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The Gospel of Thomas and *Torah* Observance:
Exploring Anti-nomic Rhetoric in the 'Fifth Gospel'

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Master of Arts
in Religious Studies

by

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September 2021

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July 2021

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Daniel S. Zimmerman

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To my mom, dad, sister, Kim Haines-Eitzen,
and everyone who has helped me along the way.

ABSTRACT

The *Gospel of Thomas* and *Torah* Observance:

Exploring Anti-nomic Rhetoric in the ‘Fifth Gospel’

by

Daniel S. Zimmerman

This essay is concerned with the relationship between the *Gospel of Thomas* and *torah* observance as is discussed in the *Gospel of Thomas*’ logia 13, 14, and 53. I contend in this essay that *torah* observance and the correct interpretation of *torah* observance is a central theme both to the historical Jesus, whom we may attempt to parse from these logia, and to the Thomasine community, who would have been reading this text. To make this argument, I will be analyzing the preceding and contemporaneous writings of the Second-Temple period that speak to the concerns, anxieties, and general discourses with which the *Gospel of Thomas* is engaged. My research compiles discussions of *torah* observance, Jewish political concerns, changing theologies, and social upheaval as described in Second-Temple Jewish literature. In my essay, I accept Helmut Koester’s analysis of the *Gospel of Thomas*’ geographical and historical origin as Edessa in the latter half of the first century CE, near or slightly after the destruction of the Jewish Temple in 70 CE, and for such a reason, I have attempted to make the best use of Second-Temple texts (or texts written shortly after the Second-Temple period) that may have influenced the composition of the *Gospel of Thomas*. I have included such Second-Temple writings as the *Testament of Moses*, the *Book of Jubilees*, the Greek Additions to Esther, the *Testament of Job*, Second Maccabees, 3 Baruch, 4 Ezra, the hypothetical Q-gospel, the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of Paul of Tarsus. In employing these texts, I am not suggesting that the *Gospel of Thomas*’

author had any direct knowledge of these works or that s/he was aware of their composition. Instead, I contend that these texts feed into a common discourse relating to the position of Judaism in the Second-Temple period, and for such reasons provide the modern scholar with insight into the concerns and questions posed in the *Gospel of Thomas*.

In an effort to best explore the relationship between *torah* observance and the *Gospel of Thomas*, this essay has been divided into three major sections. The first section establishes the literary, political, and social climate of the Second-Temple period, in which the *Gospel of Thomas* was composed. The essay's second section analyzes Jesus' three proscriptions of logion 14 in the *Gospel of Thomas*: fasting, prayer, and charity. By using comparanda from other literary works of the time period, I will argue that these proscriptions are not nearly as anti-nomic as they initially appear. Instead, the statements in this logion are representative of Jesus' enigmatic public teachings and are largely concerned with the abuse of *torah* observance by the Pharisees. In the third and final section of this essay, I discuss the anti-circumcision rhetoric of logion 53. Unlike logion 14, I contend that there is no evidence to suggest that this logion is a veiled criticism of the Pharisees or any other Jewish sects of Jesus' time. Instead, I argue that this logion is not a saying of the historical Jesus but rather a benchmark of discussions and debates contemporaneous with the composition of the *Gospel of Thomas*. In this way, logion 53 is anti-nomic, proscribing circumcision of the flesh for Gentiles and Jews alike. Instead, in a telling way, this logion is revealing future debates between Jesus-followers and the large group of Jews who will form Rabbinic Judaism.

This essay is followed by an appendix consisting of the Coptic text of the *Gospel of Thomas* from the 1945 Nag Hammadi codices and my translation of the Coptic text into English.

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Introduction

These are the hidden sayings that the living Jesus spoke and that Didymus Judas Thomas wrote down.

And he said, “the one who finds the interpretation of these sayings will not taste death.”

Jesus said, “May the one who seeks not stop seeking until he finds. And if he finds, he will be troubled. And if he is troubled, he will be amazed, and he will become king over everything.” (*G. Thom.* Prologue–logion 2).¹

Thus begins the *Gospel of Thomas* with a promise: true understanding of the words of Jesus will bring salvation from death. It is not enough to simply know the words of Jesus. Instead, one must “find” the meaning hidden within the wisdom of the living Jesus.

This would certainly amount to a daunting task for any early Christian practitioner who read the opening promise of the *Gospel of Thomas* in antiquity. One must search within the logia to parse the true meaning of the gospel: a meaning latent in the fullness of the gospel but concealed within the phrases. True understanding and, therefore, true liberation from death must be accomplished by each individual. Salvation will not be given to the church or the nation *en masse*, for as Jesus forebodes, “I will choose one from among a thousand and two from among ten-thousand, and they will stand, being a single one” (*G. Thom.* log. 23).² Salvation is rooted in one’s patience and ability to discover what lies beyond the face of the text—a salvation rooted neither in the “collective effervescence” of a church nor the simple proclamation of faith in Jesus as salvation. Instead, salvation is found in the dedication and resolve of the individual practitioner.

¹ ⲛⲁⲉⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲟⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓⲉ ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲉ ⲁⲱⲱ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲁⲓⲓⲁⲓⲱⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲓⲁⲓⲱⲓⲱⲓ ⲓⲱⲁⲁⲓ ⲉⲱⲓⲓⲁⲓ. ⲁⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲁⲁⲓ ⲁⲉ ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲉⲉ ⲉⲉⲣⲓⲓⲓⲓⲉⲓⲁ ⲛⲛⲉⲉⲓⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲓⲛⲁⲁⲓ ⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲛ ⲓⲛⲓⲱⲓ. ⲛⲉⲁⲉ ⲓⲉ ⲓⲛⲓⲧⲣⲉⲓ ⲓⲱ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲛⲉⲧⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲓⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉⲓⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲉⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲓⲛⲁⲱⲧⲣⲓⲧⲣ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲧⲱⲧⲣⲓⲧⲣ ⲓⲛⲁⲣⲱⲛⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲓⲛⲁⲣⲣⲓⲱ ⲉⲁⲓⲛ ⲛⲧⲓⲛⲉⲓ. All translations of the *Gospel of Thomas* in this essay are my own. A full translation of the entire Coptic manuscript can be found in Appendix I.

² ⲓⲛⲁⲥⲉⲧⲓⲛ ⲧⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲉⲱⲓⲱ ⲉⲛⲓⲱ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲥⲛⲁⲓⲱ ⲉⲱⲓⲱ ⲉⲛⲓⲱ ⲧⲱⲁ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲱⲉⲉ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲱⲓⲱ ⲉⲓⲱ ⲟⲩⲁ ⲟⲩⲱⲧ.

This is the path that the *Gospel of Thomas* lays out for salvation, but, in a fortuitous manner, this too is the path that the *Gospel of Thomas* provides for any reader, ancient or modern. Few today take salvific prescriptions from this gospel, but the text has become a ritualized object in modern academic circles nonetheless. The *Gospel of Thomas* provides present-day New Testament scholars with a truly unique glimpse into the beliefs, sayings, practices, and conditions of early Christian life—a glimpse that, unlike those provided by canonical scripture, is in many ways protected from the rigid doctrinalization and calcification of the first few centuries of the Christian Church.

For these reasons, I believe that the *Gospel of Thomas* is a perfect vessel in which to ask questions relating to the early Jesus-follower movement’s relationship with the larger Jewish community. I am of the opinion that the *Gospel of Thomas* was authored in the first century (although with many additions to the Coptic text surely added in later centuries), an opinion shared by a growing number of New Testament scholars.³ For this reason, it is important to identify the *Gospel of Thomas* not as a Christian text written by a Christian for a Christian audience but rather a Jewish text with a Jewish author for practicing Jews.

The reclaiming of the Jewishness of first century Christian texts is not new, and the four canonical gospels (thanks in large part to the recent scholarship of the ‘Third Quest’ for the Historical Jesus) along with the Pauline epistles (under the name of ‘New Perspective’ scholarship) have all undergone robust analysis in the past 50 years that examines how these

³ Compare Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity*, 1. Paperback Print., [4. Dr.], Contraversions 1 (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 2003); Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity*, 1. paperback ed, Divinations (Philadelphia, Pa: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Isaac W. Oliver, *Luke’s Jewish Eschatology: The National Restoration of Israel in Luke-Acts* (New York, NY, United States of America: Oxford University Press, 2021); E.P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (London: Penguin Books, 1993); E. P. Sanders, *Paul, the Law, and the Jewish People*, Nachdr. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996).

texts reflect and reaffirm a Jewish community, author, philosophy, and cosmological framework. This branch of scholarship is essential for a number of reasons, not least of which because it both deconstructs and problematizes the dangerous anti-Semitic exegesis of the New Testament present throughout much of its history. In addition, reading the New Testament through this Jewish lens allows scholars and theologians to identify nuances of language, identity, prophecy, revelation, and apocalypticism not visible through a traditional Christian-centric hermeneutic.

However, despite the promising progress in New Testament scholarship, this new exegetical reading has not made significant inroads into non-canonical scriptures. The *Gospel of Thomas* is not an exception. Its recent discovery in 1945 and its even more recent publication has meant that much of the scholarship concerned with and questions being asked about the *Gospel of Thomas* are Christian-centric: what can the gospel tell us about women in the early Church; what is the relationship of this gospel with Christian ‘Gnostic’ texts; why did early Christian heresiologists find this gospel unsuitable for canonical status; and how does this gospel shift attitudes around the role and eschatology of Jesus? These and numerous other similar questions are profoundly important, and they have helped to introduce and craft a discourse with which we can discuss a text that has been known to the modern reader for less than a century—no small feat considering the millennia through which discourses of the canonical texts have been refined. It is time, however, to question not what does the *Gospel of Thomas* tell us about the Christianity it preceded but what does the *Gospel of Thomas* tell us about the Judaism within which it existed.

It is with these ideas in mind that I write this essay and bring forward this project’s main evaluative question: what is the relationship between the *Gospel of Thomas* and the

torah. Specifically, this essay is interested in how the *Gospel of Thomas* portrays *torah* observance. At first blush, a reader may find this an inane question. True enough, in the *Gospel of Thomas* there are no direct references found to the *torah*. Indeed, the logia in the gospel that indirectly discuss observance of the *torah* are shadowed by other key discussions in *Thomas* such as the attainment of salvation, the hidden reality of the cosmos, and knowledge of the divine.

