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978-1-107-65170-8 - The Sayings of Jesus: From Oxyrhynchus
Edited with Introduction, Critical Apparatus and Commentary by
Hugh G. Evelyn White

Excerpt

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THE PROLOGUE

οὔτοι οἱ {οι} λόγοι οἱ [ζωοποιοὶ οὐς ἐλά-]
λησεν Ἰη(σοῦ)ς ὁ ζῶν κ[αὶ ὀφθεῖς τοῖς δέκα]
καὶ Θωμᾶ. καὶ εἶπεν [αὐτοῖς· πᾶς ὅστις]
ἂν τῶν λόγων τούτ[ων ἀκούσῃ, θανάτου]
οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται.

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1. ΟΙΤΟΙΟΙΟΙ, *P*: οὔτοι οἱ {οι}, *Swete*, *Heinrici*, *Taylor*: {οι} τοῖοι οἱ, *GH*, *Wessely*: ζωοποιοὶ, *Bruston*: θανμάσιοι, *GH*: θανμαστοί, *Lock*: ἀληθινοί, *Swete*, *Taylor*: ἔσχατοι, *Hicks*: τελευταῖοι, *Wilamowitz*: ἐκλεκτοί, ἐκλελεγμένοι *Heinrici*: ἀληθεῖς, *Batiffol*. 2. καὶ ὀφθεῖς τοῖς δέκα, *Ed.*: κύριος *or* καὶ ἀποθανών, *GH*: κύριος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις (οἱ τοῖς ἰ) μαθηταῖς, *Bartlet*: καὶ ὁ κύριος, *Heinrici*: ...Ἰούδα τῆ | καὶ Θωμᾶ, *Lake*: καὶ ἀληθινός, *Lock*: καὶ μένων Φιλίππῳ, *Bruston*: κρυφίως Φιλίππῳ, *Batiffol*: καὶ δόξα αὐτοῖς καὶ θαῦμα, *Wessely*: κατενώπιον Ματθαῖα (?), *Wilamowitz*. 3. αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος· ὅστις, *Swete*: διδάσκων· ἐάν τις, *Lock*: αὐτοῖς· ἀμὴν λέγω, *Taylor*. 1-5. τοῖοι οἱ λόγοι οὐς ἐλά|λησεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ ζῶν Κηφᾶ | καὶ Θωμᾶ. καὶ εἶπεν· μακάριος ὁς | ἂν τῶν λ. τούτων ἀκούσῃ, θανάτου | ο. μ. γ.: *Hilgenfeld*.

These are the life-giving Sayings which Jesus spake who liveth and was seen of the Ten and of Thomas. And He said to them: Whosoever heareth these Sayings shall not taste of death.

1. οὔτοι οἱ [οι] λόγοι. The first syllable¹ is certainly οἱ (with an ι, and not with a damaged γ as *Heinrici* and *Taylor* supposed). *GH* consider the possibility of the correction οὔτοι, but prefer to omit the initial syllable and to read τοῖοι οἱ. The insertion of a superfluous initial syllable, however, seems very doubtful, whereas an additional οἱ may well have crept in after οὔτοι οἱ. The correction

of *Swete* and *Heinrici* is certainly more natural than τοῖοι = τοῖοιδε, supported though this is by late prose use, and is strengthened by the parallel οὔτοι οἱ λόγοι μου οὐς ἐλάλησα πρὸς ὑμᾶς² quoted by the discoverers; and to this—remembering that the ‘Prologue’ is in reality no more than a diffuse title—we may add *Baruch* ἰ ι καὶ οὔτοι οἱ λόγοι τοῦ βιβλίου οὐς ἐγραψεν *Βαρούχ*.

¹ *Ox. Pap.* iv p. 4.² *Luke* xxiv 44.

