^et) of "the fire which burns in you" and the κωτε (kot^e) of "the wheel (κατ) which turns (κωτε) in your minds." There is in addition a homophony within the third woe (κωζτ, ρωκζ) as well as alliteration within the fourth woe (κατ ετκωτε). The metaphor of the fourth woe probably derives from Sir. 33:5:

τροχὸς ἀμάξης σπλάγχνα μῶρου
καὶ ὡς ἄνων στρεφόμενος ὁ διαλογισμὸς αὐτοῦ.

If so, the effect is to condemn the addressees as idle-minded persons whose thought never leads anywhere. It is another way of saying that they are oblivious to their circumstances (143:12; cf. 143:25).

5. The fifth woe returns again to the insatiable fire. The danger of the fire is not only that it will consume the flesh in a visible way (ζῆ οὐωνζ εβολ) but, what is worse, it will at the same time secretly (ζῆ οὐζωπ) rend the soul. The following sentence is completely obscure: Ἰϣϣ̄βε τε τῆνε ζῆρῆ ζῆνετῆρην "and it (the fire) will prepare you for your fellows."⁹⁹ It apparently has a bad sense, and is a future action which involves those who are besieged by the burning of the fire. Perhaps it means that destruction by the fire so effaces the body and soul that these individuals have no individual features left by which to recognize them. They all look the same, they and their fellows.

6. The sixth woe is very long compared to the first, third, fourth and fifth woes. It addresses the accused as captives, bound in caverns, who laugh and rejoice in mad laughter totally unaware of their precarious circumstances. They are unaware of the fact that they are perishing and exist in darkness and death.

Apparently the metaphor of being bound in caverns is interpreted as existing in darkness and death, in a state where light and life are totally obscured for them. The image reminds us of Plato's picture of men dwelling in a cave at the beginning of the seventh book of the *Republic*. They are held captive, unable to move or turn their heads.¹⁰⁰ Above and to their rear is a fire just in front of which real persons and objects pass, but all the prisoners see is shadows cast by the light of the fire onto the wall in front of them. By naming the shadows by the names of the objects which cast them, the prisoners exhibit their delusion, thinking that the shadows are real. So it is with the condemned in *Thomas the Contender*. They are bound in caverns unaware that they exist in darkness and death. They are drunk with the fire (143:27) and full of bitterness (ΜΕΛ ΖΗΛΩΕ, 143:27f). Their minds are deranged on account of the burning within them (143:28),¹⁰¹ even laughing crazily (143:23f), totally unaware of their real situation (143:24f). Because of this they become like the fool of whom it was said in section A (142:15f) that the good and bad are one and the same for him; they confuse and exchange good things for evil things: they delight in smiting their enemies (literally ΠΚΛΟΜ ἸΤΠΑΛΗΓΗ ἸΝΕΤἸΧΔΔΕ, "the crown of the smiting of your enemies") rather than granting them Christian forgiveness. Darkness rises for them like the light, they exchange their freedom for servitude,¹⁰² they darken their hearts,¹⁰³ they make their thoughts into foolishness, they fill their minds with the smoke of the fire which is in them, and hide their light in the cloud. This list of absurdities continues with perhaps two more instances of crossed up thinking, but they are lost in a lacuna. To judge from the remnants, the sixth woe comes to a close with a question (ΝΙΜ ΠΕΝΤ . . . , 143:39) mixed with some other declarative statements. The last two statements of this lengthy woe are preserved at the top of the next Coptic page (144:1f): "You baptized (ωΜΖ) your souls in the water of darkness, and you behaved according to (lit. "ran in," ΠΩΤ ΖΝ) your own desires."¹⁰⁴

Obviously, the sixth woe is a catch-all for every sort of stupid inane thing that a person could do. As for the grammatical structure of the woe, a little less than half of it (143:21-30) is cast in the present tense, using mostly the qualitative form of the verb to emphasize the state in which these

people currently exist, while the remainder (143:30-144:2) is cast in the first perfect tense, emphasizing that they have already done these foolish things. Out of the eleven woes of this section, only the fifth (143:18-21) and the ninth (144:10-12) employ the future tense, which gives the impression that the recipients of this homily indeed have no hope; they have committed all the mistakes they could and there is no turning back. We shall see, however, in the final section of the tractate (144:36-145:16) that there is yet a glimmer of hope.

7. The seventh woe accuses the addressees of existing in error¹⁰⁵ since they have neither beheld the sun which judges the All nor the moon which looks constantly on the bodies of their corpses.¹⁰⁶

The description of the sun looking down on the All is very similar to Sir. 42:16a: ἥλιος φωτίζει κατὰ πᾶν ἐπέβλεψεν which could have conceivably influenced the terminology.¹⁰⁷ The metaphor may have been further influenced by Jesus' discussion of the treatment of enemies in the Sermon on the Mount, where the Father's love is compared to the sun: τὸν ἥλιον αὐτοῦ ἀνατέλλει ἐπὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς. (Matt. 5:45). We also find the image of the sun revolving around all things in the Manichaean *Kephalaia* 163 where, like the good (ἀγαθός) Father, the sun daily passes very high over the whole earth, and thus is the key to the mystery of the Light and Darkness. The sun as the second φωστήρ is a type of the first and highest Father which daily reveals its goodness in the world, but the sects (δόγμα) do not recognize this in their error (πλάνη). What the author of *Thomas the Contender* meant by saying that the sun circles around all things to enslave the enemies (ἀτρεκέλαδε πρὸς ὅλα) remains to be deduced from the metaphor of the sun, grapevine and weeds in the eleventh woe (144:21-35). Suffice it to say here that the sun which enslaves the enemies is a metaphor for the heavenly light which makes the body wither away and causes the soul to flourish (cf. the light which shines in order that the elect shall abandon bestiality, 139:28f). Thus the idea of the sun enslaving enemies seems to have to do with its destructive heat; because of this it was identified with Seth-Typhon of the Isis-Osiris myth:

They (the Egyptians) think that Typhon is the solar world, . . . that the sun, by its untempered

and dry heat heats and burns up sprouting and flourishing things and by its blazing heat makes a large part of the earth uninhabitable.¹⁰⁸

On the other hand, the moon gives no parching heat, but rather γόνιον τὸ φῶς καὶ ὑγροποιὸν ἔχουσιν (*de Is. et Os.* 367d). In *Thomas the Contender* it simply looks down night and day on the bodies (σῶμα) of corpses (ΖΕΤΒΕ ; 144:6-8). Franz Cumont conveys the following concerning the relation of the dissolution of mind, soul and body to the action of the moon, drawn mainly from the eschatological myths in Plutarch's dialogues *On the Face of the Moon* and *On the Sign of Socrates*.

The pagan theologians thus admitted that the souls which came down to the earth assumed in the sphere of the moon and in the atmosphere these aerial bodies which were regarded as the seat of the vital principle. Inversely, when they rose again to heaven, the function of the moon was to dissolve and to receive these light envelopes, as on earth its damp rays provoked the corruption of the corpse. The soul, thus becoming pure reason (νοῦς), ascended to the sun, the source of all intelligence.¹⁰⁹

This theory, according to Cumont, goes back to the teachings of Oriental astrologers:

Among the Greeks of the most ancient period Hecate was at one and the same time the goddess of the moon, the summoner of ghosts, and the queen of the infernal realm. In the East astrological ideas mingled with this mythology. It was taught that the moon's cold and damp rays corrupted the flesh of the dead and thus detached from it the soul which finally abandoned the corpse.¹¹⁰

This description of the function of the moon seems to explain the image of the moon looking down upon corpses. Unfortunately, Cumont gives no documentation for the teaching of these Oriental astrologers. However, a possible indication that the moon has to do with the decay of bodies may be found in the Hermetic *Asclepius*, if the parallelism of the following sentence can be strictly maintained:

Thus heaven, a god perceptible by sense, is the administrator of all bodies; their growth and decay fall under the charge of the Sun and Moon.¹¹¹

Surely the sun has to do with growth, which leaves the moon in charge of decay.

The image of the moon "looking down" (ὀδυνᾷ ἐλπί) should probably be understood not only in terms of sending its rays

down, but also in the sense of governing. In the case of the sun, its looking down is paralleled with judging or ruling (πρὸς πετρῶν ἐπιβλέψας ἀνὰ πτῆρ); to look down means not only to shine, but to have charge of what is looked down upon.

8. The eighth woe (144:8-10) changes from the concept of the body as a corpse disposed of by the sun and moon to the concept of the body as a sexual entity. The sentence is difficult to translate.

ὈΥΘΕΙ ΝΗΤῆΝ ΝΕΤΜΔΕΙΕ ΝΤΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΔ ΝΤΜΝΤΣΙΜΕ
Μῆ ΝΕΣΥΩΠΕ ΝῆΜΔΣ ΕΤΣΟΟΥ

Woe to you who love the intimacy (or: intercourse, συνῆθεια) of womanhood (Crum 385a) and her being with her which is polluted.

I have translated the sentence: "Woe to you who love intimacy with womankind and (who love) polluted intercourse with it (anything feminine)," taking the third feminine singular suffix pronoun of ΝΕΣΥΩΠΕ as referring to ΣΥΝΗΘΕΙΔ (i.e. as the intercourse pertaining to intimacy) and the like suffix of ΜῆΜΔΣ as referring to ΤΜΝΤΣΙΜΕ (intercourse with anything feminine).¹¹² The meaning of the woe is perfectly clear from the general tenor of the tractate and may derive from the author of section B directly.

9. The ninth woe, as the seventh and eighth, again has to do with the body, in this case with the ἐξουσίαι of the body which afflict those persons who are addressed. These ἐξουσίαι must be some sort of evil spiritual powers (cf. Eph. 2:2). In this sense the term refers almost exclusively to heavenly powers (so Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich 278a; Lampe's *Patristic Lexicon* 502a,b). But the text seems to imply that these powers belong to the body as such (ΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΜΗΕΤῆΣΩΜΔ). Since the preceding woe deals with sexual intercourse, we should naturally expect these ἐξουσίαι to have to do with the sexual powers of the body, i.e. the passions. Such a meaning fits well with the general tenor of the entire tractate. It may be, however, that these powers are related to the beings described in the next woe.

10. Here the woe arises on account of the "energies (forces) of the evil demons (ΝΕΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΝῆΝΔΙΜΩΝ ΜΠΟΝΗΡΟΝ). Interpreting this woe in the light of the previous woe, we are led to think of some kind of spiritual forces which attack the soul from without, but do so by the agency of the body. The

fourth Hermetic fragment from Stobaeus throws light on the subject:

For forces, O Tat, themselves incorporeal, are in bodies and act through bodies. And so, O Tat, insofar as they are incorporeal, I say they are immortal, and insofar as they cannot act without bodies, I say they are always in bodies.¹¹³

Again:

These forces are dependent on the bodies. On the one hand these forces which produce bodies descend from divine bodies into mortal bodies; on the other hand each of them acts either on the body or on the soul and also do not mingle with the soul apart from the body. There are always forces, but the soul is not always in a mortal body, since it can exist apart from the body. But the forces cannot exist apart from the bodies.¹¹⁴

These ἐνέργειαι of the Hermetic fragment are forces which account for bodily processes. Where in Aristotle ἐνέργεια means "actuality" as opposed to "potency" (δύναμις), the meaning of ἐνέργεια here is closer to δύναμις - it means "force," "effect," "influence." Even after the soul has left the body the process of decay is evidence of forces at work. The forces come down from the stars, lodge in bodies, and work only through bodies. On account of the forces of birth man is subject to εἰσαρπυμένη (CH Frg. VIII,3). In *Thomas the Contender*, it is said that these forces derive from (genitive of source?) the evil demons, which suggests that they are the forces of celestial beings, perhaps of the planets, upon the body. In the *Corpus Hermeticum* the ἐνέργειαι are astral influences emitted by celestial bodies and act on the mortal bodies of the sublunar world: "thus marshalled they (the demons) serve under the several planets. They are good and bad in their natures, that is, their forces. For the essence (οὐσία) of a demon is a force."¹¹⁵ The seven planetary spheres were thought to be more or less connected with a series of seven vices, e.g. Agnoia, Authadia, Kakia, Zelos, Phthonos, Erinnyes, Epithymia (Iren. I, 29,4). These vices were stripped off from the soul in its ascent and handed over to the planetary sphere responsible for them, e.g. the power of increase and decrease to the moon, guile to Mercury, deceitful lust to Venus, tyranny to the Sun, audacity to Mars, striving after wealth to Jupiter, and falsehood to Saturn (*Poimandres* 25-26).

The substance of the ninth and tenth woes, then, must be that man is under the dominion of evil spiritual forces which originate from without, perhaps from the celestial bodies, but which find their home and place of effect in the body. In view of the eighth woe directed against intercourse, we ought to assume that the sexual passions of the body are the ἐξουσίαι and ἐνέργειαι in question. The sexual nuance seems to be confirmed by the eleventh woe which follows.

11. The eleventh woe reintroduces the theme of fire present also in the second woe. Instead of saying woe to you "on account of the fire," the speech is more direct: "Woe to you who beguile their (=your) members with the fire." Here ὁ πικρῶς seems to function as an instrumental complement to ὡς (to "beguile"), such that the fire is that by which the addressee's members are deceived or led astray. Although the plural of μέλος generally means "body" (see note on 141:36), the precise nuance of the term "members" (μέλη) probably cannot be determined. In the main translation I have rendered it as "limbs." The term occurs three times in section A: 139:36 (the fire which scorches men's μέλη); 140:31 (the fire binds men's limbs in the bitterness of the bond of lust); and 141:36 ("they will not abandon (?) their limbs patiently). Clearly the μέλη are points of the body at which the fire of passion attacks men, and it seems logical to think of sexual members, i.e. the *genitalia*. If this is so, then the eleventh woe fits into the theme of woes directed against the body's sexual powers to which we have assigned woes eight through ten. We conclude, then, that the eighth through the eleventh woes seem to fit well together when given an anti-sexual nuance. When taken in this way, we see that the body was thought of as the seat of sexual passions which could be conceived as powers which perhaps originated outside the body, or were at least controlled from without by evil demons, and was led astray by them into the act of sexual intercourse which resulted in the affliction of the body. Thus the body, as bestial and lustful, was not a free agent, but was dominated and controlled by instinct or other beings, rather than being self-controlled.

The eleventh woe, however, as the longest woe of the twelve, has much more to say. The woe appears to be a composite, since the "woe" form is broken by a set of questions directed to the

recipients of the homily (144:15-19), followed by a promise that they and the elements will receive a fragrance (144:19-21), and concluded with another conceit or extended metaphor about the sun, grapevine and weeds (144:21-36).

The first of the two rhetorical questions continues the theme of fire with which the eleventh woe begins: "Who will rain for (upon) you a dew of rest (ὄρεϊωτε ἤμῶν) so as to extinguish¹¹⁶ the great quantity of fire from you together with your burning?" The metaphor of few extinguishing fire is very apt as an expression of the hopeless situation of those besieged by passion; who will save them from it? The understood answer is probably the moon, which was thought to be the source of dew, and such dew was a metaphor of salvation.¹¹⁷

The second rhetorical question, parallel in form to the first, changes the image of salvation from "dew" to "the sun": Who will give you the sun to shine upon you to disperse the darkness that is in you and to hide the darkness and polluted water? The author of section B of the tractate has once before contrasted light with darkness: the darkness rises like the sun for those who are drunk with the fire (143:30). Darkness is apparently synonymous (or at least forms a hendiadys) with death (πῆμα[], 143:26) and is also connected with water ("You baptized your souls in the water of darkness," 144:1). On the other hand, the author of section A of the tractate considers darkness to be an attribute of tombs (τάφος, 142:13) and as something which the light (identified with the revealing Savior) comes and hides so that everyone's deeds will appear (139:19). The present rhetorical question, due to its redundancy and lack of consistency, may have resulted from an interpolation of the phrase "and to hide the darkness and polluted water." The strange phrase "hide the darkness," as we have indicated, occurs in section A. This phrase creates an inconsistent redundancy since, once the sun "disperses the darkness in you," it is hard to imagine what "hiding the darkness and polluted water" might mean. Besides, the sun does not really seem to be an apt agent for hiding polluted water. Thus it may be that the person who combined A and B (if this thesis is correct) added the phrase "and to hide the darkness and polluted water" to the question "Who will give you the sun to disperse the darkness in you?" which originally stood in B. A possible confirmation of this is that in the two

rhetorical questions, the first one about the dew of rest and the (original) first part of the second about dispersing the darkness either prefix the second person plural possessive adjective (ΠΕΤΗΡΩΚΖ) or else append an equivalent second person plural phrase (ΕΒΟΛΖΗ ΤΗΝΕ, ΕΤΖΗ ΤΗΝΕ) to the noun naming what needs to be extinguished or dispersed, whereas the second (interpolated) part of the second question does not.