However, this essay contends that *torah* observance and the correct interpretation of *torah* observance is a central theme both to the historical Jesus, whom we may attempt to parse from these logia, and to the Thomasine community who would have been reading this text. To make this argument, I will be analyzing the preceding and contemporaneous writings of the Second-Temple period that speak to the concerns, anxieties, and general discourses with which the *Gospel of Thomas* is engaged. My research compiles discussions of *torah* observance, Jewish political concerns, changing theologies, and social upheaval as described in Second-Temple Jewish literature. In my essay, I accept Helmut Koester's analysis of the *Gospel of Thomas*' geographical and historical origin as Edessa in the latter half of the first century CE, near or slightly after the destruction of the Jewish Temple in 70 CE,⁴ and for such a reason, I have attempted to make the best use of Second-Temple texts (or texts written shortly after the Second-Temple period) that may have influenced the composition of the *Gospel of Thomas*. I have included such Second-Temple writings as the *Testament of Moses*, the *Book of Jubilees*, the Greek additions to Esther, the *Testament of Job*, Second Maccabees, 3 Baruch, 4 Ezra, the hypothetical Q-gospel, the Synoptic Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the epistles of Paul of Tarsus. In employing these texts, I am not suggesting that the

⁴ Helmut Koester, "Introduction," in *Nag Hammadi*, vol. Codex II, 2–7 (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 38–40.

Gospel of Thomas' author had any direct knowledge of these works or that s/he was aware of their composition. Instead, as I will expand on later, I contend that these texts feed into a common discourse relating to the position of Judaism in the Second-Temple period, and for such reason provide the modern scholar with insight into the concerns and questions posed in the *Gospel of Thomas*.

In an effort to best explore the relationship between *torah* observance and the *Gospel of Thomas*, this essay has been divided into three major sections. The first section establishes the literary, political, and social climate of the Second-Temple period, in which the *Gospel of Thomas* was composed. In exploring the turmoils and hopes facing the Jewish people during this time period, it is possible to reconstruct many of the ways in which the *Gospel of Thomas*' logia respond to specifically Jewish questions and themes. One of the most pressing of these themes for Second-Temple communities and the *Gospel of Thomas* is what should a pious Jew's relationship be with his Gentile neighbors. This question takes on an individualistic tone for many Jews living in the diaspora and a communal tone for Jews in Palestine resisting Hellenization and Gentile political domination.

In the essay's second section, I will dissect Jesus' three proscriptions of logion 14 in the *Gospel of Thomas*: fasting, prayer, and charity. By using comparanda from other literary works of the time period, I will argue that these proscriptions are not nearly as anti-nomic as they initially appear. Instead, the statements in this logion are representative of Jesus' enigmatic public teachings. Like the Q-gospel, the *Gospel of Thomas* does not provide apostolic explanation for Jesus' often confusing statements, and it is the onus of the reader to determine to what Jesus' comments are referring. In the case of logion 14, I argue that Jesus is continuing with anti-Pharisaic rhetoric found also in the Q-gospel and the Synoptic

Gospels. *Thomas'* Jesus disagrees not with the *torah* observance of fasting, prayer, and charity as such (concepts that remain central to the later Church), but he is rather concerned with the abuse of this *torah* observance by the Pharisee sect.

In the third and final section of this essay, I discuss the anti-circumcision rhetoric of logion 53. Unlike logion 14, I contend that there is no evidence to suggest that this logion is a veiled criticism of the Pharisees or any other Jewish sects of Jesus' time. Indeed, I argue that this logion is not a saying of the historical Jesus but rather a benchmark of discussions and debates contemporaneous with the composition of the *Gospel of Thomas*. In this way, logion 53 is anti-nomic, proscribing circumcision of the flesh for Gentiles and Jews alike. Instead, in a telling way, this logion is revealing future debates between Jesus-followers and the large group of Jews who will form Rabbinic Judaism.

This essay is followed by an appendix consisting of the Coptic text of the *Gospel of Thomas* from the 1945 Nag Hammadi codices. This version of the text is the only complete manuscript of the *Gospel of Thomas*. Accompanying this Coptic text is my translation of the gospel into English, which I have employed throughout this essay.

Much like the *Gospel of Thomas'* enigmatic path to salvation, our path to discerning the discourse surrounding *torah* observance in the *Gospel of Thomas* is not straightforward. It requires that we, as scholars, approach the contemporaneous literature of the Second-Temple period with an open mind in regard to what it can tell us about the *Gospel of Thomas*. It also requires that we must recognize our limitations in what definitive positive statements can be made regarding a text for which we have only one full, extant copy, translated from another language. As such, we must always recognize that every statement regarding the *Gospel of Thomas* can be attacked, and we often do not have a fully encompassing defense. Therefore,

in this essay, we shall approach the *Gospel of Thomas* with a respectful trepidation that it can tell us a great deal about the Second-Temple Judaism and the advent of Christianity, but only if we recognize the multiple methodological and hermeneutical issues at play.

Part I: Approaching the Gentiles and the *Torah* in Second-Temple Literature

Relationship with the Gentiles

Almost all of Jewish literature from the Second-Temple period is engaged in a discourse concerning the Jewish population's relationship with their Gentile neighbors. As a direct result of diasporic movements, Hellenization, and the growth of the Roman Republic and Empire, more and more Jews found themselves as minority populations among pagan majorities. Even in Palestine, which had seen an unprecedented period of self rule under the Hasmonean Dynasty (110–63 BCE), the omnipresent threat of the Gentiles and their idolatrous lifestyles induced panic among many Jewish authors of this period.

Indeed, the concern over the presence of Hellenistic markers in Judaic life (*e.g.*, language, government, architecture, temple practices, idolatry, etc.) highlights a larger cultural concern over which normative discourse should stand as the hegemon. Indeed, in an effort to control how things were discussed in a cultural discourse (either through a Hellenistic or Palestinian lens), Second-Temple authors participated in a struggle over who had power to construct the way in which the lived-world was experienced.

While this question over ancient discourse overlaps with some of Henri Lefebvre's conception of lived spaces and mediated experiences⁵ and Giorgio Agamben's understanding

⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2011).

of the controlled-body of the *homo sacer*,⁶ perhaps the most useful theorist to approach this question is Michel Foucault, whose seminal work *The History of Sexuality*, established the relationship between discourse and power. In as much as we can read ‘sex’ as a generic ‘x-variable’ in Foucault’s discussion of how discourse creates a lived reality, Foucault’s deconstruction of discourse in the *History of Sexuality* is extremely useful and limitlessly applicable. On this relationship between discourse and power, Foucault writes:

In short, it [the question of discourse’s relationship to power] is a question of orienting ourselves to a conception of power which replaces the privilege of the law with the viewpoint of the objective, the privilege of prohibition with the viewpoint of tactical efficacy, the privilege of sovereignty with the analysis of a multiple and mobile field of force relations, wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable, effects of domination are produced. The strategic model, rather than the model based on law. And this, not out of a speculative choice or theoretical preference, but because in fact it is one of the essential traits of Western societies that the force relationships which for a long time had found expression in war, in every form of warfare, gradually became invested in the order of political power.⁷

In seeking to define what becomes the normative discourse among a people, both the Jews and the Gentiles seek to impress their own orientation towards questions of the political and moral world (as made manifest in laws). Indeed, in the constant struggle for the domination of political power in Palestine is the struggle for whose rationale of meaning should become normative.

Even though the relationship between power and discourse was only made theoretically explicit by Foucault in the late 1970s, this by no means suggests that ancient societies did not recognize (subliminally, at least) the deep, interwoven relationship between

⁶ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen, Meridian: Crossing Aesthetics (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

⁷ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vintage Books ed (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 102.

control of power and discourse. In his analysis on construction of ethnography in ancient Greece, Joseph Skinner notes:

In recognizing the primacy of ethnographic discourse as a textual genre we are effectively recognizing the claims to authority, power, and knowledge of a relatively small number of individuals originating from comparatively restricted sector of the population: individual adult males from a handful of city-states who possessed sufficient wealth and standing to pursue their research at least semi-independently. ... The environment in which they operated was highly competitive so trumping one's rivals was a desideratum, whether as a means of securing gainful employment or of establishing oneself as the preeminent authority on a given topic. ... Factors such as these need to be borne in mind when considering the way in which prose accounts of foreign lands and peoples should ultimately be interpreted—other interests and agendas were certainly in play.⁸

For the ancient man (as evidenced by Skinner's work on ancient Greek ethnography) as for the modern man (as evidenced by Foucault's analysis of Victorian construction of sexual discourses), political domination allows for control over constructed realities of the lived-in world. Thus, with such high stakes, it is understandable why Second-Temple literature—a literature that embodies a period of frequent political instability—is riddled with discussion of the truth of Jewish practices and the presence of the Gentile others.

In the following section, I present two of the ways in which this battle over discourse is most evident in Jewish Second-Temple literature. First, I discuss how many works during this time period express deep concerns and fear over the idolatry and political danger presented by the neighboring Gentiles. Both as a corrupting influence and as a danger to one's political and physical life, the Gentiles were a group to be avoided at all costs. Second, I note that there are many texts during the Second-Temple period that—while still deeply concerned with Hellenization and a Jew's role to the 'other's' idolatrous practices—

⁸ Skinner, "The Invention of Greek Ethnography," 235.

recognize that it may be beneficial to both Jew and Gentile to promote Jewish moral practices and make use of Gentiles' political and social structuring of the Mediterranean world.

Fear of Gentiles

Few Second-Temple texts express Jews' anxiety over Gentiles more so than Second Maccabees. Likely authored around 100 BCE, Second Maccabees provides valuable insight into the concerns of many Second-Temple Jews, particularly those living during the period of the Hasmonean Dynasty. Of paramount importance to the author of Second Maccabees is the concern that Gentiles present a threat to Jewish life. Hellenization does not merely pose a risk for loss of culture and *torah* observance, but Hellenization is a danger to individual Jewish lives and the integrity of the nation of Israel.