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ζωοποιῶν. Such restorations as those of Hicks and Wilamowitz are impossible since most if not all the Sayings are demonstrably pre-resurrectional. The Prologue—as a Prologue—has every appearance of aiming at the terse and forceful, and on this ground epithets like ‘wonderful,’ ‘true,’ and the rest, must be discarded. Swete, indeed, suggests ἀληθινοί, comparing *Aproc.* xxii 6 οἱ τοὶ οἱ λόγοι πιστοὶ καὶ ἀληθινοί; but the epithet used attributively, as here, is weak. Something like ζωοποιῶν seems to be required¹. The phrases ὁ ζῶν and θανάτου οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται make the idea of *life* very prominent in the Prologue, and the second of these especially seems to be intended to make good some claim made by the Editor for the Sayings. This claim must have been conveyed in the lost epithet of λόγοι, and ζωοποιῶν seems most suitable. Parallels are plentiful: *John* vi 63 τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιῶν... τὰ ῥήματα ἃ ἐγὼ λελάληκα ὑμῖν πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή; *Psalms* cxviii (cxix) τὸ λόγιόν σου ἐξησέν με; *Barnabas* vi οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ πίστει τῆς εὐαγγελίας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ ζωοποιούμενοι ζήσομεν; lastly, the Fourth Gospel concludes (xx 31) with a claim exactly similar to the claim of the Prologue: ταῦτα δὲ γέγραπται ἵνα πιστεύσητε... καὶ ἵνα πιστεύοντες ζωὴν ἔχητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ².

2. The restoration of this line is of the greatest importance, since here and in l. 3 all editors find a declaration of the ultimate au-

thority for the Sayings, and consider that this, whether true or false, has an important bearing on the origin of the Collection.

The published conjectures³ deal with two points which are, or seem to be, more or less distinct: (a) What followed ὁ ζῶν? (b) Who was coupled with Thomas? All editors take it as granted that Θωμᾶ depends on ἐλάλησεν.

(a) GH⁴ suggested—but with equal reserve in both cases—κύριος or καὶ ἀποθανών, and Swete⁵ prefers the latter of these, for which cf. *Aproc.* i 18. Heinrici⁶ thinks ὁ ζῶν καὶ κύριος a likely solution, but finds the expression only in Gnostic writings. Lock⁷ supports his ὁ ζῶν καὶ ἀληθινός by reference to the Litany of Sarapion:—ὁ θεὸς... ὁ τὸν χαρακτήρα τὸν ζῶντα καὶ ἀληθινὸν γεννήσας; but ἀληθινός was probably chosen in that passage as an appropriate epithet for χαρακτήρ rather than as ordinarily connected with ὁ ζῶν.

(b) Who was associated with Thomas? GH⁸ suggested Philip or Matthias, as the *Pistis Sophia* represents these with Thomas as recipients of a special revelation; and Batiffol and Brunton have followed this suggestion. Professor Lake's brilliant conjecture⁹ Ἰουδᾶ τῷ | καὶ Θωμᾶ has the advantage of leaving Thomas' authority for the Sayings undivided, and is supported by the Ἰουδᾶς ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς of the *Acta Thomae*. All these proposals, however, are checked by an insuperable obstacle—the fact that the use of one (or two)

¹ When I proposed this (*J.T.S.* xiii 74) I was unaware that Bruston had already made the same suggestion (*Fragm. d'un anc. recueil de Paroles de Jésus* p. 13).

² Compare further *Aproc.* xxii 18 seq.; ps.-Athan. *Δόγος Σωτηρίας* X. (*ad init.*) ὁ μακάριος ψυχῆ, ἢ ἀκούσασα τούτους τοὺς λόγους... καὶ ποιούσα, μαρτύρομαι παντὶ τῷ ἀκούοντι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα καὶ ποιῶντι, ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ γραφήσεται ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ζωῆς.

³ The reading καὶ Θωμᾶ is almost universally admitted. Wessely alone (*P.O.* iv p. 161) reads καὶ δόξα αὐτοῖς | καὶ θαῦμα; but the original does not bear out this suggestion, which in itself is unsatisfactory.

⁴ *Ox. Pap.* iv p. 4.

⁵ *Theol. Stud. u. Kritisken* 1905 p. 192.

⁶ *Op. cit.* p. 4.

⁷ *Expos. Times* xv 490.

⁸ *Ch. Quarterly Rev.* LVIII p. 426.

⁹ *Hibbert Journ.* III p. 339.