An apparent promise of salvation (144:19-21) follows the two rhetorical questions: "The sun and the moon will give a sweet fragrance to you, together with the air and the spirit and the water and the earth." If we assume that "spirit" (ΠΝΩ), due to the pejorative meaning of ΚΩΖΤ or ΛΑΤΕ (fire), refers to fire, the promise says that the addressee along with the four basic elements will receive a fragrance.¹¹⁸

The term fragrance is probably a metaphor for salvation. In the Manichaean *Psalms-Book*, it often has this nuance: Thomas, who evangelizes India, is called a sweet smell (194:13); according to 206:24,30, one awaits his fragrance just as one awaits his robe and enlightening Light. It is also a metaphor for the soul:

It is not possible that the glorious light should go to the land of the demons of the Darkness. Nor is it possible that the fragrant smell should remain in the land of the stink; it is not possible that the image of the living man should come to the dwelling places of the beasts. The Light shall go to the Light, the fragrance shall go to the fragrance"...¹¹⁹

It is possible that the metaphor of fragrance could have been influenced by this thanksgiving of Paul:

But thanks be to God who in Christ always leads us in triumph, manifesting through us the fragrance of knowledge of him everywhere. For we are the sweet smell of Christ to God among those being saved and among those who are perishing, for some a fragrance from death to death, for others a fragrance from life to life. (2 Cor. 2:14-16; cf. Phil. 4:18; Eph. 5:2).

To these passages which illustrate the use of the concept of fragrance should be compared one in the *Gospel of Truth*.

Thus the father loves his fragrance and he reveals it in every place (cf. 2 Cor. 2:14); and if it is mixed with matter, then he imparts his fragrance to the light, and in its light he elevates it above every form, every voice. For it is not the ears which perceive the fragrance but it is the spirit which possesses the

sense of smell and it attracts it and is baptized into the fragrance of the father.¹²⁰

While in Paul, "fragrance" refers to the life-giving knowledge of God in Christ, in the *Gospel of Truth* and Manichaean *Psalm-Book* it is related to the life-giving Spirit which dwells in man; while Paul applies it to Christians who bear the knowledge of Christ, for the Valentinian and Manichaean it is the soul of man. In *Thomas the Contender*, however, the fragrance seems to represent neither of these, but rather the notion of life-giving spiritual¹²¹ energy which is lacking in the addressees and the elements until the sun and moon impart it. Plato (*Timaeus* 66e) witnesses to the conception of odors as exhalations of mist and vapor, thinner than water but denser than air. In the sense of a vapor, then, the "fragrance" could be related to the dew imparted by the moon (see on 144:15-19). The sun was understood by Mani to impart a fragrance to plant life:

It (the sun) nourishes and gives power, taste and fragrance to the trees and fruits and vegetables and all the herbs and flowers and grass upon the whole earth.¹²²

But Mani is not talking of just the world of nature, since within all living things there is entrapped a portion of the light which must eventually be restored in its source. Thus, part of the salvific function of the sun as the great φωστήρ is daily to nourish with light the particles of light entrapped in matter:

It (the sun) gives power to the elements and also gives fragrance and taste to the entire cross of light.¹²³

For Mani, the sun as illuminator gives power to the light which is entrapped within the elements, to the "light-cross" which is bound in all the living things upon the earth. The function of the sun and moon in *Thomas the Contender* is probably similar, as we shall see from the extended metaphor which follows.

The longest portion of the eleventh woe is the extended metaphor of the sun, grapevine and weeds (144:21-36). However, we are immediately beset with a textual problem. The text reads:

πρὶν γὰρ εὐ[.]πρρίε ἀδὴν νικωμα σενζλουλεϋ ἡσε[τ]ακο
[M]πρῆτε ζωωϋ ἡονῆτη6 ἡ οὐχορτος· εὐωπε
[M]εν εἰρη πρρίε ἀδωϋ ψαϋ6ἡ6αμ ἡϋω6τ
[N]τσω ἡελοολε· εὐωπε δε...

If we restore the first line as $\eta\rho\eta\rho\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma[\omega\lambda\alpha\eta]\eta\tilde{\rho}\rho\iota\epsilon$, "for if the sun shines on these bodies they will wither and perish just like a weed or grass" we contradict the following sentence which says that if the sun shines on the weed or grass (the antecedent of $\lambda\chi\omega\gamma$), then they prevail. Obviously the sun cannot cause the weeds to both perish and flourish. Therefore we restore $\eta\rho\eta\rho\alpha\rho\epsilon\gamma[\tau\tilde{\alpha}]\eta\tilde{\rho}\rho\iota\epsilon$.

For if the sun does not shine on these bodies they will wither and perish just like weeds or grass. If, now, the sun shines upon it (the weed), it prevails and chokes the grapevine; if, however, the grapevine prevails and shades those weeds and all that other brush growing up with it, and it spreads and broadens out, it alone inherits the land in which it grows, and it dominates¹²⁴ every place it shaded. So then when it grows up, it dominates all the land, and is bountiful for its master, and pleases him even more, for he would have suffered great pains on account of these weeds until he uprooted them. But the grapevine alone removed them and choked them and they died and became like the land.

The metaphor apparently has to do with the process of salvation, in which the sun (in its capacity as source of light) is the saving agent, the weeds are the body, and the grapevine represents the true inner man. If the body received the saving light, it would live on, thus keeping the soul or inner man imprisoned within it. If the soul receives the light, then it flourishes and overshadows the body and it alone inherits everything,¹²⁵ the cosmos in which it grows as well as its salvation. Even more, the soul thus enlightened dominates the entire cosmos to the degree that God ($\pi\lambda\omicron\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$) has no need to destroy the body, since the soul all by itself removes the body which dies and returns to dust ($\omega\omega\pi\epsilon\epsilon\tilde{\nu}\theta\epsilon\tilde{\alpha}\pi\kappa\alpha\lambda$).

The metaphor seems to consist of many biblical motifs, the sun which shines on the just and unjust, the vine which frequently represents Israel, the inheritance of the land (here, the earth) promised to Israel, and the uprooting of the weeds or tares. Since a great deal of this material occurs in the Matthean discourse sections (blessed are the meek for they shall inherit the earth, 5:5; his sun shines on the good and evil, 5:45; let the wheat and the weeds grow up together, 13:30) it may be that the author was inspired by the discourses of the *Gospel of Matthew*, or another similar collection of such discourse material. But there is no single locus from which the metaphor of *Thomas the*

Contender could have derived; rather we must accept its character as a *pastiche* of biblical motifs. The central imagery of the grapevine and weeds reminds one of the Matthean parable of the weeds (13:24-30), but there are significant differences. In *Thomas the Contender* it is the grapevine which is the "good seed" whereas in *Matthew* it is wheat. In *Matthew* the wheat and weeds grow up together at which time the master orders the harvesters to uproot and burn the weeds, whereas in *Thomas the Contender* the weeds and grapevine grow together to the point that the grapevine spreads out, overshadows and chokes the weeds all by itself; the master has no need to call the harvesters, since the grapevine has already separated the "bad seed" from itself. On the other hand, it is true that the master need not occupy himself with uprooting the weeds, just as in the Matthean parable no one needs to do this, at least until both wheat and weeds have matured.

The theme of vines (more properly the vineyard) and of inheritance is present in the parable of the wicked vinedressers (Mt. 21:33-41), esp. 21:38, κληρονομία). But here the story centers on the tenants and not the grapevines, which are never mentioned.

However, as *Thomas the Contender* also witnesses, the imagery of these two parables (plus the parable of the laborers in the vineyard in Mk. 20), was destined to be combined. An outstanding witness for this process of combination is to be found in the fifth similitude of the *Shepherd of Hermas* (Sim.V,ii,1-5),¹²⁶ written in the middle of the second century. Here is the parable about a fenced-in vineyard which grew up full of weeds which choke the vines. The keeper of the vineyard then digs the vineyard and pulls up the weeds, so that the vineyard becomes fertile with no weeds to choke it. Because of this, when the owner of the vineyard returns and sees the bountifulness of the vineyard, he makes the keeper a joint heir of his property along with his son. In the interpretation (Sim. V,v,1-5), the field is the world, the owner of the field is the Creator, the keeper is the Son of God,¹²⁷ the vines are "this people which he planted," the fences are protecting angels, and the weeds are the iniquities of the servants of God.

Although the *Shepherd* was widely enough read to have been used as a source, both parable and interpretation in *Hermas* are

sufficiently different from the parable and tacit interpretation in *Thomas the Contender* to be sure that there is direct literary dependence. Nevertheless, the composite parable of the *Shepherd* does provide evidence of a tendency at work to produce a mosaic of such parabolic material. The similar phenomenon at work in *Thomas the Contender* is another example of this tendency to form a new mosaic out of the parabolic imagery of the Bible and more particularly of the teaching of Jesus, especially as it occurs in Matthew.

The parable probably was composed by the author of the second section (B) of *Thomas the Contender*. He has arranged the imagery in such a way as to draw a picturesque illustration of the eventual triumph of the soul over the body, providing it, rather than the body, receives the saving light. The interesting feature of this is that the soul needs, except for the saving light (the Savior's revelation?), no other help to overcome the body. Contrary to the Matthean concept, there is no need for a judge, either God or his representative, to make a final separation between the good and the bad; with proper illumination, it happens automatically.

144:36-145:1. This short section, introduced by the formula: "Jesus continued and said," appears to contain the obliterated remains of a twelfth woe. The formula of continuation may have been used to reinstitute the format of twelve woes which the author (and the reader!) may have forgotten owing to the extreme length of the eleventh woe. It also has the peculiarity of being the second place in the entire tractate, and the only one in section B, where the Savior is called Jesus (יֵשׁוּעַ, 144:37; cf. 139:21). Jesus is named in the first section (A) just after Thomas confesses the Savior as the Light, that is, after a "Christian" section. Similarly, the parabolic material in the eleventh woe is, as we have seen, at least intended to sound "Christian," and the Savior is called Jesus in the immediately following quotation formula. The collocation of the name Jesus with immediately preceding Christian material may be only a coincidence; if it indeed does have a peculiar significance, there seems to be no way of demonstrating it.

The formula appears to introduce a woe, judging from the appearance of the lacuna in 144:37f: $\pi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\gamma\ \nu\alpha\lambda\ \chi\epsilon\ \sigma\upsilon[\dots]\mu/$
 $[\dots]\chi\epsilon\ \mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\iota\ \nu\tau$ which obviously fits the pattern $\sigma\upsilon[\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \nu]\mu[\tau\alpha]$

δε', repeated eleven times previously. The woe is directed to those who have not received the doctrine. As a result someone (perhaps the "ignorant," ΝΕΤΟ ΝΔΤ(ΟΟΥΝ) will have to labor at preaching in their stead (CENΔΖΙCΕ ΔΤΔΥΕ ΟΕΙΥ ΕΠΙΔ ΝΤΕ ΤΗΝΕ, 144:39). Apparently those who have not received the doctrine will flee somewhere (remaining traces suggest "debauchery," 144:40, ΔΥΩ ΤΕΤ[Ν]ΠΗΤ ΔΖΟΥΝ Δ[ΤΜΝ]ΤΥΝ[Δ]); certain ones have been sent down (144:41, ΤΝΝΟΟΥΟΥ ΔΠΙΤΝ) to "rescue" (?) those whom the ignorant have killed daily (144:42, ΝΝΔΖΜ ΝΕΝΤΔΤΕ]ΤΝΜΟΟΥΤΟΥ) in order that they might arise from death (145:1, ΔΕΚΔΔC ΕΥΝΔΤΩΟΥΝ ΖΜ ΠΜΟΥ). If the proposed reconstructions be correct, these final words of hope may act as a bridge to the following triad of macarisms. The intact words remind one of Pauline phrases found in I Cor. 15: "raise from the dead," vs. 20, and "I die daily," vs. 31; (but *Thomas the Contender* reads "kill them daily"). Such phrases leave us to wonder whether *Thomas the Contender* supported the doctrine of resurrection of the dead, and just how the task of preaching was to be understood.

145:1-8. This short section of three beatitudes or macarisms follows the long section of twelve woes. The first beatitude is quite in keeping with the tenor of the woes and indeed the whole tractate, and was probably freely composed in accordance with the ascetic intention of the tractate: "Blessed are you who are first to know about (to "have foreknowledge," "foreknow")¹²⁸ the stumbling blocks (σκάδβαλον) and who flee alien things (ἀλλότριον)." With the exception of the word σκάδβαλον, the beatitude has no biblical ring to it. As the promise of 145:12ff ("For when you come forth from the suffering and reproach of the body you will receive a rest. . .") shows, the "stumbling blocks" and "alien things" are the bodies of those to whom the beatitudes are addressed.

The second and third macarisms, however, show dependence upon the beatitudes of Mt. 5:11 and Lk. 6:21b. The following comparison between Horner's Sahidic text of Matthew and Luke with *Thomas the Contender* 145:3-8 will prove illuminating:

ΝΔΕΙΔΤ ΤΗΝΕ
ΝΕΤΟΥΝΟΒΝΕΒ ΜΜΟΥ
ΔΥΩ ΕΥΩΠ ΜΜΟΥ ΔΝ

ΝΔΙΔΤ ΤΗΥΤΝ
ΕΥΥΔΑΝΝΕΒΝΕΒ ΤΗΥΤΝ
ΝCΕΠΩΤ ΝCΩΤΝ
ΝCΕΔΕ ΖΩΒ ΝΙΜ ΕΘΟΥ
ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΩΤΝ

ΕΤΒΕ ΠΜΔΕΙΕ ΕΤΕΥΝΤΔΥ
 ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΝ
 ΝΔΙ ΠΟΥΔΟΕΙC

ΕΥΔΙΒΟΛ ΕΡΩΤΝ
 ΕΤΒΗΗΤ

(145:3-5)

(Mt. 5:11)

The close parallelism is noticeable. The vocabulary is nearly identical: ΝΔ(Ε)ΙΔΤ', ΤΗΥΤΝ̄/ΤΗΝΕ, ΝΟΒΝΕΒ/ΝΕΒΝΕΒ', ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΩΤΝ̄/ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΝ, ΕΤΒΕ'/ΕΤΒΗΗΤ. Furthermore, where the evangelist reads "and are persecuted," Ν̄CΕΠΩΤ Ν̄CΩΤΝ̄, *Thomas the Contender* renders "and are not esteemed," ΔΥΩ ΕΥΩΠ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ ΔΝ. The change from ΠΩΤ to ΩΠ is phonically very close, and may indicate that the author of section B of *Thomas the Contender* is indeed rendering Mt. 5:11, but has deliberately altered the macarism. In doing so he has omitted the phrase "and they persecute you and say every evil thing against you, lying to you," notions that would have been very congenial to the intention of *Thomas the Contender*. The change from "on account of me" to "on account of the love which their Lord has for them" is also strange. Possibly both changes were deliberate, but it is hard to see what was gained thereby. In any case the thrust of each version is the same. The only other (and minor) difference between the two is the general style: whereas the Sahidic version employs direct address throughout the macarism (ΤΗΥΤΝ̄, ΤΗΥΤΝ̄, Ν̄CΩΤΝ̄, ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΩΤΝ̄), the version in *Thomas the Contender* employs direct address in the macarism formula, but third person plural (participial) expressions in the specification (ΤΗΝΕ, Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ, Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ, ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΡΟΟΝ).