In the opening chapter of the book, the Jewish priests recognize the diasporic state of the Jews and how, because of this, Jews live lives submissive to Gentile culture. The author of Second Maccabees recounts how these priests pray out to God, “Gather together our scattered people, set free those who are slaves among the Gentiles, look on those who are rejected and despised, and let the Gentiles know that you are our God. Punish those who oppress and are insolent with pride” (2 Macc 1:27–28).⁹ After this prayer, the narrative of Second Maccabees presents the various battles and victories, by which the author believes this prayer is answered. A nation restored apart from Gentile (specifically Seleucid) rule will allow for Jews to practice the laws of the *torah* and worship at the temple of the Lord

⁹ ἐπισυνάγαγε τὴν διασπορὰν ἡμῶν, ἐλευθέρωσον τοὺς δουλεύοντας ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, τοὺς ἐξουθενημένους καὶ βδελυκτοὺς ἔπιδε, καὶ γνώτωσαν τὰ ἔθνη ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν. βασάνισον τοὺς καταδυναστεύοντας καὶ ἐξυβρίζοντας ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ.

unencumbered by foreign aggravations. Indeed, much of the narrative in Second Maccabees, apart from the battle accounts, details the sinister and dangerous ways in which Gentiles have subverted the Jews' true worship of God.

The author of Second Maccabees argues that, after the death of Seleucus, his successor Antiochus instigated a number of Hellenizing actions in Jerusalem, with one of the earliest of these being the construction of a gymnasium that would encourage young men to change “over to the Greek way of life” (2 Macc 4:7–10).¹⁰ The author notes how this singular event made Israel nearly fall into apostasy, writing:

There was such an extreme of Hellenization and increase in the adoption of foreign ways because of the surpassing wickedness of Jason, who was ungodly and no true high priest, that the priests were no longer intent upon their service at the altar. Despising the sanctuary and neglecting the sacrifices, they hurried to take part in the unlawful proceedings in the wrestling arena after the signal for the discus-throwing, disdainful of the honors prized by their ancestors and putting the highest value upon Greek forms of prestige (2 Macc 4:13–15).¹¹

For the first-century BCE author of Second Maccabees, flirtation with the idea of Hellenization has and will lead directly to negligence of one's lawful role toward the one, true God. In this example, a Gentile king and a corrupt high priest brought Israel to the brink of totalizing Hellenization, to the point of forgetting the prescriptions of the *torah*. As a maxim to this story, the author notes, “It is no light thing to show irreverence to the divine laws” (2 Macc 4:17).¹²

¹⁰ πρὸς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα.

¹¹ ἦν δ' οὕτως ἀκμὴ τις Ἑλληνισμοῦ καὶ πρόσβασις ἀλλοφυλισμοῦ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς καὶ οὐκ ἀρχιερέως Ἰάσωνος ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἀναγνείαν ὥστε μηκέτι περὶ τὰς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λειτουργίας προθύμους εἶναι τοὺς ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν νεῶ καταφρονοῦντες καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἀμελοῦντες ἔσπευδον μετέχειν τῆς ἐν παλαίστρῃ παρανόμου χορηγίας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δίσκου πρόσκλησιν, καὶ τὰς μὲν πατρώους τιμὰς ἐν οὐδενὶ τιθέμενοι, τὰς δὲ Ἑλληνικὰς δόξας καλλίστας ἡγούμενοι.

¹² ἀσεβεῖν γὰρ εἰς τοὺς θεῖους νόμους οὐ ῥάδιον.

Time and time again in the narrative of Second Maccabees, this maxim is proven true. Because the priests had abandoned their duties in favor of the alluring Hellenized culture, the Jewish temple soon became occupied by idolatrous Gentile practitioners. In a description clearly meant to sow fear of Gentile culture into the heart of its Jewish readers, the author of Second Maccabees recounts:

Not long after this, the king sent an Athenian senator to compel the Jews to forsake the laws of their ancestors and no longer to live by the laws of God; also to pollute the temple in Jerusalem and to call it the temple of Olympian Zeus, and to call the one in Gerizim the temple of Zeus-the-Friend-of-Strangers, as did the people who lived in that place. Harsh and utterly grievous was the onslaught of evil. For the temple was filled with debauchery and reveling by the Gentiles, who dallied with prostitutes and had intercourse with women within the sacred precincts, and besides brought in things for sacrifice that were unfit. The altar was covered with abominable offerings that were forbidden by the laws. People could neither keep the sabbath, nor observe the festivals of their ancestors, nor so much as confess themselves to be Jews (2 Macc 6:1–6).¹³

Even the smallest of Hellenization could lead to an apostatic people in the span of one generation. For this Second-Temple author, Hellenization possesses the means to not only undermine temple-practice and *torah* observance but to profane the most holy of all places. This inclusion of Greek culture breeds a dystopian landscape in which idols are put in the sacred place of the Jewish God.

It is not only apostasy and profanity that the author of Second Maccabees warns his/her readers about. The Gentiles also seek to destroy all those who do not fully embrace the Hellenistic lifestyle. For this author, one cannot become slightly Hellenized, much like

¹³ Μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐξἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς γέροντα Ἀθηναῖον ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους μεταβαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν πατριῶν νόμων καὶ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ νόμοις μὴ πολιτεύεσθαι, μολῦναι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις νεῶ καὶ προσονομάσαι Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸν ἐν Γαριζίν, καθὼς ἐτύγχανον οἱ τὸν τόπον οἰκοῦντες, Διὸς Ξενίου. χαλεπὴ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἦν δυσχερὴς ἡ ἐπίτασις τῆς κακίας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἱερὸν ἀσωτίας καὶ κόμων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπεπληροῦτο ῥαθυμούντων μεθ' ἑταιρῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς περιβόλοις γυναιξὶ πλησιαζόντων, ἔτι δὲ τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα ἔνδον εἰσφερόντων. τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον τοῖς ἀποδιεσταλμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀθεμίτοις ἐπεπλήρωτο. ἦν δ' οὔτε σαββατίζειν οὔτε πατρῶους ἐορτὰς διαφυλάττειν οὔτε ἀπλῶς Ἰουδαῖον ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι.

the oft-quoted aphorism, “if you’re in for a penny, you’re in for a pound.” A society that tastes the evil that is Hellenism will bring danger upon themselves, as is the case for those Jews who lived during the period of Antiochus’ rule and Jason’s priesthood. Either Jews will become Hellenized and abandon the one, true God or they will stay loyal to God and in the process be tortured and killed by the Hellenists.

In one powerful account, a young Jewish man, who refused Hellenism and devoted himself to God, explains his continued obedience to God in light of the changing political landscape. The author of Second Maccabees employs this young man’s short speech to emphasize that it is better to die for God than live counter to the *torah* (i.e., a Hellenized life). While being tortured and simultaneously seeing the torture of his six brothers and his elderly mother, the youth says to his mother and his torturer Antiochus:

What are you waiting for? I will not obey the king’s command, but I obey the command of the law that was given to our ancestors through Moses. But you, who have contrived all sorts of evil against the Hebrews, will certainly not escape the hands of God. For we are suffering because of our own sins. And if our living Lord is angry for a little while, to rebuke and discipline us, he will again be reconciled with his own servants. But you, unholy wretch, you most defiled of all mortals, do not be elated in vain and puffed up by uncertain hopes, when you raise your hand against the children of heaven. You have not yet escaped the judgment of the almighty, all-seeing God. For our brothers after enduring a brief suffering have drunk of ever-flowing life, under God’s covenant; but you, by the judgment of God, will receive just punishment for your arrogance. I, like my brothers, give up body and life for the laws of our ancestors, appealing to God to show mercy soon to our nation and by trials and plagues to make you confess that he alone is God, and through me and my brothers to bring to an end the wrath of the Almighty that has justly fallen on our whole nation (2 Macc 7:30–38).¹⁴

¹⁴ Τίνα μένετε; οὐχ ὑπακούω τοῦ προστάγματος τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ δὲ προστάγματος ἀκούω τοῦ νόμου τοῦ δοθέντος τοῖς πατράσιν ἡμῶν διὰ Μωυσέως. σὺ δὲ πάσης κακίας εὐρετῆς γενόμενος εἰς τοὺς Εβραίους οὐ μὴ διαφύγῃς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ θεοῦ. ἡμεῖς γὰρ διὰ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀμαρτίας πάσχομεν. εἰ δὲ χάριν ἐπιπλήξεως καὶ παιδείας ὁ ζῶν κύριος ἡμῶν βραχέως ἐπώργισται, καὶ πάλιν καταλλαγῆσεται τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δούλοις. σὺ δέ, ὃ ἀνόσιε καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων μιαιρότατε, μὴ μάτην μετεωρίζου φρυσσόμενος ἀδήλοισ ἐλπίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανίους παῖδας ἐπαρόμενος χεῖρα· οὐπω γὰρ τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἐπόπτου θεοῦ κρίσιν ἐκπέφυγας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ νῦν ἡμέτεροι ἀδελφοὶ βραχὺν ὑπενέγκαντες πόνον ἀνάου ζωῆς ὑπὸ διαθήκην θεοῦ πεπτώκασιν· σὺ δὲ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει δίκαια τὰ πρόστιμα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἀπόιση. ἐγὼ δέ, καθάπερ οἱ ἀδελφοί, καὶ σῶμα καὶ

The wrath God experiences against his people is short lived and is borne out of divine love for the justification of the people of Israel (2 Macc 6:12–17). The Gentiles will not be so lucky. Not being the chosen children of Israel, upon their deaths, the Gentiles will suffer, for the wrath of the Lord will always return to mercy for Israel (2 Macc 8:5).