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names distinctly excludes the main body of the Apostles. We cannot assume that the Editor meant otherwise any more than that Barnabas¹ writing *γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς δέκα λόγοις ἐν οἷς ἐλάλησεν... πρὸς Μωσῆν* meant that others than Moses received the Ten Commandments. Yet if we judge of the Sayings—as we must—by their Synoptic parallels, we must conclude that neither were they the fruit of private revelation, nor have they any connection with Thomas: Saying v offers the most obvious proof of this point. The difficulty is so real that Swete² is driven to think that the Prologue is the opening of one of twelve groups of Sayings each of which was conventionally attributed to one of the Apostles, citing the title of the *Didache*, *Διδαχὴ κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, and suggesting that the real title of the Oxyrhynchus Collection may have been *Λόγοι Ἰησοῦ πρὸς τοὺς δώδεκα*. Bruston³ takes a desperate position maintaining that the Prologue is really the colophon to a preceding section of ‘Words of Eternal Life’ addressed to Philip and Thomas,—a theory which the arrangement of the papyrus alone puts out of court. Nor is the difficulty which we are discussing surmounted by Bartlet’s *τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἢ τοῖς ἑ μθηταῖς | καὶ Θωμᾶ*. This restoration singles out Thomas (presumably as the recorder of the Sayings) without excluding the rest of the Apostles: cf. *John* xx 26 ἦσαν ἔσω οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Θωμᾶς μετ’ αὐτῶν, *Mark* xvi 7 εἶπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ. But it is hard to see why Thomas should be claimed as the recorder of Sayings with which tradition has never connected him:

and if the Editor really claimed the authority of Thomas, he would surely have done so categorically.

We are therefore driven to doubt that the dependence of Θωμᾶ on ἐλάλησεν is inevitable. Two passages suggest another form of restoration. *Mark* xvi 11 *καὶ οἱ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι ζῆ καὶ ἐβέβη ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἠπίστησαν*, and *Acts* i 3 *παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα... ὁπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς*⁴. In each case the statement that Jesus lives is followed immediately by quotation of proof: he was seen by such and such persons. These passages together with *John* xx 26 (quoted above) suggest the restoration given in the text⁵, which makes the reference to Thomas natural and easy. The Editor, thinking, doubtless, of the appearance to Thomas as recorded by St John, says in effect: ‘These are the words of One who lives now and once gave proof of his immortality by appearing not only to the Ten, but even to the Apostle who had most strongly declared his scepticism.’ The sharply marked present and aorist participles (cp. *Mark* xvi 11, quoted above) contrast, of course, a continuous, permanent state and a past, momentary action respectively.

3. The restoration of the first half of the lacuna, though not of the greatest importance, is interesting. The discoverers proposed *αὐτοῖς*, and this is perhaps the most acceptable: it involves the assumption, indeed, that the Editor has made a mistake (since in *John* viii 48 sqq. the Saying is addressed to the Pharisees); but such an assumption is reasonable enough on general grounds and is supported by the verbal errors in the Saying itself. Doubtless he was quoting from memory. The *αὐτῶ* of Swete

¹ xv.² *Op. cit.* p. 494.³ *Fragm. d'un anc. recueil de Paroles de Jésus* p. 12.⁴ See further 1 *Cor.* xv 4-8: *Luke* xxii 34.⁵ Alternatives are *καὶ φανεῖς τοῖς δέκα* and *καὶ φανερωθεῖς τοῖς ἑ*.

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cannot be accepted. If right it would imply that the quotation is from a document, now lost, in which the Saying was actually addressed to Thomas; for the substitution of a definite person, Thomas, for the Pharisees as addressee could only be accounted for by the theory of defective memory.

Lock would supply *διδάσκων*, in imitation of the 'citation-formula' of St Paul and Clement of Rome. But, as I have tried to show in the Introduction, the Prologue is something very different from that formula, if indeed it can properly be called a formula.

While reading *αὐτοῖς* in the Text, I venture to suggest *αὐτός*, believing that emphasis may account for the peculiar position of the pronoun¹. In this connection it will be well, at the risk of partial repetition, to consider the whole train of thought of the Prologue. I have already argued that *life* is the dominant note, and if the conjectured epithet of the Sayings, 'life-giving,' is right, it was natural for the Editor to develop, enforce, and justify the implied claim. If I am not mistaken, the following paraphrase will represent his idea: 'These are the life-giving words of Jesus—life-giving, because they were spoken by one who lives for ever, as he proved by appearing after his death and burial to his disciples, so that even the most sceptical was convinced. And Jesus himself and no other claimed precisely this virtue for his words.' In such a form the Prologue is at least rid of the dangerous and extremely difficult claims to the authority of Thomas, while the

thought seems reasonable and apposite. The Prologue, then, is, as I have said, no more than a diffuse title or head-line like *Mark* i 1 or *Baruch* i 1 (quoted above); but the Editor was carried away into a vindication of the claim he had made for special quality of his Collection.