The second blessing runs:

ΝΔΕΙΔΤ ΤΗΝΕ
 ΝΕΤΡΙΜΕ ΔΥΩ
 ΕΤΟΥΘΛΙΒΕ Μ̄ΜΟΟΥ
 ΖΙΤΝ̄ ΝΕΤΕ Μ̄ΝΤΕΥ ΖΕΑΤΙC
 ΔΕ CΕΝΔΒΩΛ ΤΗΝΕ
 ΖΙΤΜ̄ Μ̄ΠΡΕ ΝΙΜ

ΝΔΙΔΤ ΤΗΥΤΝ̄
 ΝΕΤΡΙΜΕ ΤΕΝΟΥ

ΔΕ ΤΕΤΝΔCΩΒC

(145:5-8)

(Lk. 6:21b)

Here there is exact parallelism between the first member of the macarism in both *Thomas the Contender* and the Gospel of Luke. However, the second member of *Thomas the Contender* shows a tendentious change, since in place of the promise "you will

laugh," it substitutes the ascetic promise of a future release from the restraints of the body and world for those oppressed by the hopeless. It is peculiar that the addressees of the concluding homily (section B) can on the one hand be accused as "godless ones who have no hope" (143:9), and yet on the other hand be "oppressed by those who have no hope." This contradiction can be resolved by supposing that within section B, the woes and beatitudes respectively were composed with two separate audiences in view. The same phenomenon occurs elsewhere in homiletical literature of the Bible, (Dt. 27-28; Luke 6:20-26), where macarisms and woes or even blessings and curses are addressed to the same general audience, as if to single out the cursed from the blessed among the recipients.

We conclude that while the content of the woes of section B does not derive from biblical literature, the content and, to a certain degree, the form of the last two beatitudes do; on purely formal grounds we further conclude that the collocation of woes and macarisms in *Thomas the Contender* shows an awareness of the tradition of woe and macarism in the biblical literature.

145:8-17. The final admonition of *Thomas the Contender* is introduced by the words with which Jesus admonishes Peter to avoid temptation: ὑπομονεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε (Mk. 14:38; cf. Mk. 13:33). In this case, however, the same tendentious completion which was added to the third beatitude is added also to the "watch and pray" section: "You shall come forth from the bonds of the oblivion of this life." Thus it is very likely that both the beatitudes and the admonition have been consciously drawn by a single author from the synoptic tradition and given a unified application: final escape from the body. Indeed the admonition continues with a promise that having left behind the suffering and mocking which derive from bodily existence, the addressees will receive a repose, or rest (ἄτον). This promise is even further spelled out in the final version of the promise which concludes the tractate:

For when you come forth from the sufferings and passions of the body, you will receive rest (ἀνάπαυσιν) from the Good One (παραθεός), and you will reign with the king, united with him and he with you, from now on, forever and ever. Amen.

The idea of rest as a resultant state of coming forth from the sufferings (ζῆε; also means "labor," "toil") of the body recalls Jesus' invitation to the weary:

Come to me all who labor and are heavy-laden, and I shall give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for I am meek and humble in heart, and you will find rest for your souls. (Mt. 11:28f).

This rest (ἀνάπαυσις) is a refreshment from the labors of life (cf. Mk. 6:31; 14:41; Lk. 12:19). The term "rest" (κατάπαυσις) also occurs in Heb. 4 referring to God's rest on the seventh day from the work of creation (v. 4) and of Joshua's bringing the people to rest in the promised land. Yet God's people were not given that rest in the land owing to their disobedience, so that they had to await it in the future. Thus the promise of rest yet remains (Heb. 4:1) and could even be offered "today," if the people are not disobedient (Ps. 95:7-11; Heb. 3:7-15), that is, without faith (Heb. 3:19). This "sabbath rest" is therefore an eschatological gift, by which one "ceases from his labors as God did from his" (Heb. 4:9).

One ought also to note that this "rest" involves a resting place, such as the promised land of the Old Testament. Similarly in *Thomas the Contender* one can speak of the soul as the grapevine (144:21-36) inheriting the whole earth (or: "land," κἄλ). Thus both the eschatological motifs of salvation, rest from the sufferings or labors of the body, as well as inheriting the land, form together a part of the eschatology of *Thomas the Contender*. In this sense, the eschatology of *Thomas the Contender* is a descendant of biblical eschatology, although it differs in stressing the necessity to escape the lust-ridden body.

Moreover, it is to be noted that this "rest" is given "by the Good One" (ΝΤΟΟΤΥ ΜΠΑΓΔΕΟC, hardly legible in the manuscript). This agentive phrase suggests that there is a being, called "the Good One" by whom this rest is given. For the source of such a term, one thinks immediately of Philo of Alexandria, for whom God is the supreme good. For Philo, God is both ὁ ἀγαθός (*Leg. all.* I,47; *De som.* I,149) and τὸ ἀγαθόν (*De gig.* 45). God is also called "good" in the New Testament: οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός (Mk. 10:18; Lk. 18:19); εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός (Mt. 19:17). This usage also persisted into late antiquity: ὁ οὖν θεὸς τὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὁ θεός (CH II,16);

God is even called ἀγαθὸν ἀγαθώτατος (Eus. *Praep. evan.* I, 10:52); both are Platonic theolegumena.

Finally, we must note that the promise of rest for him who escapes the body is also consonant with the promise of reigning forever in union with the King. The collocation of the motifs of "resting" with "reigning" is to be found in Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* II 9,45.5 (cf. V 14,96.1); "he who seeks will not cease till he find; having found he will wonder, having wondered he will reign, and having reigned he will rest (ὁ βασιλεύσας ἐπαναπαύσεται)." Another version of this saying, attributed to Jesus, is found in the *Gospel of Thomas*, Logion 2, but here the promise of rest is omitted, and an intermediate stage of being troubled (ὤτορτῖρ) is inserted (cf. 140:41f: [Blessed] is the wise man who sought after [the truth and] when he found it, he rested on it forever, and was not afraid of those who wanted to disturb him").

In the phrase: "you will receive rest from the Good One, and you will reign with the King," "Good One" and "King" probably designate the same being, God. This God grants salvation to men when they have left the body, and not before (ἐτετῆν ὡς ἀνεῖ εἰς ὅλῃ ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ ὅτε περὶ σώματος). However, the discovery of the way to salvation while one is still in the body is a precondition of future salvation (143:5-7).

Salvation is not only a rest from and outside of the body, but it is also an eternal union with the God-King: ἐτετῆν ἡ τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ ὅτε περὶ σώματος. This apparently means, not a consubstantiality of the saved with the Savior, but rather an eschatological union. From the present version of *Thomas the Contender* we cannot tell whether this is a future once-for-all union with the divine, or a reunion. In view of the future orientation of this final passage, we should prefer to regard it as the former; it is a union with the divine which can only take place out of the body and its bondage. While one's salvation is actually *determined* while in the body (143:5-7), one's salvation actually *occurs* outside the body.

The question naturally arises whether the Good One/King is to be construed as the Savior who conducts the dialogue, i.e. Jesus. Since we tend to regard this final paragraph as belonging to a homiletic work (B) not originally a part of the dialogue proper (A), it is extremely difficult to answer this question.

Unfortunately, the intention of the present passage is not recoverable in terms of the rest of the homily (B) which, outside the two continuation formulae (143:8; 144:35f), makes no reference to the Savior. In short, there seems to be no warrant contained in section B (the homily) to identify the Good One/King with Jesus the Savior.

In terms of the larger context created by the combination of the dialogue (A) with the homily (B), producing the current tractate, we still cannot be certain whether the person(s) responsible for the current work intended the reader to identify the Savior, Jesus, with the Good One/King. In view of the fact that the Christology of section A (the identification of the Savior with the light, 139:20) understands the Savior more as a revealer figure than as one who directly works salvation, we should be inclined to doubt that the Good One/King is to be identified with the Savior.

Before we proceed on to the title and scribal note appended to the tractate, a general remark concerning the general structure of the homiletic (B) section of the tractate is in order.

The collocation of macarism, woe and promise which characterizes the second (B; 143:8-end) section of *Thomas the Contender* is typical of a certain class of homiletical literature whose chief representative is Deut. 27:11-28:15. Here we find curses (27:15-26), blessings (28:1-6) and conditional promises for the future (28:7-15). This section belongs to the concluding section of Moses' farewell address. The Priestly (P) concept regards the material in Dt. 1:1-34:4 as happening on the day of Moses' death (Dt. 1:3; 27:11-14; 32:48-52), such that the material through Chapter 30 constitutes his farewell speech. This is followed by a description of Moses' testamentary dispositions and finally by his death. Thus the whole of Deuteronomy seems to be in the form of a testament of a person who faces death or the termination of his office and must put things in order and insure their bequeathal to his successors.¹²⁹

The other representative of the homiletical style of section B of *Thomas the Contender* is the introduction to the sermon on the plain of Luke 6. Here, however, we have only woes and macarisms, while the promises for the future are incorporated into the beatitudes. Again, the woes and macarisms of Luke 6: 20-26 are not part of Jesus' testamentary activities, or a

farewell speech, but rather the introduction to a sermon delivered to his disciples.

In terms of the total structure of section B of *Thomas the Contender* it seems as though the structure conforms to the conclusion of Moses' farewell address insofar as it consists of woes (curses)¹³⁰ and blessings in that order. The language of two of the last two beatitudes of *Thomas the Contender* corresponds to that of the ninth Matthean and the third Lucan beatitudes respectively, while the content of the curses does not correspond to that of the Lucan (or Deuteronomistic) curses at all. Thus we can only speak in vague terms such as "inspired by" and "echo of" when we characterize the relationship between the woes and macarisms of *Thomas the Contender* and the major loci of woes and blessings in the biblical literature. There seems to be some dependence, but it is rather remote except for the language of the last two beatitudes. We can say, however, that in section B we are clearly dealing with discourse or homiletical material, since the biblical material similar to it is traditionally homiletical. If we were to take Deuteronomy as the model, we might even go further by characterizing this concluding section of *Thomas the Contender* as a farewell address, or at least a genre of literature designed to hand on a tradition to one's successors. It is even possible that the redactor of A and B may have thus viewed the function of section B in his completed product. We thus characterize the genre and intention of section B of *Thomas the Contender* as a farewell address of the Savior in which he delivers over to his successors (in terms of the total document A plus B, to Thomas) the ascetic tradition defined by its content.

147:17-19. The subscript title of *Thomas the Contender* claims that it is Thomas the Contender (ἁθλητής) who is writing to the Perfect Ones. We have already observed that this subscript title is contradicted by the *incipit* title of the tractate naming Mathaias as scribe. For reasons already given we have suspected that the *incipit* title of the tractate naming Mathaias as scribe is secondary to the composition of sections A and B of the tractate; the name of Mathaias would presumably derive from the earlier title of section B by itself, whereas we supposed the present subscript title to have been the original subscript title of section A, the dialogue between Thomas and the Savior. Thus we

should interpret the current subscript title of *Thomas the Contender* mainly in accordance with section A, but at the same time realize that this title was important enough to the redactor who combined A and B for him to have appended it to the entire tractate; the intention is that the entire tractate be ascribed to Thomas the Contender, writing to the Perfect.

The salient feature of the subscript title is that Thomas receives the epithet ἀθλητής, which I have translated "Contender." It derives from ἀθλεῖν, "to engage in competition or conflict," and is applied often to martyrs (LXX, N.T.), who, as leaders of the community, must undergo persecution for the faith.¹³¹ The specific meaning in *Thomas the Contender* is that Thomas is designated as one who must contend against the fiery passions of the body which consume men's souls by preaching the message of sexual abstinence. It is in the face of this task that Thomas is characterized as extremely anxious (μεριμνῶν, 142:4f) over the fate of those who are blinded by the fire of passion to the extent that they are but beasts and are bound for Hell.

In his capacity as contender, Thomas writes to the 'perfect' (τέλειος). In section A, in the midst of a passage employing the metaphor of wings to express the wise man's flight from the fire of lust, there are inserted the following words spoken by the Savior:

Therefore it is necessary for us to speak to you, for this is the doctrine of the perfect (τέλειος). If, then, you desire to become perfect (τέλειος), you shall observe these things.

That is, "the perfect" are those who heed the doctrine of the perfect: flee the fiery passions of lust. Thus the perfect one is also the true athlete, he who heeds the message of the Athlete (Thomas). By virtue of the fact that it is the Savior who counsels Thomas to preach this doctrine of abstinence, the Savior also is implicitly a true athlete. Indeed he is so invoked in another example of the Thomas literature, the *Acts of Thomas*.

O Jesus Christ. . . O peace and quiet. . . O hidden rest. . . preserving us and giving us rest in alien bodies,. . . the defender and helper of thy servants in the fight, who dost turn aside the enemy (passion). . . who in many battles dost fight for us, and make us conquer in them all, our true and invincible champion (ἀθλητής).¹³²

That this implication ought to be drawn by the reader is also suggested by the fact that the Savior is the twin of Thomas, and thus, they are both ascetic athletes. The connection between Thomas, the ἀθλητής, the τέλειοι, and the Savior is clear. The central thread connecting them all is the demand for asceticism, the denial of the body, and abstinence from its pleasures, especially the sexual.

One must take note that according to the subscript title Thomas is writing to the Perfect (plural). Even though the recipients (of the original section A, and now those of A + B) are implied by the title to be perfect, the text nevertheless informs us that they, insofar as they are represented by Thomas, have not yet received the majesty of the perfection (ΜΠΑΤΕΤΝΔΙ ΜΠΜΕΓΕΘΟC ΝΤΜΝΤΤΕΛΕΙΟC 138:35). Right now they are only disciples (ΖΕΝCΘΟΥΕΙ, 138:35), babes (ΖΕΝΚΟΥΕΙ, 139:11), and only on their way to becoming laborers or missionaries.

We have, therefore, identified three distinguishing features that pertain to the term "perfect": 1) The term occurs only in the plural portions of section A and in the subscript title (which was probably the original title to section A) and therefore must refer to the recipients of the original section A; 2) the "doctrine of the perfect" involves becoming a wise man who makes himself wings to flee from the visible realm, i.e. the world of the body together with its lust; and 3) the recipients have not yet received "the majesty of the perfection" nor are they yet laborers for the ascetic cause, but are still only babes and disciples. All of this tends to suggest that the addressees of the original section A were non-ascetic Christians, who, in order to attain perfection, had to adopt the ascetic style of life, at which time they could be called τέλειοι. Thus to address the recipients of section A (and now sections A and B) as "the perfect" was to address them in a proleptic fashion: "those who are (potentially) perfect."

Certainly one component of this perfection is to receive and observe the doctrine taught by the Savior and so to come to know themselves (cf. 138:17f). The way to perfection in the Hermetica is similar: "Those who observe the proclamation (κήρυγμα) and have baptized themselves with Nous, these men have participated in *gnosis*, and have become perfect men (τέλειοι ἄνθρωποι, CH IV, 4). Such men as have not observed the call to the knowledge of

God only pay attention to their bodily desires (IV,5), or as Plato in his discussion of the wings of the philosopher's mind puts it, have not separated themselves from human interest (*Phaedrus* 249d). The perfect man is the wise man who has consulted wisdom (142:1-5) and has thus surpassed ordinary everyday knowledge:

For the real wealth, the perfect virtues, are the possessions of the perfect (τέλειοι) and true-born alone, while the secondary things of daily duties are fitting to the imperfect (ἀτελής) having arrived only at the primary learning of the schools.¹³³

Hence "perfection" involves knowing a higher doctrine whose source is the divine, but also a doctrine having to do with one's behavior and moral conduct, with respect to the degree to which he shuns the ordinary everyday cares of this life and looks beyond them. Again consulting Philo, we find no one may enter the sanctuary of the tabernacle except he who has a perfect nature (τελειοτάτη φύσις) and having shunned all passions (πάθος) yearns for the incorporeal and imperishable (*De ebr.* 135f). The perfect man has excluded anger (θυμός) from his soul; the exemplar is ὁ μὲν σοφὸς τέλειος ἡδονὰς ἀπορρυπτόμενος καὶ ἀποσεισόμενος Μωυσῆς (*Leg. all.* 140; cf. 144:147). In short, the perfect man always makes perfect freedom from passion his study (ὁ τέλειος τελείαν ἀπάθειαν αἰεὶ μελετᾷ, *Leg. all.* 131). This, then, is the meaning of the "perfect" in *Thomas the Contender* as well, provided that we bear in mind that, for *Thomas the Contender*, this *apatheia* involves a fierce denial of the body as the seat of bestial lust and passion.