In Second Maccabees, the author sets forth a mutually exclusive decision which both individual Jews and the Jews as a nation must decide: will the commandments of the Lord be abandoned for the expediency and allure of Hellenistic living? A nation that chooses Hellenism over the *torah* of the Lord will be punished as is seen by the Seleucid persecution of the Jews (2 Macc 1–7), and a nation that chooses the *torah* of the Lord over Hellenism will be vindicated (2 Macc 8–15). Similarly, an individual who chooses the Lord’s law over Hellenism will be resurrected to the Lord (2 Macc 12:43–45).

Compare this anti-Gentile sentiment in Second Maccabees with Moses’ predictive warning about the Gentiles in the first century CE, Jewish work, the *Testament of Moses*. This text, written after 70 CE, expresses some of the dangers with which the author of Second Maccabees had been concerned. In the *Testament of Moses*, the author has Moses discuss the dangers of invading Gentiles, noting the violence and destruction of the Romans, specifically. Moses while speaking to Joshua, says:

Then powerful kings will rise over them, and they will be called priests of the Most High God. They will perform great impiety in the Holy of Holies. And a wanton king, who will not be of a priestly family [most certainly a reference to Herod the Great],¹⁵ will follow them ... The fear of him will be heaped upon them in their land, and for thirty-four years he will impose judgments upon them

ψυχὴν προδίδωμι περὶ τῶν πατριῶν νόμων ἐπικαλούμενος τὸν θεὸν ἵλεως ταχὺ τῷ ἔθνει γενέσθαι καὶ σὲ μετὰ ἑτασμῶν καὶ μαστίγων ἐξομολογήσασθαι διότι μόνος αὐτὸς θεὸς ἐστίν, ἐν ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου στήσαι τὴν τοῦ παντοκράτορος ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σὺμπαν ἡμῶν γένος δικαίως ἐπηγμένην.

¹⁵ James H. Charlesworth, ed., “Testament of Moses: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, trans. J. Priest, vol. 1 (Hendrickson Publishers, 2016), n. 6b.

as did the Egyptians, as he will punish them ... After his death there will come into their land a powerful kind of the West who will subdue them; and he will take away captives, and a part of their temple he will burn with fire. He will crucify some of them around the city (*T. Mos.* 6.1–2, 5–6, 8–9).

It is by the hands of an impious Jew that Gentiles will be able to come in and destroy the Holy of Holies, burning a large portion of the temple. As with Second Maccabees, the author of the *Testament of Moses* is concerned with the wrath of Gentiles, but s/he is equally concerned with the fact that the wrath and destruction of the Gentiles will be spurred by the impiety, foolishness, and sins of Jewish individuals. In this instance, Herod as a false priest will more or less invite the Romans to come and destroy what had once been holy.

From these examples, it is evident that the omnipresent fear of Gentile violence and domination influenced how Jews understood their duties and relationship to their holy land. Violence could spring from wanton Gentile barbarism, but more often Second-Temple texts portray this violence as beginning with the impiety and transgressions of prominent Jews or the Jewish nation as a whole. Constant vigilance and dedication to God's *torah* are necessary precautions to keep the Gentiles at bay.

Utility and Conversion of Gentiles

The above discussion concerning anxiety about the Gentiles is easily discernible from a wide range of Second-Temple literary pieces. This anxiety led to a general theological question: if Gentiles pose such a risk to God's chosen people, why do they exist? Of what value are Gentiles to Jews? There are no clear answers to these questions, but different Second-Temple authors attempted to provide different explanations for the role of the Gentiles in God's cosmic plan. The author of 4 Ezra (2 Esd 3–14), a text largely composed after the Roman destruction of the Jewish Temple in 70 CE, attempts to answer this question

by suggesting that the toils imposed by the Gentiles bring about the perfection and salvation of God's chosen people. However, this quality of the Gentiles is not a redeeming factor, and the text is clear that Gentiles will be punished for their ungodly actions.

Similarly, Paul of Tarsus is deeply concerned with these questions in his epistles to Gentile communities in the 40s and 50s CE. While he still recognizes the teleological role the Gentiles will play in saving Israel, Paul believes that salvation can be attained through the Jewish God, even if one is not observant of the *torah* (this may be in part because, as many diasporic Jews such as Philo knew, it was impossible to fully obey the *torah* when one lived far away from the temple in Jerusalem). Unlike the author of 4 Ezra, Paul believes that the Gentiles can both bring about the salvation of Israel and achieve salvation for themselves through the death of Jesus.

4 Ezra

After the Roman destruction of the temple in 70 CE, Jewish writers struggled to comprehend how God could allow Gentile nations to triumph over Israel. The author of 4 Ezra expresses the pain and abandonment felt by many Jews toward the Second Temple's destruction by describing Ezra's anguish at the destruction of the first Jewish Temple by the Babylonians. Ezra pleads to God:

All this I have spoken before you, O Lord, because you have said that it was for us [the Jews] that you created this world. As for the other nations that have descended from Adam [the Gentiles], you have said they are nothing and that they are like spittle, and you have compared their abundance to a drop from a bucket [cf. Is. 40:15]. And now, O Lord, these nations, which are reputed to be as nothing, domineer over us and devour us. But we your people, whom you have called your firstborn, only begotten, zealous for you, and most dear, have been given into their hands. If the world has indeed been created for us, why do we not possess our world as an inheritance? (2 Esd 6:55–59).

Ezra makes the paradox clear: how can a chosen nation be destroyed by non-chosen peoples? In reading 4 Ezra, one can feel the heartbreak and shame the author harbors for having lost one's nation, temple, and chance of freedom to a barbarous, immoral, and idolatrous people. For pious Jews, this disaster was not supposed to happen, as it went against God's eternal protection of his chosen people as evidenced in the Covenant.

God's response to Ezra (spoken through one of his angels) is that nothing reaches perfection except through trial. God's chosen people are no exception. The angel sent by God speaks:

Unless the living pass through the difficult and futile experiences, they can never receive those things that have been reserved for them. Now therefore why are you disturbed, seeing that you are to perish? Why are you moved, seeing that you are mortal? Why have you not considered in your mind what is to come, rather than what is now present? (2 Esd 7:14–16).

In this post-temple-destruction treatise, the author wants his readers to recognize that it is through difficulty that the chosen people will receive the gifts of the Covenant. For 4 Ezra's author, what greater difficulty is there than the destruction of God's one true temple at the hands of those who do not recognize the greatness of God. Jews should not see the Temple's destruction as the triumph of the Gentiles, but the perfecting of the chosen, for as God's angel responds to Ezra later in the text, "Do not continue to be curious about how the ungodly will be punished; but inquire how the righteous will be saved, those to whom the age belongs and for whose sake the age was made" (2 Esd 9:13). The pious Jews will be vindicated, and the immoral Gentiles will be punished, but the time has not yet come. Therefore, the Gentiles have an important, albeit destructive, role in the salvation of the Jews. As those who would test and torment God's most faithful, they can perfect the Jews for the

Covenantal promises. However, as this passage makes clear, these Gentiles, acting out of evil, malice, and ungodliness, will not themselves attain salvation.

Paul

Paul of Tarsus' epistles to his Gentile communities take on a significantly different tone than 4 Ezra takes towards the teleological role of Gentiles, while still pondering the question of the fundamental relationship between Gentiles and Jews. As an educated individual (1 Cor 4:12)¹⁶ and an observant Pharisaic Jew (Phil 3:4–6), there is no reason to believe that Paul was not painfully aware of the dangers that Gentile culture and oppression could and did have on the Jews and their nation. However, there are a number of fairly explicit passages that indicate that Paul believed salvation was possible for Jews and Gentiles alike. First, in one of his most quoted passages, Paul writes:

Therefore the law was our disciplinarian until Christ came, so that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith has come, we are no longer subject to a disciplinarian, for in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith. As many of you as were baptized into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is no longer Jew or Greek, there is no longer slave or free, there is no longer male and female; for all of you are one in Christ Jesus. And if you belong to Christ, then you are Abraham's offspring, heirs according to the promise (Gal 3:24–29).

Likely adapted from an early Christian baptismal formula,¹⁷ Paul's statement here reaches the core of his message in his Epistle to the Galatians that the *torah* is not what establishes salvation. Instead, it is in the belief in Jesus as Christ that all human divisions cease to exist

¹⁶ That Paul includes the phrase *κοπιῶμεν ἐργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσίν* “we grow weary from the work of our hands” (1 Cor 4:12) suggests that Paul thought it noteworthy to mention that he participates in manual labor. This has frequently been taken, along with the fact that Paul is literate, that Paul had a higher than average education.

¹⁷ Wayne A. Meeks, “The Image of the Androgyne: Some Uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity,” *History of Religions* 13, no. 3 (1974): 166.

in the salvific sphere. Gender, *ethnē*, status, and *torah* observance no longer determine one's salvific position. Paul argues that through Jesus, one salvation is offered for all peoples.

This salvific equality discussed at length in this epistle, leaves the reader of Galatians with an unanswered question: if the *torah* is derived from God's covenant with his chosen people, and if Gentiles can be saved without the covenant or the law, then what is the value of the *torah*. Paul seems to realize this question would arise in the minds of his readers, writing, "Why then the law? It was added because of transgressions, until the offspring would come to whom the promise had been made; and it was ordained through angels by a mediator. Now a mediator involves more than one party; but God is one" (Gal 3:19–20).¹⁸ Essentially, for Paul, in Galatians, the *torah* was added specifically because of the sins and failings of the chosen people, but it "does not annul a covenant previously ratified by God" (Gal 3:17) with all of Abraham's offspring (both Jews and Gentiles).