One point of some interest remains to be examined. What relation does the citation (ll. 3–5) bear to its Johannine parallel? The passage in question (*John* viii 51–52) is as follows: *ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν, λέγω ὑμῖν ἐάν τις τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐμὸν τηρήσῃ, θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. εἶπον αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ... καὶ σὺ λέγεις ἐάν τις τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσῃ οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται θανάτου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.* The Jewish perversion of the Saying is decidedly closer to the version in the Prologue than is the actual Saying. It is probable, as we have seen, that the Editor is actually quoting from the Fourth Gospel²: how, then, are we to explain the divergencies? GH³ note that in the Synoptics (*Matth.* xvi 28, *Mark* ix 1, *Luke* ix 27) *θανάτου γεύεσθαι* denotes physical death; and Dr Taylor is certainly right in saying⁴ that in the Johannine parallel the Jews perverted the Saying 'he shall not die spiritually' (*θ. οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ*) into 'he shall not die physically' (*θ. οὐ μὴ γεύσῃται*). The citation in the Prologue is therefore erroneous as it stands. But the error seems due simply to uncritical quotation from memory. The Editor failed to perceive the distinction between the two expressions, and perhaps the Synoptists had made the second phrase the more familiar to him. Similarly, inexact memory and

¹ Cf. *Mark* iv 27 *ὡς οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτός*.

² The Prologue (the work of the Editor of the Collection) is of course later than the actual Sayings, and therefore stands on a different level in its relation to the Canonical Gospels.

³ *Ox. Pap.* iv pp. 3–4.

⁴ *Oxyrh. Sayings* p. 4.

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confusion will adequately explain the use of ἀκούσῃ (which is, of course, certain) for St John's τηρήσῃ: cp. *John* v 24 ὁ τὸν λόγον μου ἀκούων... ἔχει ζωὴν αἰώνιον. τούτων seems to

be an adaptation, made consciously or unconsciously to apply the Logion directly to the Sayings of the Collection.

SAYING I

λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·

μὴ παυσάσθω ὁ ζη[τῶν τοῦ ζητεῖν ἕως ἄν]
εὔρη, καὶ ὅταν εὔρη [θαμβηθήσεται, καὶ θαμ-]
βηθεὶς βασιλεύσει, κα[ὶ βασιλεύσας ἀναπα-]
ήσεται.

6. ζητῶν τὴν ζωὴν ἕως ἄν, *GH*: τοῦ ζητεῖν, *Heinrici*: ἐκζητεῖν ὡς τὴν σοφίαν, *Taylor*: τὴν ἀληθείαν, *Lock*: τὸν πατέρα, *Swete*: τὸν κύριον, *Bruston*: με..., *Batiffol*. 6-9. μὴ παυσ. ὁ ζ. ἕως ἄν | εὔρη· καὶ ὅταν εὔρη θαμ|βηθεὶς β. καὶ ἀναπα|ήσεται, *Hilgenfeld*. 7. θαμβεῖσθω, *Swete*. 8. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΗ, *P*.

Jesus saith :

Let not him who seeketh cease from seeking until he hath found ;
And when he hath found, he shall be amazed ;
And when he hath been amazed, he shall reign ;
And when he hath reigned he shall have rest.

This Saying is quoted with very slight divergencies by Clement of Alexandria¹, so that the restoration of the discoverers is, in all essentials, certain. As they observed, a word not quoted by Clement must have followed ζητῶν and must have been either an object or something dependent upon παυσάσθω². They suggested tentatively τὴν ζωὴν, which is not unattractive. But the verb θαμβεῖσθαι gives the impression that something less abstract is required—something which will

produce *amazement*. Lock's τὴν ἀληθείαν³ and Taylor's τὴν σοφίαν seem too frigid and trite. The former supports his conjecture by reference to the *Clementine Homilies* (III 52): διὸ καὶ ἐκβόα λέγων· δεῦτε πρὸς ἐμὲ πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες· τουτέστιν οἱ τὴν ἀληθείαν ζητοῦντες καὶ μὴ εὗρισκοντες αὐτήν... καὶ ἄλλοτε· ζητεῖτε καὶ εὗρίσκετε, ὡς μὴ προδήλως κειμένης τῆς ἀληθείας. But in this passage it seems unlikely that the homilist is interpreting two familiar Sayings by

¹ *Strom.* II 9. 45 (quoted below, p. 7, *q.v.*).³ *Ch. Quart. Rev.* LVIII 422.² *Ox. Pap.* IV p. 5.