Before we leave this subject of perfection, one further observation is in order. We have suggested that the recipients of the original section A of the tractate were perhaps ordinary Christians with good intentions ("we came to do good, and not to curse," 141:22f) but who had to do much more than this (i.e. deny their body) in order to become perfect. Until then, they are only babes and disciples. Such a demand on Christians to exceed the ordinary in order to be perfect has well-known precedent in the *Gospel of Matthew*.

For I say to you that unless your righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the Kingdom of heaven (5:20).

If you want to enter life, keep the commandments
 . . . if you want to be perfect (cf. 5:48), go sell
 your belongings and give to the poor, and you will
 have treasure in heaven. . .

Distinctions¹³⁴ of this sort have been taken by some commentators to imply that Matthew envisioned a two-level ethic, one for the mass of Christians, and one of supererogation for a smaller group of τέλειοι. Whether or not this be Matthew's intention, the fact that commentators have taken it to imply such means that others in late antiquity could have taken it to be such. The fact that Paul in his Corinthian correspondence wages battle against a group of self-styled "apostles" who claimed to be superior to him in spiritual capability should alert us that very early on there was a tendency in the Church to make a distinction between ordinary Christians and superior Christians. This, it seems to me, is a distinction presupposed in the addressing of section A of *Thomas the Contender* to "the perfect." And now, although section B seems to be addressed to a more general audience, apparently of whom is presupposed a lesser degree of self-awareness and desire for perfection, the combination of B with A tends to convey this distinction in degree of perfection to the readers of the entire *Book of Thomas the Contender*: if you would attain the Majesty of the perfection, if you would be perfect rather than mere disciples and babes, deny the body, and you will escape its sufferings, and you will receive rest.

Finally, attention should be drawn to the designation of the entire tractate as a "book" (βιβλίον). The other occurrence of this designation in the Nag Hammadi Corpus is CG III, 2, *The Egyptian Gospel*. (*The Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit*, 69:16f; *The Divine Holy Book that is Hidden*, 69:7f; cf. CG IV, 2). The contents of *Thomas the Contender*, and particularly of section A, with which we have originally connected the subscript title, gives no help in explaining the significance of this designation. During the first three centuries A.D. in which *Thomas the Contender* must have been written, βιβλίον or βιβλος could refer to a codex, roll of papyrus, library, archive or chronicle.¹³⁵ If the subscript title originally went with section A, we might expect the designation διάλογος, "conversation," as it is found in the subscript title of the *Dialogue of the Savior* in Codex III (CG III, 5), but we have in Nag Hammadi other tractates written in the dialogue style which do not bear the designation διάλογος,

but rather "Sophia of Jesus Christ," "Gospel of Mary," etc. Perhaps the reason for naming *Thomas the Contender* as a "book" was to distinguish it from another work belonging to the Thomas tradition, *The Gospel according to Thomas*. In both cases the designations ("book" and "gospel" respectively) are not entirely descriptive of the contents. Another possibility, which seems unlikely, is that when the two sections of *Thomas the Contender* were combined, an hypothetical original title of section A (e.g. δίδα-
 λογος, or λόγος, etc.) was suppressed because of the designation of the material in section B, which was of a different nature (λόγοι; cf. commentary on 138:1-4), and supplanted by the more neutral term "book" (βιβλίον), as a designation for dialogue plus *logia*. It seems no conclusion can be drawn on this matter.

145:20-23. Since the scribal colophon is not a part of this tractate, no extended comment is necessary. It is an admonition that the scribe be remembered by his brethren in their prayers. This is done by the common formula ἀπὸ πάντων (ἐν) ἀδελφῶν (ἐν) ἁγίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις) followed by a prayer, in this case "Peace to the saints and to the spiritual," which is written entirely in Greek except for the last line which was apparently written in Coptic. The latter may have been added to what appears to be a standard prayer (εἰρήνη τοῖς ἁγίοις) because the scribe of Codex II wished to refer to himself as a "spiritual one" (εἰρήνη τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς). If this be the case, we can wonder whether the scribe of Codex II knew how to write Greek, since he apparently completed the Greek prayer with a Coptic (ἐν) ἁγίοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις) rather than a Greek (καὶ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς) expression.

We should call attention once more to the form of the reinforcing particle *en* used by the scribe himself, because we cited this as evidence that the person who composed the *incipit* of the tractate (which uses the form *en*) was someone other than the individual who wrote the colophon, the scribe of Codex II.

¹⁶B.P. Grenfell & A.S. Hunt, *ΛΟΓΙΑ ΙΗΣΟΥ, Sayings of Our Lord from an Early Greek Papyrus* (New York, 1897), p. 6.

¹⁷H.-C. Puech in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 287.

¹⁸Marcionite Christianity probably began in the late third century, to judge from the fact that the orthodox as late as 400 had to call themselves Palutians, since the Marcionites had pre-empted the name Christian (Ephraem, 22nd Midrash against the Heretics, 5f; cited in W. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1963), p. 26. The inception of orthodox Christianity occurred around A.D. 200 under Palut; Bauer, *ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁹The *Excerpta ex Theodoto of Clement of Alexandria*, ed. R.P. Casey (*Studies and Documents*, Vol. 1, ed. K. & S. Lake; London: Christophers, 1934). Cf. also the Marcosian password *ἐγὼ οὕτω ἐμαυτὸν καὶ γινώσκω ὅθεν εἶμι*, Irenaeus I, 14,4 in W. Harvey, ed. *Libros quinque aduersus haereses* (Ridgewood: Gregg, 1965); the password of the Levite Gnostics in their Gospel of Phillip: *ἐπέγνων ἐμαυτήν*, Epiphanius, *Panarion* 26,13,2, in Karl Holl, ed. *Epiphanius* (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte, Vol. II; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915); and the first *Apocalypse of James* CG V,2,33:15f: *ἦτεκ νιμ η̄ ἦτεκ εβωλ των* ("who are you or whence are you?") 34:16: *ἐκνωβωκ ετων* ... *ἀπμδ ετἀει εβωλ ἡμδχ εινδωκ ον εμδχ* ("whither are you going?...it is to the place whence I came that I shall return.")

²⁰Cf. e.g. the *Second Apocalypse of James* (CG V,4,33:15,19f; 34:16).

²¹Lipsius & Bonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

²²A. Guillaumont, H.-C. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till and Yassah 'Abd al Massah, *The Gospel According to Thomas* (New York: Harper & Row, 1959), p. 39. To be compared is Logion 3, (33:26-34:5) which gives basically the same idea, but in different words: *ῥοταν ετετῆνωσαν κουνων τηυτῇ τοτε εενδωκων τηνε δνω τετῆνωειμε δε ἡτωτῇ πε ἡωχερ ἡπρωτ ετονζ εωωπε δε τετῆνωκων* ("When you know yourselves, then you will be known, and you will know that you are sons of the living Father. But if you do not know yourselves, then you exist in poverty and you are poverty.")

²³G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), *ad. loc.*

²⁴Hermetic citations from A.D. Nock & A.-J. Festugière, *Corpus Hermeticum* (4 vols.; Paris: Les Belle Lettres, 1960).

²⁵So Bultmann in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (= TDNT), ed. by G. Kittel (in progress; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 689-695.

²⁶The term "walking with" the Savior, who is later identified as the "light" means that Thomas, as long as he is with the Savior, is potentially enlightened, and must actualize this enlightenment before the Savior's ascension (138:23). Cf. John 12:35: "For a while you still have the light. Walk while you have the light, lest the darkness engulf you."

²⁷There remains the possibility that the conflation could have been a deliberate attempt at obfuscation, perhaps a gnostic device to conceal the true significance of the "secret words" whose true significance the initiate may have been instructed to sort out. However, the prominence of the theme of preaching tends to give one the impression that the text intends to edify, rather than to confuse, the reader.

²⁸Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* II,40,2 (Harvey, *op. cit.*) in abscondo haec eandem Salvatorem docuisse non omnes sed aliquos (alios quosdam?) discipulorum, qui possunt capere, et per argumenta, et aenigmata, et parabolis ab eo significata intelligentibus.; cf. *Exc. ex Theod.* 66: ὁ σωτὴρ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐδίδασκεν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τυπικῶς καὶ μυστικῶς, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα παραβολικῶς καὶ ἡνιγμένως, τὰ δὲ τρίτα σαφῶς καὶ γυμνῶς κατὰ μόνας. (Casey, *op. cit.*); cf. Lk. 18:34.

²⁹Resurrection is alluded to only in section B, and even here it does not appear to refer to the Savior (145:1).

³⁰To be assigned to this class are the following Gnostic works: *The Gospel of Mary* and the *Sophia Jesu Christi* of BG 8502, the *First Apocalypse of James*, plus the material in the *Apocryphon of James*, and the *Letter of Peter to Philip*, all in the Nag Hammadi Library.

³¹Cf. *A.Th.* 37: "If, then, you cannot see me who am like you unless you raise yourselves a little from the earth, how can you see him who spends his time in the height and now is found in the depth?" Cf. also *Ev.Th.*, Log. 5 (33:10-14); "Jesus said: 'Know what is in front of you and what is hidden from you will be revealed; for nothing is hidden which will not be revealed.'" Cf. Manichaean *Kephalaia* 163:28.

³²Lampe, *op. cit.*, ad. loc.

³³D. Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief* (Wissenschaftliche Monographien z. A. und N. Testament, vol. II; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1964), p. 50.

³⁴This motif enjoyed use in the world of Christian orthodoxy as well. *On Christian Behavior*: Ms. Pierpont Morgan 604 ed. K.H. Kuhn (CSCO 29; Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus SCO, 1960) contains a rather ascetic homily entitled *On Christian Behavior*, which says: "A man...is like irrational beasts, and he is like them because the beasts are ignorant. Therefore he has been reckoned with them in Hell. It was said: Death shepherds them, summoning them into the fire and every anguish. For Solomon said: What is the state of man and beast? Who knows the spirit of man that it goes up to heaven, and the spirit of the beast, that it goes down to Hell? Just as the death of the one, so also the death of the other? He said this when he saw that man has the nature of a beast."

³⁵G. Quispel, "Makarius und das Lied von der Perle," in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina 13-18 Aprile 1966*, ed. Ugo Biarchi (Leiden: Brill, 1967), p. 643.

³⁶CH. IV, 5.

³⁷Cf. CH Frg. IIa, 16: "and everything upon earth the providence of truth overcomes by decay, and encompasses and shall encompass it. For without decay generation cannot be sustained. Upon every generation there follows corruption, in order that there might again be generation. For things that are generated must be generated from that which is decaying, and the things that are generated must undergo decay, lest the generation of beings should cease."

³⁸In H.N. Fowler, trans. *Plato, Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*. (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1966), *ad. loc.*

³⁹ΣΑΛΑΡ ἈΝΕΥCOTE is a difficult expression, since commonly means to stretch a bow (πντε) or extend a chain or, intransitively, "to reach" (Crum, 766bff). In his index to *A Manichaean Psalm-Book* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938, p. 41), C. Allbery lists the meaning of ΣΑΛΑ as "to shoot." The metaphor could also be rendered: "They are like those who extend fires for signalling in the night; to be sure they extend their fires like anyone else, since they are extended for signalling, but it (the signal) is not visible."

⁴⁰ΕΚΡΩCΘΕΙΝ can also be taken as a second present "emphatic" tense, and would thus fall under the "emplois abusifs" category discussed by Polotsky in his *Études de syntaxe copte*: "You truly shine, Lord!" I have decided, however, to render it as a circumstantial: "You are our light, since you enlighten, Lord," even though this loses some of the force of the direct confession.

⁴²*Die Pseudoklementinen*, Vol. II: *Recognitionen in Rufins Übersetzung*, ed. Bernhard Rehm (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der drei ersten Jahrhunderte #51; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1965), p. 219.

⁴³The Odes of Solomon 15:1f: "As the sun is a joy to those who seek its daybreak, so is my joy the Lord, because he is my sun and his rays have lifted me up, and his light has dispelled all darkness from my face." *Die Oden Salomos*, ed. W. Bauer (Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen u. Übungen #65; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1933), p. 31. Cf. also the Pseudo Clementine Homilies, 17, 10, 4 (*Die Pseudoklementinen*, Vol. I: *Homilien*, ed. Bernhard Rehm (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte #42; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1953), p. 235. "Souls...though they be separated from the body and be found with a thirst for him, they are borne immortal to his breast as in wintertime the mists of the mountains, attracted by the beams of the sun, are borne to it."

⁴⁴Compiled from Shahrastani, En-Nadim, and Hegemonius by Hans Jonas in *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston: Beacon, 1958), p. 233. For an earlier treatment of the theme of the waxing and waning of the moon due to transference of light, cf. I Enoch 78.

⁴⁵For the exclamatory style, see the *Acts of Thomas* 44, and the Pseudo-Titus Epistle in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 149.

⁴⁶ Cicero, *De natura deorum* II, 10, 28. The idea may have originated with Empedocles: "Come now, hear how the fire, as it was separated, caused to spring up the night-born scions of men and of tearful women. . . First sprang up from the earth whole-natured forms (οὐλοφύεις, without distinction) having a share of both water and fire; these the fire sent forth, desiring to join its like, showing forth as yet neither the lovely form of the limbs, nor the voice nor the organ proper to men." (Fr. 62, Simplicius, *Phys.* 381, 31, in G.S. Kirk & C.E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge: University Press, 1966), p. 338.

⁴⁷ Makarios, Homily 15, 50 in *Die 50 geistlicher Homilien des Makarios*, ed. A. Dorries, E. Klostermann, M. Kroeger (Patristische Texte und Studien #4; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1964), p. 155. Cf. Philo, *Leg. all.* III, 248-9.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Thomas the Contender* 144:15-17: "who is the one who will rain upon you a dew of rest so as to extinguish the multitude of fire from you?"

⁴⁹ Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*, *op. cit.*, IX, 5, 4f. Cf. Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, *op. cit.*, XI, 26, 4; *Exc. ex Theod.*, *op. cit.*, 81.

⁵⁰ *Elenchos* V, 8, 16 in *Hippolytus Werke*, Band III, *Refutatio Omnium Haeresium*, ed. Paul Wendland (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte #26; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916), p. 92.

⁵¹ For the Hermetics, the fire is generally good; as the most penetrating of the elements, it is destined to clothe the equally penetrating *Nous* when it leaves the body (CH X, 18).

⁵² Quoted in C.G. Montefiore & H. Loewe, *A Rabbinic Anthology* (New York: Meridian, 1963), p. 298.

⁵³ Pseudo-Cyprian, "On the Discipline and Advantage of Chastity 9, 10 in *The Writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965), V, p. 590. Phrases like this are frequent in the wisdom literature; cf. Job 31:9ff; Sir. 9:9; 23:16, etc.

⁵⁴ In Hennecke-Schneemelcker, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 150, 152, 156.

⁵⁵ Cf. the adage: δι' ὧν τις ἀμαρτάνει, διὰ τούτων κολάζεται (*Wisd. Sol.* 11:16).