However, the question that he addresses in Galatians, one of Paul's earliest epistles, reappears in Romans, Paul's latest epistle. As he is writing to a different community (a community that had ethnic Jews versus the majority Gentile Galatian community) at a different time, it should come as no surprise that Paul would feel comfortable discussing the same question in a different context. In his Epistle to the Romans, we must note first and foremost that Paul—as he makes clear in Galatians—is explicit that the salvation of God can be claimed by all people, not only the nation of Israel, for salvation does not come through *torah* observance but through one's faith in Jesus Christ. Paul writes near the opening of Romans, "For I am not ashamed of the gospel; it is the power of God for salvation to

¹⁸ Τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπήγγελται, διαταγείς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου· ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν.

everyone who has faith, to the Jew first and also to the Greek. For in it the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith; as it is written, ‘The one who is righteous will live by faith’” (Rom 1:16–17).¹⁹ For Paul, *torah* observance is not an exclusive entry point to the salvation offered by God. Rather, in the singular acceptance of the Jewish God and the faith in the salvation brought forth by Jesus will one be saved—Jew or Gentile. Citing the Genesis story of Abraham entering into the Covenant, Paul argues that faith was given to Abraham not after his circumcision (the symbolic and literal beginning of the Lord’s Covenant) but before (Gen 4:9–25). Therefore, all people, as descendants of Abraham, are entitled to return unto the Lord through the same faith that the then-uncircumcised Abraham held. Abraham’s circumcision was not a symbol of his faith, but rather a symbol of having been made righteous before the Lord (4:11–12).²⁰

However, Paul’s statements in chapters 1 and 4 of Romans do not imply—given that the *torah* is not the key to salvation—that the *torah* is therefore useless, or worse, dangerous. Similarly, Paul is not here stating that faith alone (*sola fide*) should replace or be recognized as superior to adherence to the *torah* and the more general avoidance of sins. Instead, faith should only come first temporally. Traditional readings of *sola fide* have been employed from Augustine to Martin Luther to the present-day Sunday pulpit, but these are misreadings and vast oversimplifications of Paul’s doctrines in these chapters. As Paul hints at in his

¹⁹ Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι· δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, καθὼς γέγραπται· Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται.

²⁰ E. P. Sanders, *Paul: A Very Short Introduction*, Very Short Introductions 42 (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), chap. 6.

discussion of Abraham, the *torah* is still useful in its covenantal expression of righteousness.²¹

In the past fifty years, a reassessment of this *sola fide* doctrine and its opposition (and, often, proscription) of *torah* observance has been under examination by scholars of the New Perspective school. E.P. Sanders, one of the founding members of this scholarly reassessment, argues that the *torah* still serves an essential function for Paul in its ability to make an individual righteous before the Lord. Sanders argues that a great difficulty in understanding this distinction lies in the inability of English (and other modern languages) to express properly the term ‘righteous’ (*δικαιοσύνη*) through an active verb—the concept that Paul was trying to get across in his discussion of the benefit of the *torah* for those who were born into the *torah*.²² Indeed, in ‘being righteous,’ an individual was progressing in his/her state of grace toward a spiritual being, made possible through the salvation obtained by faith.²³ In being ‘righteoused,’ one transforms oneself into the salvation of Christ, if he or she as a pious Jew follows the *torah*, or if he or she as a pious Gentile lives in accordance with God (*i.e.*, Noah’s law). Faith itself only leads to salvation, but adherence to ‘works’ (whether in following the *torah* or the ethics prescribed to Gentiles) leads to transformation within salvation.

²¹ Sanders, chap. 6.

²² Sanders, 56–58.

²³ On this Sanders writes, “God ‘righteoused’ the person of faith as well as ‘reckoned’ the person to be righteous. The active verb, with God as subject, occurs in Romans 3:26, 30; 4:5; 8:30, 33; Galatians 3:8. The usual formulation is the passive verb; a person ‘is righteoused’. This passive, however, implies God as the understood subject: ‘a person is righteoused by God’. This means not just that the person’s name was moved from one side of God’s ledger to another, as ‘reckon’ might imply, but that the person was transferred to another sphere, called variously ‘the body of Christ’, the Spirit, and the like. In this transfer a real change was effected, the first step towards the glorified body which would be attained at the return of the Lord. As a result of this change the new person found that good deeds flowed out naturally and that everything which the law had required was ‘fulfilled’ in his or her life (Rom 8:4)” Sanders, 76.

In Pauline theology, it is true that one can be saved without good works. However, this does not imply that the *torah* is meaningless. Indeed, observing the *torah* (or the spirit of the *torah* for Gentiles) is what gives meaning to the very salvation obtained through faith. In believing in God (and salvation through Jesus) and in following God's laws, one is both saved and made righteous. For this reason, Paul expresses the necessity of faith for salvation, but he does not altogether negate the essentiality of good works and a moral life as prescribed through the *torah*.

In his Epistle to the Romans, Paul condemns those who have practiced good works without faith toward salvation, those who have faith toward salvation without practicing good works, and those who neither practice good works nor have faith in salvation. To those who practice good works but do not seek salvation, Paul writes:

What then? Are we [the Jews] any better off? No, not at all; for we have already charged that all, both Jews and Greeks, are under the power of sin, as it is written:

“There is no one who is righteous, not even one;
there is no one who has understanding,
there is no one who seeks God.

All have turned aside, together they have become worthless;
there is no one who shows kindness,
there is not even one.”

“Their throats are opened graves;
they use their tongues to deceive.”

“The venom of vipers is under their lips.”

“Their mouths are full of cursing and bitterness.”

Their feet are swift to shed blood;
ruin and misery are in their paths,
and the way of peace they have not known.”

“There is no fear of God before their eyes.”

Now we know that whatever the law says, it speaks to those who are under the law, so that every mouth may be silenced, and the whole world may be held accountable to God. For “no human being will be justified in his sight” by deeds

prescribed by the law, for through the law comes the knowledge of sin (Rom 3:9–20).²⁴

In the statement from Romans above, Paul implies that because both Jews and Gentiles (the followers of the *torah* and those outside the *torah*, respectively) transgress before the Lord, they are both equally in need of salvation through Jesus. For Paul, as he makes explicit in Galatians 3:24–29, “no one,” not Greek or Jew, not pious or sinner, ‘is righteoused’ without first obtaining salvation through faith in Jesus.

For Paul, the *torah* inscribed on the heart does not necessarily supersede nor rank higher than traditional Jewish *torah*. Indeed, if one follows the *torah* with thoughts of the heart, then the written *torah* is equal in their making one justified. As Paul notes, it is through the Jewish *torah* that God’s righteousness has been made manifest in Jesus and the prophets (Rom 3:21–22). The pious Jews, having and following the *torah*, are salvifically equal to their Gentile brethren, who have the *torah* of the heart, but the Jews, as the chosen people of God, are first among equals (Rom 1:25–36). As Paul reminds his Gentile readers, “they [‘my kindred according to the flesh’] are Israelites, and them belong the adoption, the glory, the covenants, the giving of the law, the worship, and the promises; to them belong the patriarchs, and from them, according to the flesh, comes the Messiah, who is over all, God blessed forever” (Rom 9:1–5).²⁵

²⁴ Τί οὖν; προεχόμεθα; οὐ πάντως, προητιασάμεθα γὰρ Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας πάντας ὑφ’ ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι, καθὼς γέγραπται ὅτι Οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἷς, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνίων, οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν θεόν· πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἑνός. τάφος ἀνεωγμένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολοῦσαν, ἰδὲ ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν, ὧν τὸ στόμα ἄρᾶς καὶ πικρίας γέμει· ὄξεῖς οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα, σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ὁδὸν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἔγνωσαν. οὐκ ἔστιν φόβος θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.

Οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λαλεῖ, ἵνα πᾶν στόμα φραγῆ καὶ ὑπόδικος γένηται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος τῷ θεῷ· διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ, διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας.

²⁵ οἵτινες εἰσιν Ἰσραηλιταί, ὧν ἡ υἰοθεσία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι, ὧν οἱ πατέρες, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων, θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

The reason why Jewish *torah* appears to many (particularly before the advent of New Perspective) subservient to the Gentiles' *torah* of the heart in Paul's epistle is twofold: i.) Paul notes that the nation of Israel has momentarily rejected Jesus. Paul writes that it will be the faith of the Gentiles that will eventually cause Israel to have faith in Jesus and attain salvation (Rom 9:30–33, 11) and ii.) Paul recognizes that the *torah* has been corrupted and abused in a hypocritical fashion so as to lose its effect in bringing Israel into recognition of Jesus as salvation.

To this first point, Paul writes, “Gentiles, who did not strive for righteousness, have attained it, that is, righteousness through faith; but Israel, who did strive for righteousness that is based on the law, did not succeed in fulfilling the law. Why not? Because they did not strive for it on the basis of faith, but as if it were based on works” (Rom 9:30–32).²⁶ In valuing the *performance* of the *torah* over the *necessity* of the *torah*, Paul suggests that the Jews have put works before faith. As discussed earlier, both faith and works are essential, but true works of the heart cannot exist for Paul without faith in salvation. The Gentiles, who are unburdened by the tradition of the written *torah*, are able to focus first on faith and then on justification through the *torah* of the heart. As there was a debate among Second-Temple Jews as to both the validity of Gentile conversion to Judaism after the eighth day (the day of circumcision) and the practice of the *torah* when one is physically separated from the Jewish Temple,²⁷ it may have been most productive for a Gentile to first accept salvation before a focus on his/her relationship to the *torah* of the heart. Indeed, it seems clear from Paul's

²⁶ ὅτι ἔθνη τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην κατέλαβεν δικαιοσύνην, δικαιοσύνην δὲ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως· Ἰσραὴλ δὲ διώκων νόμον δικαιοσύνης εἰς νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν. διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ ἔργων· προσέκοψαν τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος.

²⁷ See Paula Fredriksen's discussion of this debate and the influence of the Book of Jubilees on this question in Paula Fredriksen, *Paul: The Pagans' Apostle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 75.

admonitions to those Gentiles who wish to practice the *torah* that their first priority should be salvation through Jesus, and only after this should Gentiles be concerned with works. To focus on works before salvation would be to fall into the non-belief circumstance in which Paul identifies Israel as being.

Paul's conception here is structurally different from other Second-Temple literary approaches to explaining the role of Gentiles. While in 4 Ezra, Gentiles help perfect Jews through trial, in Paul's estimation, the Gentile followers of Jesus are maintaining the faith until Jews recognize salvation through Christ. Paul takes an approach to Gentiles that certainly would have ruffled some feathers among the authors of other Second-Temple literature such as Second Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon, the *Testament of Moses*, and the *Book of Jubilees*. It is only in Paul's writings that such an explicit explanation is brought forth as to how the Gentiles will save both Israel and themselves.