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means of a third and less known utterance: the explanation has rather the air of being his own. And the supplement is too long for the lacuna. Swete's *τὸν πατέρα* and Bruston's *τὸν κύριον* (for which cp. *Isaiah* lv 6) chime ill with what follows: it is a little too obvious to say that to find the Father will cause amazement.

Moreover, these restorations, if accepted, would make it hard to understand why Clement should have omitted a positive object such as 'truth' or 'wisdom.' But Clement may well have dropped out some word or phrase which was slightly redundant and seemed to him to carry no particular weight: Heinrich's *τοῦ ζητεῖν* is exactly such a phrase and has therefore been adopted in our text.

It may be objected that this leaves the meaning of the clause too indefinite: what is the object or aim of search? The answer is, that no precise definition of the object sought was intended. The search is that vague aspiration of humanity after something above and beyond itself—the *ἀποκαρδοκία τῆς κτίσεως* of *Romans* viii 19. To a pious Jew of the Old Dispensation this aspiration might embody itself in the expectation of a Messiah (cp. *Luke* ii 25), though this specialized form of the idea is, of course, far narrower than the spirit of the present Saying. It is, in fact, the fulfilment of the vague, instinctive longing or aspiration of mankind—in Pauline phrase the revelation¹ of the glory which is to be—which provokes amazement, a condition of mind necessarily preceding ability to partake in the Kingdom itself.

Harnack understands *θαμβηθήσεται* in the sense of joyful surprise, comparing the Parable of the

Hidden Treasure (*Matth.* xiii 24). This parallel exactly illustrates the transition between *εὐρεῖν* and *θαμβείσθαι*, though *θάμβος* should rather mean *awed* amazement² as in *Luke* v 9: *ἔξελθε ἀπ' ἐμοῦ κτλ. θάμβος γὰρ περίεσχεν αὐτόν*; *Mark* xvi 5 *ἔξεθαμβήθησαν* (of the women at the Sepulchre).

The Saying as a whole is new, but every part of it falls into line with the Synoptic record of the teaching of Jesus. The first clause is close enough to the familiar *ζητεῖτε καὶ εὐρήσετε* of *Matth.* vii 7 and *Luke* xi 9; and the discoverers also quote *Matth.* vi. 33 *ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν [τοῦ θεοῦ]*. For the second stage we have no such verbal parallel. Yet the sense is quite in harmony with the Synoptic account. Amazement, as Harnack remarks, follows finding in the Parable of the Hidden Treasure³; and the same Parable covers the third clause also, for in both amazement is followed by enjoyment of the thing found. The final clause echoes the promise of *Matth.* xi 28 *δεῦτε πρὸς με... καὶ ἂν ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς*: to come to Christ is synonymous with attaining the Kingdom, and both the First Gospel and the Saying promise rest to those who do so.

In l. 7 Swete has proposed to read *θαμβείσθω* as shorter than the future (which the discoverers regard as somewhat long for the space to be filled), and because the imperative is used in the initial clause. This seems unnecessary: the future is apparently possible graphically—and an error such as *θαμβήσεται* is quite possible,—and the context surely requires it. Wonder follows upon finding as a natural consequence and not as a state to be induced.

¹ *Romans*, viii 18.

² See Swete *Exp. Times* xv 491.

³ Joy is a concomitant of finding in the Parable because of the nature of the thing found.

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11. 8-9. ἀναπαύσεται is a vulgar form of ἀναπαύσεται: it occurs in the parallel Clem. Alex. *Strom.* II 9 45, and *Aproc.* xiv 13¹.

The popularity of the saying is proved by the number of parallels in patristic and apocryphal writings. The most important of these are two citations by Clement of Alexandria:

(1) *Strom.* II 9 45 ταύτης δὲ (sc. τῆς ἀληθείας) ἀρχὴ τὸ θαυμάσαι τὰ πράγματα, ὡς Πλάτων ἐν Θεαιτήτῳ λέγει (p. 155 D) καὶ Ματθίας ἐν τοῖς Παραδόσεσι παραιῶν· ‘θαύμασον τὰ παρόντα’ ἢ κἀν τῷ καθ’ Ἑβραίων εὐαγγελίῳ ‘ὁ θαυμάσας βασιλεύσει’ — γέγραπται — ‘καὶ ὁ βασιλεύσας ἀναπαύσεται.’