⁵⁶ ἸΤΕΟΥΡΜῆΖΗΤΟΥΛΜῆΟΝ' can be read either ΟΥΩΖ Μῆ ΟΥ' ("dwell with a. . .") or ΟΥΩΖ Μῆ ΟΥ' ("answer to a. . ."). Neither rendering is *prima facie* more suitable than the other, although the fact that we would expect a supralinear stroke or other punctuation after Μ in ΟΥΩΖ Μῆ balances the scales slightly in favor of ΟΥΩΖ Μῆ. But the punctuation in *Thomas the Contender* is too irregular to serve as final criterion.

⁵⁷ *Leg. all.* III, 16-17.

⁵⁸De. som. I, 139.

⁵⁹The phrase ΝΟΥΦΑΝΤΑΙΣ ΕΜΗΕ means literally "a true illusion," since ΕΜΗΕ is in adjectival position. We would expect ΟΥΦΑΝΤΑΙΣ ΝΤΜΗΕ , "an illusion of the truth." Although the text lacks the definite article, we can obtain a meaning close to the latter by interpreting ΜΗΕ as an indefinite abstract noun with zero article, and translate "an illusion of truth." Another possibility is to regard ΝΟΥΦΑΝΤΑΙΣ ΕΜΗΕ as a case of reversed position of the attributive (Till, KG 117) and translate "an illusory truth." A third alternative is to regard the Ε of ΕΜΗΕ as the Ν of equivalence and translate "an illusion as truth." In any case, the intent is clear.

⁶⁰Note the use of good epithets for bad things = parody of a bedroom scene.

⁶¹The fire is like a stake which they can never shake off ($\text{ΕΜΝΥΓΟΜ ΕΜΟΟΥ ΝΝΑΖΕ ΕΝΕΖ}$ 140:28). For Plato, the situation is not so hopeless, because $\text{παλαβοῦσα ἡ φιλοσοφία ἔχουσαν αὐτῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἡρέμα παραμυθεῖται καὶ λύειν ἐπιχειρεῖ}$. (*Phaedo*, 83a).

⁶²The following sentence is difficult to understand: "It (the fire) bound all their members in the bitterness of the bond of the lust for these visible things (or person?) which will decay and change and turn according to impulse. They have always dragged from heaven to earth, slaughtered, dragged upon all the unclean beasts of the corruption" (140:31-37).

We do not know whether it is persons or things which perish and change and turn. Is the bond of lust ($\text{ΤΜΠΡΕ ΝΤΕΠΙΘΥΜΕΙΑ ΝΝΑΕΙ ΕΤ'...}$) a "bond of lust of these persons who" . . . or a "bond of lust for these things which. . .," i.e. subjective or objective genitive? The fact that these things or persons will "perish and change" seems to favor the "objective" genitive, and thus refers to "things," but when it continues: "which turn according to impulse," it seems as though persons are in view. Nevertheless, we have decided to understand it as referring to things. The phrase "being dragged over (ΖΙΧΝ) all the beasts of the corruption" seems to mean that the soul is dragged down from heaven (ΝΤΠΕ) to the visible body or corpse (under the metaphor of a beast, cf. 140:39-141:11) on earth (ΑΝΙΤΩ). Cf. the *Kore Kosmou* (CH Frg. XXIII, 39): "But if you be found guilty of any greater sins. . . having quit the body you shall not dwell in heaven nor in human bodies, but shall thenceforth not cease wandering from one beast to the next."

⁶³*Phaedo* 81C,D; for the imagery of souls frequenting tombs, cf. 141:14-18; 142:13.

⁶⁴"Rest" is used in Heb. 3:7-4:11 and Rev. 14:13 with reference to the anticipated state of the blessed. On "rest" in Gnostic texts, see F.M. Sagnard, *La gnose Valentinienne et le temoignage de Saint Irénée* (Études de Philosophie Médiévale, Directeur Étienne Gilson, XXXVI; Paris: J. Vrin, 1947), p. 655 and P. Vielhauer in *Apophoreta* (Beihefte Z¹, 30, 1964), pp. 281ff. See comment on 145:8-17.

⁶⁵For the translation "yes" for γὰρ, see Liddell, Scott, and Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), p. 338b, 3a: "In Tragic dialogue and Plato, where 'yes' or 'no' may be supplied from the context."

⁶⁶In *Laws* 959a,b, Plato calls the body "an attendant semblance of the self" and uses the term εἶδωλα of corpses. On the other hand, Plutarch calls the soul an εἶδωλον, since "the soul receives the impression of its shape through being moulded by the mind and moulding in turn and enfolding the body on all sides, so that, even if it be separated from either one for a long time, since it preserves the likeness (ὁμοιότητα) and the imprint (τύπον) it is correctly called an image (εἶδωλον)." *De facie in orbe lunae*, 945a in H. Cherniss & W.C. Helmbold, trans., *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. XII (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957).

⁶⁷*Phaedo* 81 D,E.

⁶⁸*Asclepius* 22.

⁶⁹The phrase is $\text{C}\epsilon\text{Z}\text{O}\text{V}\text{P}\text{O}\epsilon\text{I}\text{T} \text{ } \tilde{\text{N}}\text{T}\text{M}\text{N}\text{T}\text{[E]I}\text{Δ}$. $\text{Z}\text{O}\text{V}\text{P}\text{O}\epsilon\text{I}\text{T}$ is the hitherto unwitnessed qualitative of $\text{Z}\text{O}\text{O}\text{V}\text{P}(\epsilon)$ (Crum 737; in view of the qualitative in- $\text{O}\epsilon\text{I}\text{T}$, the int. may be $\text{Z}\text{O}\text{O}\text{V}\text{P}\text{O}$). The restoration $\text{M}\text{N}\text{T}\text{W}\text{N}\text{Z}$ "vitality", is a guess, and was chosen as the only form I could locate of an abstract noun with no more than six letters, so as to restore the lacuna.

⁷⁰CG VII,4, 105:6-11. Note the pun on the word $\text{C}\text{O}\text{T}\epsilon$, which can mean either "fire" or "arrow." Thus one can speak either of the "fire" or "darts" of fornication. Apparently the theme of Cupid's arrow is in view.

⁷¹*Κεφαλαία* 93:2-5.

⁷²The text reads $\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}\text{[.]} \text{ } \text{O} \tilde{\text{N}}\text{N}\epsilon\text{V}\text{M}\epsilon\text{Λ}\text{O}\text{C}$ (141:37). The only restorations I can think of are, assuming the expression is in the future tense in parallel with $\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}\alpha\text{φ}\rho\alpha\text{Γ}\epsilon\text{Λ}\text{Λ}\text{O}\text{V}$ (141:35), $\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}\alpha\text{K}\text{O}$, they will "place" or "leave" their members, or $\text{C}\epsilon\text{N}\alpha\text{Λ}\text{O}$, they will "leave" their members. Either alternative gives the sense of "abandoning members (μέλος)" in despair. Apparently this image is meant to convey the fact that these wretched men will not strip off the earthly body in patient expectation of salvation, but will shuck them off in utter despair, since their limbs have become vehicles of torture for their souls, undergoing scourging and burning. The plural, $\text{τ}\alpha \text{ } \mu\epsilon\lambda\eta$, occurs in burial inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D. meaning "body": $\text{πνε}\tilde{\text{u}}\text{μ}\alpha \text{ } \mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\text{ν} \text{ } \alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\text{υ}\epsilon \text{ } \text{κ}\alpha\iota \text{ } \psi\text{υ}\chi\eta\varsigma \text{ } \epsilon\kappa \text{ } \mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\text{ν} \text{ } \alpha\pi\text{ο}\pi\tau\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ (TDNT, IV [1967], p. 556).

⁷³In the Sahidic versions of Mk. 14:54//Lk. 22:56 and Acts 16:29, $\text{K}\omega\text{Z}\text{T}$ ("fire") translates $\text{φ}\omega\varsigma$, "light," in the sense of some kind of lamp or torch which gives both light and heat. This is an apt metaphor for the heat and light of the sun necessary for the germination of a seed (cf. $\text{π}\text{O}\text{V}\text{O}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N} \text{ } \epsilon\text{T}\tilde{\text{P}}\text{O}\text{V}\text{O}\epsilon\text{I}\text{N} \text{ } \text{M}\text{H}\text{C}\alpha\text{N}\text{Z}\text{P}\epsilon$, 142:18).

⁷⁴*Phaedo* 83 D,E.

⁷⁵*Phaedo* 84 B.

⁷⁶Cf. the end of the farewell discourse in John where the disciples say: "Look, now you are speaking plainly, and not at all in parables. Now we know that you know everything and have no need of being questioned. Accordingly we know you came from God." (Jn. 16:29f).

⁷⁷It should be noted that this formula (142:27,29f) in this section uses the Greek word ἀμήν and perhaps derives from a different source than the same formula in 141:25, which uses the Coptic ζή ουμνε.

⁷⁸*Asclepius* 28.

⁷⁹The only "furniture" of Hell that is both masculine in gender and fits the lacuna π[...]ε seems to be τοίε , "wall" or τοίρε , "canal." The adjective which modifies it, ε/[...]ω, is in all probability either εττορω , "which is heavy," or εττορω , "which is wide." The thing which is heavy or wide is also ετταρχην δ[, probably set against (αρω-), which seems to apply to a wall rather than a canal. The prepositional complement (ἄμοον εζονν ερω , "them (D.O.) into it" seems to require the idea of constraint, thus ωτη "to imprison."

⁸⁰Requires a direct object (ἄμοον) as in 142:42. This leaves two letters before]βε[, which is probably λιβε .

⁸¹The direct object changes from "them" to "you" (plural). But since the direct object continues as "them" (ἄμοον, 142:42, and thereafter), "you" is not the direct object of the description, but is probably the object of a verb which is used to illustrate some feature of the description. Because "you" is not a subject under discussion we restore ...ετταπτωτ ἄκα τῆνε "who will pursue you." This allows something like δνω νιαρχων, "and the archons" to fill out the sentence: "They will not be forgiven their madness. And the archons who will pursue you...." The "archons," however, is only a guess (cf. 142:31-32).

⁸²The sneerers are then delivered (παραδιδόναι) over to the angel (ἄγγελος) Tartarouchos, who pursues (πωτ ἄκα-) them with fiery scourges (φραγελλον must be for φραγέλλιον) which cast sparks into the face of the one who is pursued. Thus I restore 142:42 with words denoting some kind of fiery instrument of scourging such as chains, swords or whips. In this case I have chosen whips (μάστιξ): [ἄκα ἄζενμαστιξ ἄκατε , "and he will take fiery whips."

⁸³*Theogony* 735-744. This is the translation of H.G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, The Homeric Poems and Homerica* (The Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard, 1967).

⁸⁴*Iliad* VIII 13-16. This is the translation of A.T. Murray, *Homer, The Iliad* (The Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard, 1965).

⁸⁵Cf. also 749f.

⁸⁶The translation of H.G. Evelyn-White, *op. cit.*

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

⁸⁸*Nekyia* (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1893).

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 125-127. He adds: "Wir wissen dass es ein solches Gedicht gegeben hat mit dem Titel Ὀρφῶς εἰς Αἰδου κατάβασις (p. 128).

⁹⁰Tartarouchos is derived from the roots τάρταρο plus ἔχ(ειν) = τάρταροῦχος.

⁹¹According to the Ethiopic version, English translation in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 668-683. This work is to be distinguished from a work of the same title discovered in the Nag Hammadi Corpus.

⁹²For the classical references, see Dieterich, *op. cit.*, pp. 197f.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 199f.

⁹⁴Text in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 671.

⁹⁵The text reads ΝΕΤῚΓΕΛΠΙΖΕ ΔΤΑΡΞ ΔΥΩ ΠΥΤΕΚΟ ΕΤΝΔΤΕΚΟ . In such phrases, I have observed that usually has the function of joining nouns which lie in the same syntactical position so that in a compound oblique object as hope "in the flesh and in the prison which will perish" the preposition does not need to be repeated: ΔΤΑΡΞ ΜῚ ΠΥΤΕΚΟ . . . On the other hand, ΔΥΩ generally has a consecutive function so that such a phrase would read ΔΤΑΡΞ ΔΥΩ ΔΠΥΤΕΚΟ . However, in the phrase under consideration, the preposition Δ, functioning as *nota accusativi*, was probably not felt to have prepositional force, so that either ΔΥΩ or ΜῚ could be used. Cf. Latin *et* and *-que*.

⁹⁶Plato, *Gorgias* 493A; *Cratylus* 400C.

⁹⁷Such a usage has been recorded by H.J. Polotsky (*Études de syntaxe copte* (Le Caire: Société d'Archéologie Copte, 1944), p. 53) as an *emploi abusif* of the second tense: "L'emphase avec laquelle le verbe est prononcé s'exprime 'abusivement' par l'emploi des Temps Seconds, dans des exclamations comme 'tu es fou!' p.ex. ΕΡΕΛΘΕ: ΔΡΕΛΘΕ - μαῖνη Actes XII,15."

⁹⁸Cf. *Gospel of Thomas* Log. 87: "Miserable is the body which depends on a body and miserable is the soul which depends on these two," and Log. 112: "Woe to the flesh which depends on the soul, woe to the soul which depends on the flesh."

⁹⁹Crum lists no entry for *ⲙⲱⲃⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲗⲏⲓ*. *ⲡⲁⲓ ⲗⲏⲓ* usually means ἐν, but can also mean εἰς. Thus we get something like *ἑτοιμάζειν εἰς*, "prepare for." We may have a scribal error, but have no emendation to suggest.

¹⁰⁰Very much like those cast down to Tartaros; cf. 142:35f.

¹⁰¹We have here what appears to be another Coptic pun. They are full (Μεγ) of bitterness and their minds are deranged by the

burning (μονε) within them. (Some form of μονε [to be full of] is required in the lacuna; the qualitative is the only form used in 143:27-29).

¹⁰²This is a New Testament concept; cf. Gal. 2:4; 5:1; 2 Pet. 2:19.

¹⁰³This too is a New Testament concept; cf. Rom. 1:21; Eph. 4:18.

¹⁰⁴These two phrases are also echoes of N.T. ideas. The one is a perverse application of the frequent expression "to be baptized with water" and the other is found in the later writings; Eph. 2:3; 2 Pet. 2:10; 3:3; Jude 16,18.

¹⁰⁵A metaphor for ignorance; cf. CH I,28: μετανοήσατε οἱ συνοδεύσαντες τῇ πλάνῃ καὶ (hendiadys) συνκοινωνήσαντες τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ.

¹⁰⁶Cf. CH XI,7: "(See) the sun, the begetter of all good, the ruler of all order, the governor of the seven worlds. And (see) the moon who runs before all (the planets), the instrument of nature (φύσις), transforming matter here below."

¹⁰⁷Cf. the description in CH Frg. IIa,14: "The sun alone is real, unlike all else it is unchanging, remaining as it is. Thus it alone has been entrusted with the making of all things in the cosmos, ruling all things, making all things."

¹⁰⁸Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 367d, trans. by F. C. Babbitt, *Plutarch's Moralia*, Vol. 5 (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard, 1962).

¹⁰⁹F. Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (New York: Dover, 1959), p. 103. Here he no doubt refers to Sulla's elaborate myth in Plutarch, *De facie in orbe lunae*, 942-945. Cf. also Diogenes Laertius VIII 1.31.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 92. Cf. Cumont, *Lux Perpetua* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Guenther, 1949), p. 171f.

¹¹¹*Asclepius* 3; cf. Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 591b, where generation and decay are linked by Nature in the moon. Cf. also the fourth century astrologer Firmicus Maternus (*Mathesis* 4.1): "having obtained the entire substance of the compound product from a blending of opposites and from various elements, and having conceived all animal bodies it (the moon) both begets them, and, having been engendered, it dissolves them."

¹¹²For references to the use of ὡμῆς μῆν (=συνουσία) as a synonym for intercourse, see Crum, 578b.

¹¹³CH Frg. IV,6.

¹¹⁴CH Frg. IV,9.

¹¹⁵CH XVI,13. Cf. XVI,16: "Thus they (the demons) govern this entire earthly realm using our bodies as instruments, and this government Hermes called εἰμαρμένη."