To the second point on the anti-nomic imagery of Paul's discussion of the *torah*, Paul actively chastised those who had abused the *torah*, acted hypocritically, and suppressed the truth of the *torah* (i.e., salvation). In the epistle's second chapter, Paul writes:

If you call yourself a Jew and rely on the law and boast of your relation to God and know his will and determine what is best because you are instructed in the law, and if you are sure that you are a guide to the blind, a light to those who are in darkness, a corrector of the foolish, a teacher of children, having in the law the embodiment of knowledge and truth, you, then, that teach others, will you not teach yourself? While you preach against stealing, do you steal? You that forbid adultery, do you commit adultery? You that abhor idols, do you rob temples? You that boast in the law, do you dishonor God by breaking the law? For, as it is written, "The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you" (Rom 2:17–24).²⁸

²⁸ Εἰ δὲ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἐπονομάζη καὶ ἐπαναπαύῃ νόμῳ καὶ καυχᾶσαι ἐν θεῷ καὶ γινώσκεις τὸ θέλημα καὶ δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα κατηγούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, πέποιθᾶς τε σεαυτὸν ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων, διδάσκαλον νηπίων, ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ—ὁ οὖν διδάσκων ἕτερον σεαυτὸν οὐ διδάσκεις; ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτειν κλέπτεις; ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν μοιχεύεις; ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδῶλα ἱεροσυλεῖς; ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις; τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ δι' ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καθὼς γέγραπται.

For Paul, those who have been blessed with God's *torah* should be those who uphold God's commandments the most. And yet, Paul's question implies the opposite: those Jews who judge others should themselves be judged (Rom 2:1–3). This harkens back to the idea of the primacy of salvation. The *torah* is not unimportant, but one must first recognize his/her need for salvation from sin, and only with this recognition can one truly live out the precepts of the *torah*. As Paul notes multiple times, both Jew and Gentile are in equal need of salvation (Rom 3:9–20, 4:9–12, 10:5–17).

In addition to this hypocrisy among some Jewish practitioners, Paul also suggests that some individuals are actively suppressing the truth. In a line, reminiscent of Jesus' statements in logia 39 and 102 of the *Gospel of Thomas*, Paul invokes a generic Second-Temple critique of oppositional sects within Judaism, writing:

For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and wickedness of those who by their wickedness suppress the truth. For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made. So they are without excuse; for though they knew God, they did not honor him as God or give thanks to him, but they became futile in their thinking, and their senseless minds were darkened. Claiming to be wise, they became fools; and they exchanged the glory of the immortal God for images resembling a mortal human being or birds or four-footed animals or reptiles (Rom 1:18–23).²⁹

It is unclear to whom Paul is referring here, if, indeed, he is referring to any specific group.

However, the concept of a group suppressing the truth of God is not dissimilar from what we

²⁹ Αποκαλύπτεται γὰρ ὀργὴ θεοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων, διότι τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὁ θεὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφανερώσεν. τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασιν νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢ τε αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους, διότι γνόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ἠὲ χαρίστησαν, ἀλλὰ ἐματαιώθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία· φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν, καὶ ἥλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ ἀφάρτου θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνας φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἐρπετῶν.

see in Qumran texts, Gnostic literature, and the *Gospel of Thomas*. As with those who would judge the legal practices of the Gentiles, Paul warns of the danger that can arise from blindly accepting the words of those who suppress truth. This, of course, does not suggest that the *Gospel of Thomas* was familiar with Paul's writings. Indeed, such a knowledge of Paul's epistles among the Thomasine community would have been highly unlikely. However, this does not mean, as evidenced by the common discourse among many Second-Temple literature texts, that Paul's epistles and the *Gospel of Thomas* are not speaking to a common concern present among Second-Temple Jews.

Indeed, critique of other sects as hypocrites within Judaism during the Second-Temple period is rampant in literature of the period. Consider the following passage from the first century CE *Testament of Moses*:

Then will rule destructive and godless men, who represent themselves as being righteous, but who will (in fact) arouse their inner wrath, for they will be deceitful men, pleasing only themselves, false in every way imaginable, (such as) loving feasts at any hour of the day--devouring, gluttonous ... But really they consume the goods of the (poor), saying their acts are according to justice, (while in fact they are simply) exterminators, deceitfully seeking to conceal themselves so that they will not be known as completely godless because of their criminal deeds (committed) all day long, saying, 'We shall have feasts, even luxurious winings and dinings. Indeed, we shall behave ourselves as princes.' They, with hand and mind, will touch impure things, yet their mouths will speak enormous things, and they will even say, 'Do not touch me, lest you pollute me in the position I occupy' (*T. Mos.* 7:3-4, 6-10).³⁰

There is a common thread in both Paul and the *Testament of Moses*' condemnation that those who know the *torah* but abuse it are the most dangerous, for they have been shown the proper path by which to live their lives (unlike many of the Gentiles, who sin in ignorance and ungodliness) and yet refuse to live according to God's commandments.

³⁰ Charlesworth, "Testament of Moses: A New Translation and Introduction," 930.

In the next section, I will explore how certain logia in the *Gospel of Thomas* implicitly and explicitly condemn those who abuse the *torah* and how such abuses, as are evident throughout the Second-Temple period, led the Thomasine community to discredit those whom they saw as devaluing and misobserving the *torah*.

Part II: Opinions on Proper *Torah* Observance in the *Gospel of Thomas*

Arguably the most telling portion of the *Gospel of Thomas* with regards to *torah* observance appears in logia 13–14, where we encounter an instance of Jesus apparently directly opposing multiple *mitzvot*. In logion 13, Jesus takes his apostle Thomas aside and privately reveals three sayings to him. Neither the apostles (except, of course, Thomas) nor the gospel reader is made privy to what Jesus here tells Thomas. When the other apostles later question Thomas as to what Jesus taught him, Thomas responds, “If I say to you one of the sayings which he said to me, you will take stones, you will throw [them] at me, a fire will come forth from the stones, and it will incinerate you” (*G. Thom. log. 13*).³¹ If this statement is true, then certainly whatever Thomas learned would have inflamed the pious Jewish apostles. Blasphemy against the *torah* would certainly have fit into this qualification.

In the following logion, Jesus tells his followers three things. It is not certain if these statements represent a continuation of the following logion or are rather coincidentally placed, but Jesus’ words in this logion nonetheless possess the inflammatory rhetoric of anti-nomic language. Jesus says, “If you fast, then you will bring forth sin. And if you pray, then you will be condemned. And if you give alms, then you will do harm to your spirits” (*G.*

³¹ εἰπαὶν αὐτῷ ἕνα τῶν ὁμμάτων ἃ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, ἔσονται λίθοι, ἔσονται ἑσθλαὶ, ἔσονται πυρὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων, καὶ ἐπιπέσει ἐφ’ ἐμὲ, καὶ ἐκκαύσει με. (G. Thom. log. 13).

Thom. log. 14).³² These sayings all contradict both expectations and—more importantly—specificities of the Jewish law, teaching essentially the opposite of what the *torah* commands.

While Jesus' words in logion 14 appear to be anti-nomic, I contend that these statements only reveal one angle of Jesus' discussion of the *torah*. I believe that in logion 13, when Jesus speaks to Thomas privately, that Jesus provides a detailed explanation of what he means by his statements in logion 14. However, Thomas, not speaking with the authority of Jesus, would not feel comfortable in sharing the teachings with his fellow apostles, as the language of Jesus' critique has certain anti-nomic qualities. Thomas' fear that the fellow apostles would attempt to stone him suggests that Thomas would not be able to repeat the refined explanation by which Jesus condemns not the *torah* but rather some forms of *torah* observance.

This dichotomy between Jesus' public statements in logion 14 and his private explanations with Thomas in logion 13 is representative of Jesus' larger ministry. As is suggested in the format of the *Didache*, the Gospel of Mark, and Q, while many of Jesus' sayings were spoken to large crowds, the detailing and explanation of these sayings and parables were most often only revealed to Jesus' closest followers. Thus, while Jesus speaks the same ideas to both his general followers and his closest disciples, only Jesus' closest disciples are the beneficiaries of detailed elucidations to often enigmatic statements.

Consider this scene from Mark 4, where Jesus tells the Parable of the Sower to his public audience:

Again he began to teach beside the sea. Such a very large crowd gathered around him that he got into a boat on the sea and sat there, while the whole

³² ετετῆσαν ῥηστευε τετῆα χπο ηητῆ ῆνοῦνοβε αγω ετετῆσαν αλλη σεναρκατακρине ῆμωτῆ αγω ετετῆσαν† ελεμωσῦνη ετετῆαειρε ῆογκακον ῆνετῆπῆα.

crowd was beside the sea on the land. He began to teach them many things in parables, and in his teaching he said to them: “Listen! A sower went out to sow. And as he sowed, some seed fell on the path, and the birds came and ate it up. Other seed fell on rocky ground, where it did not have much soil, and it sprang up quickly, since it had no depth of soil. And when the sun rose, it was scorched; and since it had no root, it withered away. Other seed fell among thorns, and the thorns grew up and choked it, and it yielded no grain. Other seed fell into good soil and brought forth grain, growing up and increasing and yielding thirty and sixty and a hundredfold.” And he said, “Let anyone with ears to hear listen!” (Mark 4:1–9).³³

It is up to Jesus’ listening audience to determine the meaning and significance of this parable.

Jesus provides no explanation or deconstruction of his allegory, simply telling his listeners (as he does in the *Gospel of Thomas*), “let anyone with ears to hear listen.”