(2) *Strom.* V 14 Ἴσον γὰρ τοῦτοιοι (Plato *Tim.* p. 90) ἐκεῖνα δύναται· ‘οὐ παύσεται ὁ ζητῶν ἕως ἂν εὐρῆ· εὐρῶν δὲ θαμβηθήσεται· θαμβηθεὶς δὲ βασιλεύσει· βασιλεύσας δὲ ἐπαναπαύσεται.’

Two questions now arise: (a) which of these two citations is the more faithful quotation from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*? (b) Is the more exact citation independent of or identical with our Saying?

(a) It is probable that the former passage is a substantial and not a verbal quotation from the *Gospel*. Clement is putting the Platonic doctrine that wonder begets knowledge: assuming for the moment that the longer version is that which was actually found in the *Gospel*, may we not fairly argue that Clement would have reduced it to the short form found in *Strom.* II? For the first two clauses of the longer form would be omitted as irrelevant; and θαυμάσας would be substituted for θαμβηθεὶς, because the latter, while essential in the citation as such, was unsuitable in Clement's application of it—θάμ-

βος being an emotion which occupies the mind exclusively and therefore not conducive to receptivity. We may remark also that the longer version is far more Synoptic in style² than the shorter.

While, therefore, absolute certainty is impossible, it seems in the highest degree probable that Clement's shorter version is a modification—made by himself—of the longer form, and that the longer form is the true citation from the *Hebrew gospel*.

(b) In what relation, then, does the longer form stand to the present Saying? In Clement we have οὐ παύσεται—εὐρῶν—ἐπαναπαύσεται for the μὴ πανόσθω—ὄταν εὐρῆ—ἀναπαύσεται of the Saying. Such variants as these which carry with them no difference of meaning are such as occur naturally wherever quotation is made from memory. They are common enough in early Christian literature to justify us in treating the instances under consideration as negligible, and consequently deciding that the Oxyrhynchus Saying is identical with a Saying recorded in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. Further, in the Introduction, as also at various points in the Commentary, reason has been shown for regarding the Sayings as extracts. Coupling, then, the conclusion that the Sayings are extracts with the identity of Saying 1 and Clement's citation from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, we reach the important conclusion—which, I believe, is universally admitted, that Saying 1 is quoted from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*.

The other citations are less direct, and for the most part do little more than show how popular the Saying was. (1) *Clement* II 6

¹ Cp. Heinrich *op. cit.* p. 194.

² As we should expect a citation from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*. For the climax-form cp. *Matth.* v 25.

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ἡ δὲ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ Χριστοῦ μεγάλη καὶ θαυμαστή ἐστὶν καὶ ἀνάπανσι τῆς μελλούσης βασιλείας καὶ ζωῆς αἰωνίου. Resch thinks this passage is dependent on Clement *Strom.* II 9; but in any case the passage unmistakably refers to the last clause of the Saying: Taylor¹ believes that θαυμαστή proves reference to the preceding clause also, a view which would oblige us to regard the passage as confirming Clement's shorter citation as the genuine form. But to say 'the promise is wonderful' is very different from saying 'the promise is attained through wonder,' as the Saying does. 'Clement' doubtless uses θαυμαστή without any reference to our Saying². (2) *Acta Thomae* (ed. Tischendorf) οἱ ἀξίως μεταλαμβάνοντες τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀγαθῶν ἀναπαύονται καὶ ἀναπαύμενοι βασιλεύουσιν. Though ἀνάπανσις and βασιλεία are reversed, it is clear that here again the reference is to the final clause of the Saying. (3) *Evangel. Thomae* (ed. Tischendorf) Α. ν. ἀρκετὸν σοὶ ἐστὶ ζητεῖν καὶ μὴ εὐρεῖν. This passage has not hitherto been connected with

the Saying. It seems to mean 'It is bad enough that, with all your search (expectation) as a pious Jew for the Messiah, you have failed to recognise him when he is before you. Do not make it worse by ill-treating me,' and so agrees exactly with the explanation of the initial clause in our Saying given above. (4) It seems at least possible that in *Pistis Sophia* (§ 251 ed. Petermann) there is an adapted version of Saying 1: Schwartz's translation of the Coptic is as follows: 'et dicite iis: ne remitte quaerere per diem et noctem, et ne ανακτε (?= ἀνέχετε) vos usque dum inveneritis μυστήρια purgatores quae purgabant vos ut reddant vos ελκρινές lumen, ut euntes in altitudinem κληρονομήσητε lumen mei regni.' If we leave out the Gnostic dressing of this passage, the remainder *ne remitte quaerere... usque dum inveneritis... ut euntes in altitudinem κληρονομήσητε (lumen) mei regni*, is obviously very close to the Oxyrhynchus Saying; indeed the first clause of the Coptic is verbally almost identical with the first clause of the Greek.