¹³¹So E. Stauffer, TDNT I (1965), p. 167.

¹³²*Acts of Thomas* 39.

¹³³Philo, *De sacr.* 43.

¹³⁴e.g. B.W. Bacon, "Jesus and the Law," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 47 (1928), p. 225. However, see the convincing argument that the demand for perfection is aimed at all the Church, by G. Barth in G. Bornkamm, G. Barth, H.J. Held, *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), pp. 95-99.

¹³⁵So G. Schrenk, TDNT I (1965), pp. 615ff.

CHAPTER III

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CONCLUSIONS

We shall conclude this analysis of *Thomas the Contender* by offering a summary of its literary composition, its teaching and some observations concerning its position within the history of religion.

A. The Literary Composition of *Thomas the Contender*

In the commentary we have offered reasons for considering *Thomas the Contender* to be the sum of two originally separate works. One work, section A, was a dialogue between Thomas and the Savior, perhaps entitled "The Book of Thomas the Contender writing to the Perfect." The other work, section B, was a collection of the Savior's sayings gathered into a homiletical discourse (introductory apocalypse, woes, blessings, final admonition), perhaps entitled "The Hidden Words which the Savior spoke, which I wrote down, even I, Mathaiias." A redactor has prefixed section A to section B, and prefaced the whole with an *incipit* title composed on analogy with the original title to section B, and designating Mathaiias as the scribe of the whole. The subscript title, designating Thomas as the scribe of the whole, was borrowed from the original title to section A, and suffixed to the newly-formed whole. Because of the fact that Thomas figures prominently in section A as participant in the dialogue, but is mentioned nowhere in section B, it is likely that his name was originally at home in section A, but not in section B. Because Mathaiias' name is never mentioned outside the *incipit*, it seems likely that it derived from the original title to section B; it probably would not have derived from section A in which Thomas is dominant, nor would it have derived from the body of section B, which provides no occasion for the mention of names. The likelihood of Mathaiias' name having derived from the title to section B receives some confirmation when we recall that various traditions of some antiquity (mentioned by Eusebius' Papias, Hippolytus and Clement of Alexandria; cf. references in comment on 140:1-4) connect the name of a certain Matthew

(variously spelled Matthaïos, Matthias) with the collection and transmission of sayings (λόγια, λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι) of Jesus.

In turn, each of the two sections of *Thomas the Contender* presents us with a profile of its own.

We call section A a "dialogue," but by doing so we speak, not of a dramatic dialogue with co-equal participants, but rather of a much more colorless and fictitious literary device. Moreover, as Kurt Rudolf has pointed out,¹ the dialogue of section A cannot even be classified along with the literary device of the Platonic dialogues. There a central figure (e.g. Socrates) presents the thesis of the dialogue almost as one would expound it in an essay, but is occasionally interrupted by participants who by their questions and objections interact with the central figure in such a way that they arrive at the truth, or at least come to recognize their ignorance. Rudolph would rather seek the *genre* of literature like section A in a class of literature known as *erotapokrisis*, in which dialogue functions not as *maeutic*, as a dialectical process of discovering a philosophical truth by statement (thesis), objection (antithesis) and clarification (synthesis), but rather as a vehicle to expound revelation of salvific knowledge in the form of catechetical question (topic) and answer (commentary). While Plato's dialogues are the prime example of the philosophical dialogue, the tractates of the *Corpus Hermeticum* are a prime example of *erotapokriseis*, where a disciple, within a dialogue framework, elicits revelation of supernatural knowledge in philosophical dress. Thus while section A of *Thomas the Contender* presents the formal structure of a dialogue, its material structure is that of the *erotapokriseis*, in which a noted apostle, Thomas, elicits from the Savior salvific knowledge for the instruction of the mature ("The Book of Thomas the Contender writing to the Perfect").

This characterization of the literary *genre* of section A corresponds to the general flavor of its contents: it is written to men who, like Thomas, at least know that the Savior is the knowledge of the truth (138:13), but are presently ignorant of the real truth, "that which is hidden" (138:11f,14,20). As a result of knowing about that which is hidden (the truth about oneself) they shall come to know themselves as well as the "depth of the All" (138:17f). We thus get the impression that section A was originally addressed to a group of ascetic,

syncretistic Christians (in view of the Christian framework) who were familiar with some knowledge about the Savior, but needed to have this interpreted in a strongly ascetic direction. They had the best of intentions to do good, but even so betray that they have known the fire of passion (141:22-25). They were people who evidently revered the figure of Thomas, and who valued his direct contact with the resurrected Savior. The intended effect of the document upon them would have been to exhort them to observe the teachings of the Savior and preach them to other mortals who burned with the fire of lust.

Furthermore, the figure of Thomas in section A is a crucial factor in obtaining this intended effect upon the readers. While it is true that, literarily speaking, Thomas functions mostly as an interlocutor who provides topics for the Savior's commentary, the fact that he assumes this function as an apostle, the twin brother of the Savior, who interviews the presumably resurrected Savior just prior to his ascension, means that any progress in understanding made by Thomas is absolutely crucial to the reader. This is explicit in the analogy presupposed between Thomas and the recipients of the document. Thomas, although he knows that the Savior is the knowledge of the truth, is nevertheless ignorant of the "real truth" (that which is hidden); but as a result of the Savior's impending revelation, he is about to know the "real truth" (about himself). Likewise, the reader of section A, while currently ignorant, will, as a result of reading section A, come to know the "real truth" about himself. Thus Thomas' progression from ignorance to true knowledge is crucial to the reader.

Furthermore, not only is the figure of Thomas crucial, but so also is the setting of the dialogue; it occurs just prior to the Savior's ascension, and thus presumably with the resurrected One. The dialogue takes place with the Savior at just the point where the "real truth" about him is most evident, when his exalted nature is most truly exposed, in his resurrected condition. What had formerly been obscured by the bonds of the Savior's flesh is now revealed in his pre-ascension condition. Simultaneously, Thomas initiates the ensuing dialogue:

Therefore I beg you to tell me the things about which I ask you before your Ascension. And whenever I hear from you about that which is hidden (or: "the hidden one"), then I can speak about them. (138:22-26)

That is, the point at which the hidden nature of the Savior is disclosed corresponds to the point at which the things about which Thomas wants to know, but are now hidden, become manifest. When the Savior tells Thomas that in order to be perfect, he must first know the visible in order to know the hidden, Thomas presses straight to the point of the dialogue: "Tell us about these things which you said are not visible, but are hidden from us" (138:37-39). All of this points to the conclusion that there is presupposed a shift from "unintelligible" knowledge (Thomas knows the Savior is the knowledge of the truth, but is nevertheless ignorant), acquired before the ascension (e.g. from the earthly Jesus), to a higher plane of revealed or "enlightened" knowledge that takes place with the Ascension. What is hidden becomes revealed.

James M. Robinson² in commenting on this phenomenon, points out that the Markan messianic secret involves a similar shift, except that the transition from hidden to manifest occurs at the first prediction of the passion and resurrection: "and he spoke the word clearly" (παρηγοίῃ Mk. 8:32). In the Gospel of John the transition occurs at the end of the farewell discourses before Jesus' elevation to the Cross (Jn. 16:29), and in the *Pistis Sophia*, after the Ascension. In *Thomas the Contender*, the point of higher revelation begins just prior to the Ascension. In Justin's *Apology* (I,50) the disciples, just like Thomas in *Thomas the Contender*, can teach the Christian message only after they witness the Ascension. That the shift from "unintelligible" knowledge about man's situation to "enlightened" knowledge takes place with the disclosure of the Savior's exalted reality is further confirmed by a passage in section A which provides the hermeneutical key to the whole section:

And Thomas answered: "Therefore I say to you, Lord, that those who speak about things that are not visible and which are difficult to explain are like those who shoot their arrows at a target at night. Indeed they shoot their arrows like anyone else, since they shoot at the target; however, it is not visible. But when the light comes forth and hides the darkness, then the work of each one will appear. And you are our light, because you enlighten, Lord.

That is, illumination by the Savior will make the hidden things visible and the things that are difficult to explain plain. Thus confrontation with the exalted Savior before his Ascension

is the source of the real truth. Thomas has experienced this, and has thereby achieved true knowledge. If now the reader can identify himself with Thomas, he too will pass from a veiled knowledge of the truth into a state of full revelation. He will know the truth about himself (e.g. that his bestial body will perish) and escaping the passion of the body, will receive the exaltation of the Perfection.

In our characterization of the profile of section A, we hope to have shown how its literary form (dialogue), its setting in the life of the Savior (prior to the Ascension), and its hermeneutical foil (Thomas, with whom the reader is to identify) and movement (from unintelligible to enlightened knowledge) each contribute to informing and convincing the reader of its ascetic message. By identifying with Thomas and participating in his enlightenment by the Savior, the reader can achieve perfection and can himself become a 'contender,' a missionary for abstinence from the flesh.

Now section B is also a document which preaches asceticism, but instead of using a dialogue between the Savior and a revered apostle as a vehicle to impress the Savior's ascetic teaching upon the readers, section B relies on a collection of the Savior's sayings employing the devices of threat (scene of punishment in Hell, woes) and promise of salvation (beatitudes, direct admonition) to get the ascetic message across. Where the readers of section A are to become perfect by identifying with Thomas who directly receives the ascetic message from the exalted Savior, the readers of section B are to be jolted out of their current life and look forward to salvation freed from the flesh.

Since the ultimate goal of each section is the same, it is not difficult to see why they have been combined.

A material motivation behind their combination, beside their obvious similarity in content, can be gleaned from the frequent mention in section A of the necessity to preach the ascetic message to those whose lives are ridden with lust. Thomas, like the reader, is supposed to speak about that which is hidden (the true self hidden by the fleshly body); he must speak to miserable mortals beset with the fire of lust (141:19-25) and warn them of their terrible fate. Thus when the dialogue ends, ("we are persuaded, Lord," etc., 142:19), what is there that remains to be done other than to go forth and preach

the Savior's words to these miserable men? Accordingly, it would be most relevant to prefix section A to section B, an already-existing example of the Savior's words on the ascetic life, thus illustrating the type of preaching that the readers of section A were expected to perform. In doing this, the redactor of A and B simply spelled out the fitting response of the reader of section A, by attaching it to a homiletic, hortatory document on the same theme. At the same time, section B would intensify the message of section A by spelling out a fearful fate for those who mocked the Savior's words (142:27-143:7).

This material motivation, however, while it may have been a factor in the redactor's decision to prefix A to B, must be supplemented with another, in this case formal, motivation for the combination of A with B. This formal motivation is much broader in scope than the material motivation just suggested, and indeed may have operated upon the redactor's mind in a quite unconscious fashion.

We begin with a few observations about the general drift of literary *genres* in early Christianity. If we take our start with collections of the sayings of Jesus, such as lay behind the mid-first century Matthean-Lukan source Q, and such as have found their way into the mid-second century *Gospel of Thomas*, we see that, as time passes, these sayings collections develop from relatively isolated sayings received from an oral tradition into larger and larger collections. There comes a point, however, when they are taken up into a more comprehensive *genre*. For example, in the first century, sayings of Jesus were assembled into a larger framework including a passion story, as in the *Gospel of Mark*. The collection of sayings represented by Q are assembled into the larger frameworks of the gospels of Matthew and Luke. So in the church traditions represented by Mark, Matthew and Luke, which were eventually accepted as orthodox writings, the sayings of Jesus are arranged into a life of Jesus beginning with an account of his baptism or even of his birth, and ending with an account of his passion and resurrection. The net result and also the intention of this movement from sayings to gospel (εὐαγγέλιον) is to produce an authoritative interpretation of the sayings (and miracles and other traditions as well) of Jesus; his sayings are interpreted by his passion, his resurrection, etc.

At a later date, in the *Gospel of Thomas*, we see another phase in the trend towards providing an authoritative interpretation of the words of Jesus. Here the tendency is much more to interpret the sayings by expanding the individual saying with interpretation, rather than to provide the interpretation by including them in a larger (passion-resurrection) framework. Whereas in the Gospels, interpretation was provided by a life-of-Jesus framework, and, especially in John, by appending interpretations to Jesus' words and to stories of his deeds, in the *Gospel of Thomas* interpretation is provided mostly by expanding the original saying with Gnostic theology.

Something similar to the process displayed in the *Gospel of Thomas* can also be seen in *Thomas the Contender*. We have posited that section B was an originally separate document, consisting of an introductory apocalypse, woes, blessings and a final admonition to watch and pray. In each of these subsections, we have what purport to be sayings of Jesus ("truly I say to you," "woe to you," "blessed are you who," "watch and pray"). But they can only be the end-product of a process in which the original sayings have been so expanded with (ascetic) interpretations that whatever may have been the original saying has been all but obliterated by the accretion of (ascetic) interpretation. The interpretation of the saying, by expanding it with ascetic comment, has proceeded to the point that all that is left of the saying is at most a variant of a beatitude, and at the least a Jesuanic formula, "truly I tell you," "woe to you," "blessed are you," etc. The interpretation so predominates over the saying that the "saying" portion has become a mere vestige. In fact this process has gone so far since the stage of "saying expanded with interpretation," which we find in the *Gospel of Thomas*, that one might say that section B was written as an interpretation before and aside from the saying; the Jesuanic formulae are only an atavism designed to legitimize the message of the interpretation by designating Jesus the Savior as its source.

If this characterization of section B is correct, it is clear that the tendency to mix an interpretation of a saying with the saying itself has reached the point where the saying has disappeared and all that remains is the interpretation. The suitability of the "sayings collection" as a vehicle for presenting gnostic or ascetic theology, anthropology, etc. has come

to an end, since it can no longer be creatively developed. It is on the verge of becoming an essay or treatise, a *genre* of literature which even the syncretistic Christian would credit with little traditional value as an authentic record of what the Savior said. The Savior presented his message in the form of sayings, parables, etc., not in the form of an essay. To continue the use of the "saying plus interpretation" model when the saying has become a mere atavism has severely limited the possibility of its further creative development; a new and more suitable and creative vehicle for presenting the Savior's teaching had to be found.

It is the feeling of this author that the only possibility open for the creative theologian to expand further the "exploded" form of the "saying plus interpretation" model of the Savior's teaching which we find in section B of *Thomas the Contender*, was to embed it within a fresh, new literary *genre* which still possessed the capacity for further creative expansion. For the mid-third century gnostic (and ascetic) theologian, this *genre* was the dialogue between the Resurrected One and his disciples. Instead of trying to bring out the hidden truth of the teaching of the earthly Savior by expanding his sayings with gnosticizing interpretation (as is done in the *Gospel of Thomas* and to a gross extent in section B of *Thomas the Contender*), one could bring out the hidden truth of the Savior's teaching by having him directly teach the disciples between his Resurrection and Ascension. That is, what the Savior taught during the time he could actually be confronted in his exalted and hidden nature would truly have a claim to being direct open revelation. With the Savior in his exalted state, nothing about him, neither his true exalted nature nor the true hidden meaning of his words, could remain hidden; the stark truth was there to behold.

A similar but much earlier attempt at this device seems, to some extent, to lie behind the composition of the "farewell discourse" of the Gospel of John (14:1-16:33). Here the hour for Jesus' glorification has come (17:1); after the crucifixion (his ὕψους) he is to return to his father (14:12,20,28; 16:10,28). As in *Thomas the Contender*, in the Gospel of John Jesus speaks plainly (παρρησία, 16:29) with the disciples just prior to the "hour" of his elevation, and he does it in the form of a dialogue with his disciples. They ask him questions to which he responds

"clearly and not in figures," and when the dialogue is over, the disciples believe that he has come from God; they are convinced (cf. *Thomas the Contender*, 142:19-21). For the author of the Gospel of John, the point where Jesus speaks most clearly is made to occur in the form of a farewell dialogue (cf. the eschatological discourses in the Synoptics, which are not "farewells"), prior to the Savior's exaltation. It is certainly not too far-fetched to see how the farewell dialogue in the Gospel of John, written probably just before the turn of the first century, could have provided a model for the dialogue of section A of *Thomas the Contender*, probably written near the turn of the second century. In this regard, the main difference, besides date, between these two works is that in John, although the saying has been altered and enlarged in comparison to the sayings in the Synoptics, this process of expansion and alteration has not yet reached the gross proportions we find witnessed to in *Thomas the Contender*. As we have said, by the time section A of *Thomas the Contender* was composed, the "sayings of Jesus" tradition as represented in section B had become so expanded and thereby altered as to demand inclusion in a new, more liberal form, the dialogue.