However, Jesus’ public words are immediately followed by his private conversation with his apostles:

When he was alone, those who were around him along with the twelve asked him about the parables. And he said to them, “*To you has been given the secret of the kingdom of God, but for those outside, everything comes in parables; in order that ‘they may indeed look, but not perceive, and may indeed listen, but not understand; so that they may not turn again and be forgiven.’*” And he said to them, “Do you not understand this parable? Then how will you understand all the parables? The sower sows the word. These are the ones on the path where the word is sown: when they hear, Satan immediately comes and takes away the word that is sown in them. And these are the ones sown on rocky ground: when they hear the word, they immediately receive it with joy. But they have no root, and endure only for a while; then, when trouble or persecution arises on account of the word, immediately they fall away. And others are those sown among the thorns: these are the ones who hear the word, but the cares of the world, and the lure of wealth, and the desire for other things come in and choke the word, and it yields nothing. And these are the ones sown on the good soil:

³³ Καὶ πάλιν ἤρξατο διδάσκειν παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ συνάγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλος πλείστος, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς πλοῖον ἐμβάντα καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν. καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς πολλά καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ· Ἀκούετε. ἰδοὺ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπεῖρων σπεῖραι. καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ σπεῖρῳ ὁ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, καὶ ἦλθεν τὰ πετεινά καὶ κατέφαγεν αὐτό. καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες ὅπου οὐκ εἶχεν γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐξανέτειλεν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν βάθος γῆς· καὶ ὅτε ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος ἐκαυματίσθη καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ρίζαν ἐξηράνθη. καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας, καὶ ἀνέβησαν αἱ ἀκάνθαι καὶ συνέπνιξαν αὐτό, καὶ καρπὸν οὐκ ἔδωκεν. καὶ ἄλλα ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν, καὶ ἐδίδου καρπὸν ἀναβαίνοντα καὶ ἀυξανόμενα, καὶ ἔφερεν ἐν τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν. καὶ ἔλεγεν· Ὅς ἔχει ὧτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω.

they hear the word and accept it and bear fruit, thirty and sixty and a hundredfold” (Mark 4:10–20; emphasis added).³⁴

Jesus quotes Isaiah 6:9–10 as his justification to why he does not provide a clear explanation to those who hear his words publicly. In a gospel such as Mark, where Jesus’ identity largely remains a secret at Jesus’ own request, there is no reason for the public to be fed the analysis of Jesus’ parables and statements during his life. The public is not ready to understand the true nature of Jesus, which would only be revealed through a true understanding of his words and his resurrection.

However, Jesus expects his disciples to understand who he is (cf. Mark 8:27–30) and of what his parables speak. Indeed, Jesus intimates his surprise that his apostles cannot explicate the parable on their own, and he resigns to interpret the allegory for them. As Jesus says, “Do you not understand this parable? Then how will you understand all the parables,” expressing Jesus’ concern that one’s ability to understand a parable goes beyond the language of any specific, individual parable. Instead, if one could understand this parable, they should understand all Jesus’ parables and the unique role of Jesus as Christ.

This dichotomy portrayed above between Jesus’ public and private ministry is similar to what one finds in the *Gospel of Thomas*. In both the Gospel of Mark and the *Gospel of Thomas*, there is a public audience and a private audience, with the latter receiving a detailed

³⁴ Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας, ἠρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα τὰς παραβολὰς. καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς· Ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσι καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσι καὶ μὴ συνιῶσιν, μήποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῆ ἑαυτοῖς. Καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς· Οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην, καὶ πῶς πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γνῶσεσθε; ὁ σπείρων τὸν λόγον σπείρει. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσιν οἱ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὅπου σπείρεται ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν εὐθὺς ἔρχεται ὁ Σατανᾶς καὶ αἶρει τὸν λόγον τὸν ἐσπαρμένον εἰς αὐτούς. καὶ οὗτοι εἰσιν ὁμοίως οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πετρῶδη σπειρόμενοι, οἱ ὅταν ἀκούσωσιν τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς μετὰ χαρᾶς λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ρίζαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀλλὰ πρόσκαιροί εἰσιν, εἴτα γενομένης θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς σκανδαλίζονται. καὶ ἄλλοι εἰσιν οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι· οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ τὸν λόγον ἀκούσαντες, καὶ αἱ μέριμναι τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι εἰσπορευόμεναι συμπνίγουσιν τὸν λόγον, καὶ ἄκαρπος γίνεται. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν σπαρέντες, οἵτινες ἀκούουσιν τὸν λόγον καὶ παραδέχονται καὶ καρποφοροῦσιν ἐν τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν.

explanation of what has been revealed to the latter. However, there is one key difference. In the Gospel of Mark, the reader is permitted to hear Jesus' private words with his apostles. That is, the gospel reader notes what Jesus tells his public followers, but unlike his public followers, the reader does not have to explicate meaning for himself. And as the reader comprehends the parable, so too does the reader comprehend Jesus' unique role, repeated to the reader multiple times throughout the course of the gospel. This inclusion of the audience into the privileged role of the apostles is present in all three Synoptic Gospels. Jesus teaches to the public, his apostles are confused and question him, and Jesus gives a detailed explanation of his words to his apostles and the gospel reader. This may come as a result of the apostolic authority tied into the tradition of the gospels. That is, these gospels may explicate Jesus' parables and statements because they believe themselves to be inheritors of Jesus' privileged teachings through the apostolic tradition.

The inclusion of the gospel readers in Jesus' explanation to his privileged apostles is not present in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Indeed, almost all of Jesus' statements in this gospel are enigmatic, and salvation comes through one's ability to discover the interpretation of these sayings, which Jesus only gives in private (cf. *G. Thom.* log. 13). In this way, the *Gospel of Thomas'* elucidation of Jesus' teachings is manifestly different than in the Synoptic Gospels. However, this does not mean that the *Gospel of Thomas* is alone in its enigmatic approach to Jesus' sayings. Indeed, in this respect, the *Gospel of Thomas* is quite similar to the Q-gospel. Both traditions record Jesus' sayings, but they seldom provide apostolic authority into making a pronouncement about how a saying ought to be interpreted.

Take, for instance, Jesus' discussion of the Lamp and the Bushel found in both the Gospels of Matthew and Luke and likely derived from some now-lost version of Q. The Q

narrative that can be reconstructed for this verse is presented below (“Luke’s version” of this passage is essentially what modern scholars take to be the Q version of the passage here.):³⁵

Matthew 5:15	Luke 11:33
οὐδὲ καίουσιν λύχνον καὶ τιθέασιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὸν μῶδιον ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ λάμπει πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ	οὐδεὶς λύχνον ἄψας εἰς κρύπτην τίθησιν οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μῶδιον ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὴν λυχνίαν, ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι τὸ φέγγος βλέπωσιν.
No one after lighting a lamp puts it under the bushel basket, but on the lampstand, and it gives light to all in the house.	No one after lighting a lamp puts it in a cellar, but on the lampstand so that those who enter may see the light.

These verses are almost verbatim and lend credence to the common source of Q. However, the interpretation that directly follows these two sayings in their respective gospels is quite different:

Matthew 5:16	Luke 11:34–36
οὕτως λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως ἴδωσιν ὑμῶν τὰ καλὰ ἔργα καὶ δοξάσωσιν τὸν πατέρα ὑμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.	ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου. ὅταν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου ἀπλοῦς ᾖ, καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμά σου φωτεινὸν ἐστίν· ἐπὰν δὲ πονηρὸς ᾖ, καὶ τὸ σῶμά σου σκοτεινόν. σκόπει οὖν μὴ τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστίν. εἰ οὖν τὸ σῶμά σου ὅλον φωτεινόν, μὴ ἔχον μέρος τι σκοτεινόν, ἔσται φωτεινὸν ὅλον ὡς ὅταν ὁ λύχνος τῇ ἀστραπῇ φωτίζη σε.
In the same way, let your light shine before others, so that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father in heaven.	Your eye is the lamp of your body. If your eye is healthy, your whole body is full of light; but if it is not healthy, your body is full of darkness. Therefore consider whether the light in you is not darkness. If then your whole body is full of light, with no part of it in darkness, it will be as full of light as

³⁵ Reconstruction of Q adapted from Robert J. Miller, ed., “Q,” in *The Complete Gospels: Annotated Scholars Version*, Rev. and expanded ed (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 275.

	when a lamp gives you light with its rays.
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While both of these explanations are certainly reasonable readings of Jesus' allegory about the light and bushel, the fact that they disagree on interpretation, despite describing an almost verbatim verse, suggests that these interpretations were added later, in the independent Matthew and Luke tradition. Indeed, the explanation employed by Luke is simply another statement taken from Q (found in Matt 6:22–23), while the verse from Matthew has no direct comparanda. The verse as it appeared in Q likely did not have Matthew's explanation and it is uncertain if Luke's explanation taken from Q was used as a separate statement or was meant to embellish the allegory of the lamp and bushel. Most likely, Q's text would have left the reader to ponder the interpretation behind this saying independent of any apostolic explanation.

Most of Q's reconstructed sayings follow this pattern, where Q provides a simple statement or parable, to which the Matthean and Lukan counterparts adopt the verse but provide an explanation derived from their respective traditions. In the non-explanatory quality of Q, the *Gospel of Thomas* finds a close comparand. Conveniently, the *Gospel of Thomas* also includes the statement about a bushel and light, making comparisons between these texts a bit more straightforward. In *Thomas*, the passage reads, "For no one lights a lamp and places it under a bushel nor does anyone place it in a hidden place. Rather, one places it upon the lampstand so that anyone who goes in and out will see its light" (*G. Thom.* log. 33).³⁶ As was present in Q, the *Gospel of Thomas* only includes the aphoristic portion of

³⁶ μαρελααυ γαρ xερε ρηβς η̄κκααυ ρα ηααxε οδε ηακκααυ ρη̄ μα εφρηπ αλλα εφρηεκκααυ ριxη̄ τληxηια xεκααc οyon ηη̄ ετβηκ εροyn αyω ετ̄η̄η̄y εβολ εyηαηαy απεφοyοειη.

the statement, leaving a conspicuous absence where the reader of the Synoptic Gospel would traditionally expect explanation and clarity.