SAYING II

λέγει Ἰ[ούδας· τίνες ἄρα]
οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς, [καὶ πότε ἐλεύσεται] 10
ἡ βασιλεία (ἡ) ἐν οὐρα[νοῖς οὐσα; λέγει Ἰη(σοῦ)ς·]
τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ, καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅ-]
τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ιν ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ]
οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης, οὗτοι οἱ ἔλκον-]
τες ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν] 15
ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι· [καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν]

¹ *O.S.* p. 6.² Cp. Hippol. *Comm. in Dan.* IV 60 τοῦ οὐδὲν κυρίου διηγουμένου... περὶ τῆς μελλούσης τῶν ἁγίων βασιλείας ὡς εἴη ἐνδοξος καὶ θαυμαστή.

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SAYINGS OF JESUS

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γνῶ ταύτην εὐρή[σει· καὶ εὐρόντες αὐτήν]
 ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσεσθε [ὅτι υἱοὶ καὶ κληρονόμοι]
 ἔστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ π[αυτοκράτορος, καὶ]
 γνῶσ(ε)σθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν[θ(ε)ῶ ὄντας καὶ θ(ε)ὸν ἐν ὑμῖν.] 20
 καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ἡ πτῶ[λις θ(ε)οῦ].

9 ff. λέγει Ἰησοῦς· ἐρωτᾶτε τίνες οἱ εἰ. ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν εἰ ἡ β. ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔστιν;.....τὰ π. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅτι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἔστιν ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οἱ ἰ. τῆς θαλάσσης, οὗτοι οἱ ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἔστι καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν γνῶ ταύτην εὐρήσει.....ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσεσθε καὶ εἰδήσετε ὅτι υἱοὶ ἔστε ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ παυτοκράτορος...γνῶσ(ε)σθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν.....καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ἡ πτῶ....., *GH*.

λ. Ἰησοῦς· μὴ φοβείτωσαν οἱ εἰ. ὑ. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ὑμῶν γὰρ ἡ β. ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται τὰ π., *Bartlett*.

λ. Ἰησοῦς· ἐρωτᾶτε τίνες οἱ εἰ. ἡμᾶς ἄνω εἰς οὐρανὸν εἰ ἡ β. ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔστιν; ἀμὴν λέγω, *Taylor*.

λ. Ἰησοῦς· τίνες εἰσιν οἱ εἰ. ὑ. πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν; ἡ β. ἐν οὐρανῷ· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ π. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ πᾶν κτίσμα ὅτι ὑ. τ. γ. ἔστιν καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄδῃ καὶ οἱ ἰ. τῆς θαλάσσης, οὗτοι οἱ ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς, *Swele*.

λ. Ἰησοῦς· πῶς λέγουσιν οἱ εἰ. ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰ κριτήρια ὅτι ἡ β. ἐν οὐρανῷ ἔστιν; μὴ δύναται τὰ π. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐπιγιγνώσκειν τί ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἔστιν; καὶ τί ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ οἱ ἰ. τῆς θαλάσσης; οὕτως οἱ ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία ὁμῶς μέντοι ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἔστιν, καὶ ὅς ἐάν τὰ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν γνῶ, ταύτην εὐρήσει.....ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσεσθε ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ υἱοὶ ἔστε ὑ. τοῦ π. τοῦ τελείου ἐν οὐρανῷ. γνῶσεσθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὑ. ἔστε, ἢ προεῖσθε, *Deissmann*.

λ. Ἰησοῦς· μὴ λέγητε, διατὶ οἱ εἰ. ἡ. εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐπειδὴ ἡ β. ἐν οὐρανῷ ὑπάρχει· μήποτε τὰ π. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσιν διατὶ ὑ. τ. γ. ἔστιν ἐρπετὰ ἢ διατὶ οἱ ἰ. τῆς θαλάσσης; τοῖοι οἱ ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐ. ὑ. ἔστι. ὅστις ὄν ἑαυτὸν γνῶ ταύτην εὐρήσει καὶ ὅταν ὑμεῖς ἐ. γνῶσεσθε, εἰδήσετε ὅτι υἱοὶ ἔστε ὑ. τ. π. τ. παντός, καὶ ὅταν γνῶσεσθε ἐ. ἐκ θεοῦ, τότε οὐράνιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ἡ (?) περοφόροι, *Bruston*.