Therefore, the no longer creatively useful "sayings" type of teaching, as we find it in section B, could quite naturally have found its way into the framework of the potentially very creative dialogue form of section A. The sayings in section B, having been "interpreted to death," find a fresh possibility of interpretation by virtue of being spoken by the resurrected Savior himself directly to a revered apostle. The sayings of section B, just as the content of the dialogue of section A, are guaranteed as being of the highest revelatory significance. At the same time the redactor of *Thomas the Contender* had achieved a way to advance his speculative interpretation beyond the range of possibilities offered by the traditional sayings collection of which section B represents a "*fin-de-siècle*." From now (ca. A.D. 225?) on, as one can judge from the large number of dialogues of the Resurrected with his disciples to be found in the Nag Hammadi gnostic corpus, the literary future of the teachings of the Savior is to be found in the *genre* of dialogue. To be sure, as one can see from the *Pistis Sophia*, traditional sayings plus their interpretive expansion would be provided, but their

unwieldiness would cause them to appear more as discourse than saying. The fact that even here the interpretive expansion was no longer regarded as satisfactory is demonstrated by the constant addition of a disciple's comment or analysis at the end of each speech of the Savior. To quote James M. Robinson:

. . . we are carried step by step through the final stage in the procedure that one can only sense from the introduction to the Gospel of Thomas to have begun in some sayings already there. For in the Gospel of Thomas the "secret sayings" of Jesus that the gnostic is to "interpret" have in some instances already received a gnosticizing interpretive reformulation, which would then be carried a step further when the gnosticizing interpretation is again interpreted for a still deeper meaning. Yet the saying and its interpretation are not kept distinct, side by side, as in *Pistis Sophia*, but are rather presented in fusion with each other, as a single statement. In *Pistis Sophia*, the speech of Jesus that the disciples proceed to resolve is already gnosticized; yet the side-by-side presentation in *Pistis Sophia* of two advanced stages in the process illustrates what was less visibly happening in the earlier stages as well. . . We thus arrive in *Pistis Sophia* at the point in the trajectory of the sayings collection where it is absorbed into and finally replaced by the *Gattung* which had no doubt all along been most typical of Christian Gnosticism, namely the dialogue of the resurrected Christ with his disciples.³

Thus *Thomas the Contender* occupies a point with Robinson's *Gattungsgeschichte* midway between the *Gospel of Thomas* and *Pistis Sophia*: the sayings collection (section B) has been absorbed into, but not yet replaced by, the dialogue genre. The process is similar to, but not simultaneous with, the *Gattungsgeschichte* of the sayings of Jesus in the orthodox sphere: there the isolated saying was included within small collections of sayings (such as Mk. 4), or were assembled into larger collections (e.g. Q). The evangelists then included these collections plus other materials into a life-of-Jesus framework (εὐαγγέλιον) concluded by passion-resurrection narratives. Finally, the episodes of the life of Jesus gain prominence and interest with the addition of birth narratives, and eventually in the construction of separate infancy stories, etc. In both orthodox and syncretistic Christianity the tendency is towards the embedding (and eventual diffusion) of the saying into even larger interpretive frameworks, whether they be gospels (εὐαγγέλια) or dialogues of the Resurrected with his disciples. *Thomas the Contender* is most significant as a representative of a late stage of this process in

the sphere of syncretistic (ascetic, mildly gnosticizing) Christianity; the vestiges of the sayings collection (section B) are still quite clear, but have been embedded in the interpretive framework of the dialogue, eventually destined to replace the "sayings" form altogether.

B. The Doctrine of *Thomas the Contender*

Since *Thomas the Contender* stands in a Codex which contains definitely Gnostic writings, such as the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Gospel of Philip*, *On the Origin of the World*, and the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, it is legitimate to ask if *Thomas the Contender* is itself a Gnostic document. We shall comment on this question by reviewing *Thomas the Contender* under various headings: theology, anthropology, cosmology, eschatology, soteriology, Christology, and morality.

1. *Theology*. "The cardinal thought of gnostic theology is the radical dualism that governs the relation of God and the world and correspondingly that of man and the world.⁴ The asceticism of *Thomas the Contender* certainly implies a dualism in the relation of man and the world, but it is difficult to identify the corresponding dualism in the relation of God and the world.

There are several divine beings or entities mentioned in the tractate: the essence (οὐσία) of light (139:30), the true wise one (ΤΡΑΘΗ ΜΗΜΕ fem., 140:2), the Archon who is above, ruling over all the powers (ἐξουσίαι) as their king (142:31f), and the Good One (ΠΑΡΑΘΟΣ, 145:14), who is the king (145:14). In addition, there are lesser powers, such as the powers (142:32) and the angel, the chief of Tartaros (ταρταροῦχος, 142:31). Finally of course, there is "the Savior," who is "the knowledge of the Truth" (138:13), the "light" (139:20), "the one who is good for us" (140:8), and "the Lord," twice called Jesus.

Of the first group, the divine entities or beings, it seems clear that the most transcendent is the essence of the light, to which the Savior, the light of men, ascends whenever men abandon bestiality (life in the body). The next entity in our list is the true wise one, a (feminine?) being who is the source of the wise man's truth, the truth which allows him to evade the clutches of the lustful spirit of men. In the commentary we have tentatively identified this with the hypostatized wisdom

of God, a sort of metaphysical intermediary between God and man. "The Archon who is above" seems to represent a being similar to the "prince (ἄρχων) of the powers of the air" mentioned in Eph. 2:2 under his aspect as judge, and occupying a position lower in the levels of being than the light-essence. The being identified as "the Good One" seems in the present tractate to refer to the Savior as "the one who is good for us" (140:8), but in its original context, section B, it appears to refer to the highest God. Such is probably also the case with the being referred to as "the King."

It appears that we do have a hierarchy of divine beings or hypostases, at least in section A of *Thomas the Contender*, and that there is a gulf between these beings and man. On the other hand, even though the body and matter are derogated, there is no claim to the effect that the world is the creation of inferior powers, or that the beings intermediate in the scale of divine beings obstruct God's relation to man and *vice-versa*. Moreover, in section B of *Thomas the Contender* there appears to be no hierarchy of divine beings. Thus we conclude that while a dualism is created by the derogation of matter, this dualism is not as omnipresent and perverse as it is in so many Gnostic systems.

2. *Anthropology*. As already stated, both sections of *Thomas the Contender* claim quite explicitly that the spirit of man is entrapped in a lustful material body, which blinds the spirit in such a way that it is not aware of its immersion in the lustful flesh. This theme is typically Gnostic, except that, whereas most gnostic systems are at great pains to recite the chain of events by which this immersion came to be, *Thomas the Contender* is only concerned to point out man's present predicament, and the way out of it. There is no attempt to tell the tragic history of the soul. At the same time, there is no attempt to point out the consubstantiality of man's spirit with the divine substance above, a feature of much gnostic thought.⁵ Thus we should classify the anthropology of *Thomas the Contender* as ascetic and dualistic, rather than specifically Gnostic. I say "not specifically gnostic" because there are enough points of contact with gnostic thought so as not to exclude completely the gnostic classification. Thus, so far as anthropology is concerned, section A has fewer gnostic features than section B. Section A views man in somewhat Platonic fashion, as composed

of a self imprisoned in a bestial, lustful body. But this body is scorched by the flames of its natural (in its nature as bestial) drive for sex. This drive enslaves the body, which in turn deludes the self as to its true estate. Even though the lustful body will perish, excessive attachment to it will cause the soul to share the body's fate. Section B, however, represents man as possessing a lust-ridden body, but whose lust results not from an inner drive, but apparently from the influence of celestial powers, the forces of the evil demons (144:12f). The way to escape these forces is to open oneself to the influence of other more beneficent celestial powers, the sun and the moon, which impart a sweet fragrance to men and hide their darkness and pollution (144:19ff). Thus section A regards the sexual lust of men as resulting primarily from an inner drive of their bestial body, while section B regards this lust as resulting primarily from the body's domination by hostile celestial powers. In this regard, section B appears to be more "gnostic" than section A.

3. *Cosmology.* Gnostic cosmology views the universe as a vast system of concentric shells at whose center lies the imprisoning earth, with each shell or heavenly sphere occupied by a hostile celestial being (Archon, etc.) who prevents the passage of souls out of the world in their attempt to return to the world of light beyond the spheres. These Archons collectively rule over the world *via* "fate" expressed in terms of natural law. The world is the product of an inferior being, often the chief Archon or the demiurge, and as such, matter, particularly in the form of the body, is the chief point of contact at which the Archon's power impinges upon and imprisons the human soul.⁶

Thomas the Contender exhibits some of these features, but to a far less degree than most gnostic documents. Whereas most gnostic documents relate an elaborate myth about the creation of the world through deception and ignorance on the part of divine beings inferior to the highest God, *Thomas the Contender* relates no such myth, and even though it regards matter as evil, does not even seem to presuppose such a myth. *Thomas the Contender* is, indeed, anti-hylic, particularly in regard to the sexuality of the human body, but it does not ascribe the creation of the world to an inferior being. By the same token, it does not affirm the world's creation by the highest being, but

simply takes the existence of the material world as a given fact which necessitates, not an explanation of its origin, but an escape from it. All that is required is that one know *that* it is evil, not *how* it became evil.

Furthermore, *Thomas the Contender* admits the existence of celestial beings, but is not concerned to describe their nature, or even elaborate tactics to escape their clutches in the ascent through the spheres. In section B there are celestial forces (ἐνέργειαι) which control the body through its sexual lust, and there is an Archon who prevents the lustful from entering heaven. But the ascent of the soul does not require an elaborate system of passwords to conceal its identity from, or frighten, the celestial Archons; it only requires that one abandon the life of the body while on earth, or as section B puts it, that one pray that one not be found in the body. Having accomplished this, according to section B, one is virtually guaranteed of being granted an eternal rest from the Good One, and of reigning forever with the King (145:13ff). Thus the creation and habitation of the earth and the planetary spheres by hostile Archons, even if envisaged by the author of section A or section B, or by the redactor of the whole, is not a substantive issue for *Thomas the Contender*. On this account then, *Thomas the Contender* should be regarded as ascetic rather than gnostic.

4. *Eschatology*. The eschatology of both section A and section B is quite similar: the decision one makes about his loyalties in this life conditions and even determines his future fate (143:6ff). Excessive attachment to the body means sharing its fate at death; both soul and body dissolve and perish (cf. 139:4ff). To abandon the body in this life means escaping its fate at death; the body dissolves and perishes, but the soul, perfected independently of the body, and fleeing every visible spirit (140:4f), will come forth from the bonds of this life and inherit eternal rest (145:12ff). Apparently, at least in section B, this "rest" is found in the future, on the Day of Judgment (143:8). When one dies, if he has not abandoned the flesh, he is punished in Hell with no escape, until the Day of Judgment. If one abandons the flesh, presumably when he dies, he escapes this punishment and finds salvation on the Day of Judgment. Beyond that time, the saved soul reigns with the King in eternal rest, but of the fate of the soul sullied with

the body we hear nothing further. Thus, while spelled out in more elaborate and traditional terms in section B, the entire tractate views salvation and damnation as an eschatological process, worked out by one's loyalties during his embodied life. Therefore, one needs only to be concerned with the present and the future, but not with the past: "inquire and be aware of who you are, in what way you exist, and in what manner you will come to be" (138:8f).

5. *Soteriology*. For both sections A and B, salvation is escape from the body and from the prison of the material world. Furthermore, salvation is a future event, dependent on one's detachment from the body during this earthly life. This detachment is achieved by a *gnosis*, a knowledge or awareness of the power of the lustful body to beguile the soul or spirit of man by deluding him that he is to serve the needs of the body, particularly its sex drive. The *gnosis* in *Thomas the Contender* consists of knowing not only the true estate of the soul imprisoned in the body, but also that this estate will surely result in the soul's demise at the time of the body's death. Thus the soteriology is minatory, based on the threat of future peril, and this peril is spelled out in terms of future punishment in Hell. The actual process of salvation is to act upon this *gnosis*, and to deny the world and bodily life within it. But what makes this *gnosis*, and therefore salvation, possible is its revelation by a revealer figure, in this case the "Savior," who is "the knowledge of the truth," "the light," "the one who is good for us."

In section A the Savior functions as revealer, who must get the recipient of the revelation to know himself, his true estate, and thus his destiny: "the one who knew himself has already obtained knowledge of the depth of the All" (138:17f). In order to know oneself, one must at least know this much of the nature of the revealer, that "he is good for us" (140:7), and that he is "the knowledge of the truth." The revealer's authority is actually established when the recipient of his word recognizes his nature (You are our light!", 139:20) and his origin, the οὐσία of light (139:29f); he is the representative of that light-world to which the prospective recipient of the *gnosis* aspires. The Savior then explains that in order to perform the things of the Pleroma, which are invisible, one must first

recognize "that which is visible" for what it is, that is, the lustful body which is destined to perish because it is bestial (138:27-139:12).

In section B, the Savior also functions as the revealer of man's true estate and destiny depending on whether 1) he remains attached to the body, or 2) he abandons the body. The main difference between the two sections is that in section A we have a much more philosophical rationale built up for understanding man's true situation: the Platonic distinction between the visible and invisible, the wise man who flees every visible spirit and thus avoids sexual lust *versus* others who flee to the visible things wherein burns the fire of lust, which in turn blinds them to their true estate. But in section B all we have is outright expression of doom for those who submit to the body's lust, concluded by a promise of a future rest with the King for those who watch and pray that they do not come to be (progressively identify with) in the flesh.

Again, while in section A the saving *gnosis* is mainly philosophical, in section B the *gnosis* is interpreted in a much more metaphorical way. For in section B, just as bodily lust is not just an inner drive, but results from, or at least is compounded by, the influence of hostile celestial powers, so also celestial powers (in this case beneficent) intervene in the process of salvation:

Who is the one who will give you the sun to shine upon
you so as to dissolve the darkness which is in you
and hide the darkness together with the polluted water?
The sun and the moon will give you a fragrance, etc.
(145:17-20)

It seems that here the sun and moon are conceived as divine agents who attack the body and exalt and illumine the soul. Here the *gnosis* is conceived under the metaphor of the illumination of the sun, rather than under the philosophical guise of visible and invisible, etc.

While it is true that the details of the salvation process differ in sections A and B, it is pertinent to note that both sections regard a saving *gnosis* as prerequisite to salvation, and that they both understand this *gnosis* as related to illumination. In section A, it is the Savior who is the light that descends from his οὐρα of light to illumine the soul with *gnosis*. In section B, it is the light of the sun and moon which

dissolve the darkness of bodily life and cause the soul to outstrip the body. Once the soul (like the grapevine) receives the sun's light, it prospers and branches out, thus overshadowing the body (the weeds) and chokes it out and kills it (144:21-36). Thus in section B, the Savior is not directly identified with the revealing illuminator, but is only loosely linked with the saving illumination. That is, he and his mission are compared with the life-giving light of the sun, without actually naming him the illuminator, perhaps because it would be objectionable to identify him explicitly as the source of illumination (like the sun) rather than the mediator of illumination. This leads us to the question of Christology.

6. *Christology*. Christology is an issue in *Thomas the Contender* because the revealer figure, mostly called "Savior," and addressed as "Lord," is twice called "Jesus," and sustains relationships with the Christ of the New Testament and other Christian literature. He sustains a relationship with a well-known Christian apostle, Judas Thomas; he is to undergo an ascension; he calls his hearers "disciples" (138:35); he is the "light"; and he speaks in formulae attributed elsewhere to Christ: "Truly I tell you" (142:27,29f; cf. 141:25, "woe to you," "blessed are you," and "watch and pray" (145:8).