λέγει Ἰ.· τίνες οἱ ἔλκοντες ἡμᾶς εἰσιν; ἡ β. ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ π. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. τί ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἔστιν; οἱ ἰ. τῆς θαλάσσης ἔλκοντες ὑμᾶς. καὶ ἡ βασιλεία ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἔστιν. ὅς ἂν ἑαυτὸν γνῶ ταύτην εὐρήσει. ἑαυτοὺς γνῶσεσθε· ὑμεῖς ἔστε τοῦ π. τοῦ τελείου. γνῶσθε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ἡ πτῶ, *Hilgenfeld*.

λ. Ἰησοῦς· αἰτεῖτε, *Lock*: λ. Ἰησοῦς· μὴ εἰπῆτε, *Bartlett*.

9-11. λέγει Ἰησοῦς μὴ φοβείτωσαν οἱ εἰ. ὑ. εἰς κριτήρια· ὑμῶν γὰρ ἡ β. ἐν οὐρανῷ, *Wessely*.

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SAYINGS OF JESUS

17. εὐρήσει· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀληθῶς, *Swete*: εὐρήσει καὶ εὐρόντες αὐτήν, *Heinrici*. 18. ΓΝΩΘΕΘΑΙ, *P*, corr. *GH*: υἱοὶ καὶ θυγατέρες, *Swete*. 19. ὑψίστου· καὶ ὑμεῖς ὄταν, *Bartlet*. 20. ἐν τῇ πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ, *Blass*: ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν, *Heinrici*: ἐντὸς τῆς πόλεως ὄντας, *Swete*: ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὄντας, *Taylor*. 21. ἡ πόλις, *Blass*, *GH*, *Swete*: ἡπτημένοι, *Heinrici*: ἡ πόλις θεοῦ, *Bethune Baker*.

Judas saith: 'Who, then, are they who draw us? And when shall come the Kingdom which is in Heaven?' Jesus saith: 'The birds of the air and, of the beasts, whatsoever is under the earth or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea; these are they which draw you. And the Kingdom of Heaven is within you; and whosoever shall know himself shall find it. And when ye have found it, ye shall know that ye are sons and heirs of the almighty Father, and ye shall know that ye are in God and God in you. And ye are the city of God.'

Critics differ widely as to the meaning to be attached to the participle *ἔλκοντες* (l. 10), and this disagreement together with the mutilation of the Saying and the absence of any general parallel to the whole, has given rise to a large number of reconstructions.

The renderings of *ἔλκοντες* may be grouped as follows: (1) *GH*¹ and *Swete*² understand 'attract' or 'influence'; (2) *Taylor*³ takes the word in its literal and physical sense, 'pull' or 'draw'; (3) *Bartlet*⁴ would interpret it 'persecute'; (4) *Deissmann* renders 'drag' (*sc.* before the judgement-seat). These views can be considered only briefly. *Taylor*'s rendering must be rejected on the ground of the extreme *naïveté* it assumes on the part of the author of this Saying. That the birds of the air might be said to draw us up to Heaven, is perhaps admissible as a poetic

figure and not without a classical echo; but to claim that the beasts 'on the earth and under the earth' also perform this service, borders on the ludicrous, while the admission of the fishes of the sea to the same privilege is surely intolerable⁵. *Bartlet*'s reconstruction fails on the grounds given by *GH*, that authority over brute-creation hardly justifies the command 'fear not them who persecute you.' And it should be noticed that the parallel advanced by *Bartlet* from *Barnab.* vi 12 and 18 attributes this authority to mankind in general (following *Genesis* i 26). *Deissmann*'s restoration⁶ yields to none in ingenuity; but is it likely that unbelievers would be represented as making such a taunt? Surely the whole course of early Christian history shows that those who 'dragged Christians before the judgement-seats' failed to

¹ *Ox. Pap.* iv p. 7.² *Expos. Times* xv 491.³ *Oxyrh. Sayings* pp. 9-10.⁴ In *Ox. Pap.* l.c.⁵ In *J. T. S.* vii p. 548, however, Dr *Taylor* compares *Philo de Praem. et Poen.* (M. ii 415, 421) to the effect that by contemplation of the world and its order men may rise up as on a sort of heavenly ladder to the thought of God.⁶ *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* (1904) S. 117.