In all of these respects, however, the Savior acts only as revealer and exhorter, and no other salvific functions, such as are found in the New Testament, are attributed to him. There seems to be no hint of the Pauline "being in Christ," or the understanding of Christ as a "ransom"; there is no mention of Christ's life or of his incarnation, cross, and Resurrection. All that is mentioned of his life is that he walks with Thomas prior to his ascension, that he is the twin brother of Judas Thomas, and that he is addressed as "Lord" and named "Jesus," and "Savior."

Thus the Christology of *Thomas the Contender* is freely-floating, anchored to the traditional scheme of Jesus' life only at a point just prior to the Ascension, with no concern expressed for the problem of his death, nor for the fact that his life has become past history, nor for the question about his present accessibility, nor his relation to the future salvation (or punishment). Jesus is only a revealer of man's current situation in the light of his proclamation of a future

punishment and for salvation. The only feature of the Savior that is significant for the reader of *Thomas the Contender* is his pre-Ascension nature; his hidden nature is his exalted nature. As a glorified being, as "our light," he can illumine the darkness covering the meaning of his earthly teaching (cf. 138:13-20).

7. *Morality*. Little need be said of the moral teaching of *Thomas the Contender* save to emphasize its ascetic character. In order to avoid perishing along with one's lustful, perishable body, one is obliged to avoid contamination by matter, i.e. the world and one's body. According to *Thomas the Contender* the most prominent feature of the body is the point which it shares in common with the beasts: its sexual, lustful nature. The body's propensity for sexual lust defines the point at which the individual inhabiting a body is most susceptible to the contamination of the world. It is because of this that it can be said that the sexual drive is a fire which burns the spirits (140:3) and souls (140:26) of men. Unless one denies the body, one will share its fate in the fires of Hell. Whoever takes delight in the pleasures of this life, especially in satisfying the fires of passion, is like an insect attracted to a blazing candle; he is drunk, his mind is deranged, "but it is the fire which will burn them" (142:2).

Therefore, at least according to section A, one has the obligation to proclaim this condition to other miserable mortals who have the misfortune to be "begotten in the flesh" (141:19-25). This seems to be the extent of any positive ethical action prescribed in section A. In section B, the only action of any sort that is prescribed can scarcely be called ethical or moral: "Watch and pray that you shall not come to be in the flesh, but rather that you shall come forth from the bondage of the oblivion of this life" (145:8-10). The net result is that one must primarily avoid sexual intercourse 1) as a deceiving pleasure that attaches one to the body and 2) as a means of eventually producing another body with which to entrap another human soul (cf. 139:8-11). As a corollary, it even appears that one also ought to refrain from eating meat, since one is only using the flesh of one lustful body to satisfy and nourish his own lustful body (139:2-6). Thus there appears to be no significant difference between the morality of *Thomas the Contender* and the

morality prescribed by specifically gnostic sects, e.g. the Manichaeans.

C. The Position of *Thomas the Contender* within the History of Religions

The position of *Thomas the Contender* in the history of religions, specifically of Christianity, is complicated by the hybrid nature of the tractate.

We have characterized section B of *Thomas the Contender* as a collection of sayings expanded with (ascetic) interpretation, in which the interpretation has outgrown the sayings far more than has the gnosticizing interpretation of the *Gospel of Thomas* outgrown the sayings therein. We have further placed section B within the arena of certain collections of sayings traditionally ascribed to an individual named Matthew (Matthaios, Matthias, Mathaias). The fact that the witnesses to the existence of these collections lived roughly from the middle of the second century A.D. through the first half of the third century A.D. (Papias, fl. ca. 130; Clement of Alexandria, fl. ca. 160-214; Hippolytus, fl. ca. 160-235), suggests that these Matthean traditions flourished from 150 to 250 A.D. Since the interpretation so preponderates over the saying that the latter has become (except for the beatitudes of section B) an atavistic formula, we would tend to place the sayings collection of section B toward the end of this period, say around 225 to 250 A.D.

We have characterized section A as a dialogue of the Resurrected with his disciple(s), in this case the disciple-apostle Judas Thomas. We have located the provenance of the Thomas-tradition in the Syrian Osrhoëne, in particular, the city of Edessa. These traditions probably antedate⁷ the inception of both Marcionite (ca. 275 A.D.?) and orthodox Christianity (ca. 200 A.D.?) in that area as well as the work of Mani (ca. 240 A.D.), who himself made mention of Thomas and may have regarded him as the "Living Paraclete." The fact that the history of the Thomas tradition seems to be established at two points, the *Gospel of Thomas* (ca. 130-150) and the *Acts of Thomas* (ca. 200-250), both of which (since the latter seems to presuppose the former) have been attributed to pre-Manichaean Syrian Gnosis, provides us with a chronological/geographical framework in which to locate section A of *Thomas the Contender*. In fact, we have

already pointed out several parallels between section A of *Thomas the Contender* and the *Gospel* and *Acts of Thomas* respectively. All three contain the ascetic theme, possess a dualistic anthropology, and regard Judas Thomas as the twin (δίδυμος) of the Savior and recipient of his most secret revelations. In both section A of *Thomas the Contender* and the *Acts of Thomas*, Thomas has the mission to exhort men to abandon filthy intercourse and passion. In view of these common themes and particularly of the Thomas-tradition central to all three works, we believe section A of *Thomas the Contender* occupies a median position in the stream of the ascetic Syrian Thomas-tradition as we move from the *Gospel of Thomas* to the *Acts of Thomas*.

First of all, section A of *Thomas the Contender* occupies a median position in terms of the relative dominance of Thomas as a character in the literature bearing his name. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, Thomas appears as the scribe of Jesus' secret words, and only in one episode, Logion 13, does he appear as a genuine character. On the other hand, in the *Acts of Thomas*, Thomas is always and everywhere the central character: apostle to India, recipient of secret words, proclaimer and counselor of abstinence from what is carnal, and, finally, martyr. A median position is now expressed in section A of *Thomas the Contender*. Although Thomas is not here the central character owing to the presence of the Savior as teacher, he is nevertheless the one who through his questions and comments moves the dialogue ahead. In addition, although no activity of his is reported, by the nature of his questions he does in fact contemplate a mission of teaching and exhortation to abstinence. Conversely, where Thomas dominates a work, the Savior's role is reduced: in the *Gospel of Thomas* he is ostensible author of and central character of every episode; in the *Acts* he only occasionally appears to comfort and instruct Thomas in times of crisis, and in fact appears to others in Thomas' likeness. Section A of *Thomas the Contender* strikes a happy medium by presenting the Savior as merely the dominant participant in a dialogue.

Furthermore, the increasing dominance of the figure of Thomas and the corresponding attenuation of that of the Savior bears a noticeable relationship to the kinds of materials used in the composition of each work. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, a long catena of logia of the living Jesus cause him to dominate

the work utterly. In section A of *Thomas the Contender*, a large amount of discourse material uttered by the Savior has been structured into a dialogue which takes place for the benefit of Thomas, who keeps it moving by his questions. Finally, in the *Acts of Thomas*, large blocks of legendary narrative material concerning the exploits of the apostle Thomas (some of which, judging by the varying lengths of the separate rescensions of the *Acts*, had separate histories of transmission) have been combined with prayers and other discursive and hymnic material to yield a document whose intent is to present the life of its dominant figure, Thomas.

Lastly, there is a relationship between these documents exhibited by the theme most clearly common to them other than the Thomas tradition, namely, the negative attitude toward embodied life in the world, particularly the sexual life. Thus in the *Gospel of Thomas*, out of thirteen logia clearly having to do with rejection of the world (22,27,37,42,48,68,69,78,79, 81,110,114), only four center on a rejection of the sexual life: the sexual abstinence motif is present, but not dominant; nor is it explicit, but rather conveyed in enigmatic, metaphorical sayings. In section A of *Thomas the Contender*, the sexual abstinence motif is much more central, portrayed under the metaphor of a burning flame which must be extinguished, and is denigrated as common bestiality pertaining to perishable bodies. In the *Acts of Thomas*, however, the sexual abstinence motif clearly predominates, no longer conveyed in enigmatic metaphors, but explicitly in the form of erotic tales in which lovers are enjoined to continence. As another aspect in the thematic relationship between these documents, one ought further to recall the similarity in the order, noted in the comment on 140:27-141:12, in which similar themes are treated in *Thomas the Contender* and in the *Gospel of Thomas*, respectively.

In view of these comparisons, and at the risk of repetition, I should postulate the existence of a tradition centered on the apostle Thomas, the twin of Jesus and recipient of his secret words, which increasingly regards Thomas as champion and contender in the cause of abstinence from all that is worldly, especially sex. The association of Thomas with the sexual abstinence motif appears to be a growing tradition whose growth parallels the increasing interest in the character of Thomas as

apostle and missionary. Section A of *Thomas the Contender* looks like a product deriving from this stream of ascetic Thomas tradition at a point somewhere between its expression in the *Gospel of Thomas* and in the *Acts of Thomas* respectively. As the provenance of the latter two works seems to be the Gnostic Christianity of East Syria (between Edessa and Mesene), we have assigned section A of the *Book of Thomas the Contender* to the same milieu. A Syrian provenance would have been a suitable host to the sexual abstinence motif of our *Book of Thomas the Contender* since, with the exception of Bardesanes, the great figures of Syrian Christianity (Tatian, Marcion, Mani), as well as its chief literary products under the name of Judas Thomas, strongly contend for such abstinence.

Moreover, it seems quite certain that the tradition naming the apostle Judas, the brother of James (Jude 1), and thus Jesus' brother as "Thomas" (an Aramaic term whose Greek equivalent is "Didymus") meaning "twin," is of Edessene provenance (cf. Syr^C. rdg. "Judas Thomas" for "Judas not Iscariot" of Jn. 14:22; the Edessan Abgar legend of Eus. H.E. 1,13,4). Since on the one hand, the *Gospel of Thomas* contains logia which recur in the Manichaean *Kephalaia*, Manichaean *Psalm-Book*, Mani's *Epistula Fundamenta* (Aug.) as well as in the Turfan fragments, and on the other hand, the use of the *Acts of Thomas* by the Manichees is witnessed by Augustine, it is conjectured that these works are likely of Edessan origin.⁸ Thus the Didymus Judas Thomas tradition contained in them is also likely to have been originally Edessan. Judging from the great age of the *Gospel of Thomas*, perhaps as early as the first half of the second century, since it was known in Egypt at the beginning of the third century in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, the Thomas tradition was, to quote Helmut Koester again: "the oldest form of Christianity in Edessa."⁹ On the other hand, the date now proposed for the origin of the *Acts of Thomas* is, due to evidences of Manichaean redaction (the wedding hymn, epicleris of c. 7, hymn of the pearl)¹⁰ placed between the times of Bardesanes and Mani, or in the first half of the third century. As for section A of *Thomas the Contender*, we can at least say that it is later than the *Gospel of Thomas*, but, because of its intermediate position in terms of the dominance of roles of the Savior and Thomas respectively, and because of its less elaborate structure,

probably earlier than the *Acts of Thomas*. However, its asceticism more nearly approaches that of the *Acts* than that of the *Gospel of Thomas*; indeed the abstinence motif seems to become more prominent in Syria as we move from Tatian to Mani.

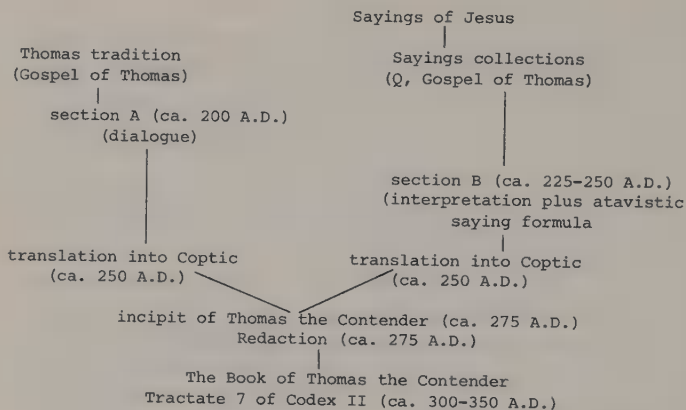
We thus date the composition of the original section A at ca. 200 A.D.

It now remains to deal with the redaction of sections A and B which yielded the completed work, *The Book of Thomas the Contender*, in its present form.

Because the Coptic style of the *incipit* differs from that of the rest of the document, and because the *incipit* carries forward from section B its designation as "words" of the Savior, the combination of A with B must have occurred in the Coptic stage of their transmission, not at some point during their existence in Greek dress. Since the Coptic style of sections A and B is very similar, they were present to the scribal redactor of A and B perhaps in the same document, or at least in documents copied, maybe even translated from Greek to Coptic, by the same scribe. At this point the redactor of A and B prefixed A to B, placed the original title of A at the end of the whole, and composed a fresh *incipit* title to the whole using the original title of section B as his model. This activity must have occurred at a time and place where both A and B would have been translated into Coptic and in close proximity to one another. It is probable that the redaction was accomplished in Egypt, and most probably upper-Egypt, to judge from the Coptic style of the freshly-composed *incipit*; it is written, with the exception of one word-form (ⲙⲙⲁⲩⲧ for ⲙⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ) in standard Sahidic, the dialect of upper-Egypt.

Judging from the Subachmimically-influenced Sahidic dialect of the body of the tractate (sections A and B), these were translated into Coptic slightly north of the area of their final redaction.

Finally, the completed tractate was included, perhaps by yet another scribe, at the end of Codex II of the Nag Hammadi corpus. Thus we obtain the following family tree of the *Book of Thomas the Contender*.



We have now reached the end of a study of what seems to be a most valuable document, valuable as a representative of the Thomas-tradition, and as evidence which it provides for characterizing the development of literary *genres* in early Christianity as vehicles for conveying and interpreting the teachings of Jesus. It is also of value, though less strikingly, as a representative of a brand of Christian ascetic teaching with gnostic features, but which cannot be called gnostic in the same sense as the teaching of other dialogues of the Resurrected with his disciples. In these ways, *Thomas the Contender*, in its capacity as a representative of an intermediate stage of the development of the Thomas tradition, the gnostic dialogue and gnostic asceticism, makes a contribution to an understanding of the syncretistic Christianity of the first three centuries. While an attempt has been made at completeness, there has been no attempt on the part of the author to be final. It is hoped that this study of the *Book of Thomas the Contender* will, both by its successes and failures, make a real contribution to the ongoing study of Gnosticism and early Christianity.

NOTES

¹Kurt Rudolph, 'Der gnostische "Dialog" als literarisches Genus,' *Probleme der koptischen Literatur* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge der Martin-Luther-Universität; Halle-Wittenberg, 1968).

²In an unpublished paper "On the Gattung of Mark (and John)," p. 19.

³*Logoi Sophon: On the Gattung of Q*, expanded E. T. of "ΛΟΓΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΝ," *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann zum 80. Geburtstag*, ed. Erich Dinkler (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964), pp. 77-96.

⁴Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958), p. 42.

⁵Cf. the definition of *gnosis* in the proposal of the Messina Colloquium on Gnosticism in *Le Origini dello Gnosticismo: Colloquio di Messina, 13-18 aprile 1966.*, Testi e Discussioni, Pubblicati a Cura di Ugo Bianchi (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), p. xxvii: "The *gnosis* of Gnosticism involves the divine identity of the knower (the Gnostic), the known (the divine substance of one's transcendent self) and the means by which one knows (*gnosis* as an implicit divine faculty is to be awakened and actualized)."

⁶Thus, Jonas, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁷See the comment on 138:7-21.

⁸See H.-C. Puech in Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 283, 299 and G. Bornkamm, *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 427.

⁹HTR 58, 1965, p. 293.

¹⁰So Bornkamm, Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 441.

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