Of all of the gospel's 114 logia, the evangelist provides nearly no context nor explanation for Jesus' words. In fact, it is only in logion 13, when Jesus takes Thomas aside, that the gospel reveals that Jesus does in fact share the meaning behind his statements. However, as Thomas notes to his fellow apostles at the end of logion 13, Jesus' explanation in the *Gospel of Thomas* may not have been as easy to swallow as comparative explanations in the Synoptic tradition. It is with the enigmatic nature of Jesus' public statement and the unknowable nature of Jesus' private explication of his statements that I approach logion 14 and its ostensibly anti-nomic remarks.

Fasting

To appreciate the initial severity of Jesus' words, it is worth quickly examining the Second-Temple sentiments on each of these three proscriptions raised in logion 14 individually, beginning with fasting. Despite containing a number of *mitzvot* about which foods may and may not be eaten, the *torah* is explicit with regard to the necessity of fasting only on two occasions. In the book of Deuteronomy, the *torah* prescribes an incidental fasting, requiring hired workers not to eat during employment hours.³⁷ The second of the *torah*'s mandates on fasting has a much larger application and concerns fasting on Yom Kippur as part of one's atonement of his/her transgressions of the covenant.³⁸ The *torah*

³⁷ Ἐὰν δὲ εἰσέλθῃς εἰς ἀμητὸν τοῦ πλησίον σου, καὶ συλλέξῃς ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου στάχυς καὶ δρέπανον οὐ μὴ ἐπιβάλλῃς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀμητὸν τοῦ πλησίον σου ("If you go into your neighbor's standing grain, you may pluck the ears with your hand, but you shall not put a sickle to your neighbor's standing grain," Deut 23:25).

³⁸ Καὶ ἐλάλησε Κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· λάλησον τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, λέγων· τοῦ μηνὸς τοῦ ἑβδόμου μιᾶ τοῦ μηνὸς ἔσται ὑμῖν ἀνάπαυσις, μνημόσυνον σαλπίγγων, κλητὴ ἀγία ἔσται ὑμῖν· πᾶν ἔργον λατρευτὸν οὐ ποιήσετε, καὶ προσάξετε ὀλοκαύτωμα Κυρίῳ. Καὶ ἐλάλησε Κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν λέγων· καὶ τῆ δεκάτῃ τοῦ

makes it evident the importance and seriousness of this day of fasting and its relationship among the Lord's commandments. Indeed, Yom Kippur is unique in its description through the *torah* because it is the only day that requires universal fasting. Second-Temple literature does not question the significance of this fasting, and it is unlikely that Jesus' words in the *Gospel of Thomas* are speaking against Yom Kippur fasting specifically.

However, glimpses from Second-Temple literature indicate that Jews practiced fasting apart from the solitary day prescribed in the *torah*, and that some Jewish holidays may have become *de facto* fast-days during this period (the Tenth of Tevet, the Seventeenth of Tammuz, the Ninth of Av, Thirteenth of Adar, etc.).³⁹ Similarly, biblical and Second-Temple literature abounds with examples of holy men and women fasting in order to beg for forgiveness, humble themselves before the Lord, or to gain favor before God; in these instances, fasting was recognized both as a sign of a pious individual and a rite by which a community could attract the attention of the Lord.⁴⁰ In the Book of Daniel, the text reads, "Then I turned to the Lord God, to seek an answer by prayer and supplication with fasting and sackcloth and ashes" (Dan 9:3).⁴¹ Fasting here is part of the means by which Daniel humbles himself before the Lord in a moment of request, and by which any pious Jew could

μηνὸς τοῦ ἐβδόμου τούτου ἡμέρα ἐξίλασμοῦ, κλητὴ ἁγία ἔσται ὑμῖν, καὶ ταπεινώσετε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν, καὶ προσάξετε ὀλοκαύτωμα τῷ Κυρίῳ. πᾶν ἔργον οὐ ποιήσετε ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ· ἔστι γὰρ ἡμέρα ἐξίλασμοῦ αὕτη ὑμῖν, ἐξιλιάσασθαι περὶ ὑμῶν ἐναντι Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑμῶν. πᾶσα ψυχὴ, ἣτις μὴ ταπεινωθήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς (The LORD spoke to Moses, saying: Now, the tenth day of this seventh month is the day of atonement; it shall be a holy convocation for you: you shall deny yourself and present the LORD's offering by fire; and you shall do no work during that entire; for it is a day of atonement, to make atonement on your behalf before the LORD your God. For anyone who does not practice self-denial during that entire day shall be cut off from the people," Lev 23:26–29).

³⁹ "Though not sanctioned by the Pentateuch, fasts in addition to that on the Day of Atonement [Yom Kippur] may have been regarded as obligatory in the later biblical period" E. P. Sanders, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (London: Philadelphia: SCM Press; Trinity Press International, 1990), 82. "Fasting & Fast Days," accessed May 4, 2021, <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/fasting-and-fast-days>.

⁴⁰ "Fasting & Fast Days."

⁴¹ καὶ ἔδωκα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ κύριον τὸν θεὸν εὐρεῖν προσευχὴν καὶ ἔλεος ἐν νησεῖρας καὶ σάκκῳ καὶ σποδῶ.

humble her/himself before the Lord. By this temporary reprieve of the material food, Daniel seeks to experience the spiritual food that comes by means of God's answer.

This form of fasting as prayer exists beyond the individual level. In the Second-Temple era Book of Judith, the nation of Israel fasts in order to gain the Lord's attention to bequeath rain on a drought-ridden land. The text notes, "So the Israelites did as they had been ordered by the high priest Joakim and the senate of the whole people of Israel, in session at Jerusalem. And every man of Israel cried out to God with great fervor, and they humbled themselves with much fasting" (Jdt 4:9–10).⁴² Again, fasting is presented as only one of many means by which Jews can attract the attention of God, but a principal one nonetheless. Fasting—unlike the 'crying out' in Judith but similar to the donning of a sackcloth in Daniel—humbles the practitioner (either an individual or a community) before God, portraying God himself as the ultimate provider of food and nourishment.

This type of fasting is echoed in verses of the Mishnah and may have its origins with the first-century BCE individual Honi the Circle-Drawer. In the Mishnah Taanit, the ritual to request rain is described as:

If the seventeenth of Marḥeshvan arrived and rain has not fallen, individuals, but not the entire community, begin to fast three fasts for rain. How are these fasts conducted? As the fast begins in the morning, one may eat and drink after dark, and one is permitted during the days of the fasts themselves to engage in the performance of work, in bathing, in smearing oil on one's body, in wearing shoes, and in conjugal relations.⁴³

⁴² Cf. the discussion of fasting in Judith in Brandon Walker, "This Kind Only Comes Out by Prayer (and Fasting): Fasting, Ritual Efficacy and Magical Thinking in Early Christianity," *Journal of Ritual Studies* 31, no. 1 (2017): 43–52. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ καθὰ συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς Ἰωακὶμ ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ ἡ γερουσία παντὸς δήμου Ἰσραὴλ, οἱ ἐκάθηντο ἐν Ἱεροσολαίμῃ.—καὶ ἀνεβόησαν πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἐκτενεΐᾳ μεγάλη καὶ ἐταπεινώσαν τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκτενεΐᾳ μεγάλῃ.

⁴³ Mishnah Taanit 1.4 (Accessed from Sefaria.org via the William Davidson digital edition of the Koren Noé Talmud, with commentary by Rabbi Adin Even-Israel Steinsaltz, translated into English).

If this fast does not bring rain, the community should fast for three more days under the same guidelines.⁴⁴ Again, if rain is not provided, the community is to severely fast for three more days. If these fasts are to no avail, then the Mishnah prescribes yet another seven days of severe fasting.⁴⁵ As can be noted from this example, fasting exists on a spectrum where simple fasts may allow for an individual to eat during the evening and participate in daily activities, while more severe fasts may have forbidden any form of food or social activity.

In his discussion of fasting in Second-Temple Judaism and early Christianity, the scholar Brandon Walker identifies “four main motives” for this practice during this time period.⁴⁶ These four motives are i.) “fasting for atonement,” as with the *torah* precept to fast for Yom Kippur (“the day of atonement”) noted above, ii.) “fasting for mourning,” as we partially see in the Judith excerpt above, iii.) “fasting for ritual purification,” as is evidenced in the Synoptic Gospels with Jesus purifying himself for forty days by fasting in the wilderness, and iv.) “fasting for magical purposes, especially for divine revelation,” as noted in the above Daniel passage.⁴⁷ I do not think that Walker’s employment of the term ‘magical’ in this fourth point is by any means to imply ‘illicit’ behavior by either the faster or the Jewish deity.⁴⁸ I think instead of ‘magical,’ it may be more productive for us to envision ‘fasting’ as a natural and ordered means by which a man or woman moves him/herself away from the material world and toward the non-material nature of the divine. This does not necessitate a Platonic reading of the Jewish cosmology—a reading certainly present in this

⁴⁴ Mishnah Taanit 1.5.

⁴⁵ Mishnah Taanit 1.6.

⁴⁶ Walker, “This Kind Only Comes Out by Prayer (and Fasting),” 44.

⁴⁷ Walker, 44.

⁴⁸ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Joseph Ward Swain (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 2008), 42–47.

Hellenized world—but rather reinforces the sentiment of Deuteronomy 8:3 that “one does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes from the mouth of the Lord” (echoed again during Jesus’ fasting in Matt 4:4).

When Jesus fasts in the Synoptic Gospels, I would argue that it is toward the third and fourth purposes that Walker lays out: ritual purification and acquisition of divine revelation. In all three of the Synoptic Gospels it is Jesus’ period of fasting in the desert that separates his baptism from his ministry (Mark 1:12–13, Matt 4:1–11, and Luke 4:1–12). Similarly, in each of the three gospels, Jesus goes and fasts in the desert on account of the Spirit. The desert and this period of fasting represents a liminal point, a nebulous boundary between Jesus’ life as a human and Jesus’ life as a divine prophet. If we assume an Adoptionist reading for Jesus’ fasting and temptation in the desert—we, of course are by no means bound to this hermeneutical lens—we might see the forty days of fasting in the Synoptics as a period when Jesus *qua* human becomes Jesus *qua* God, recognizing his power (*e.g.*, the potentiality to transfigure stones into bread), appreciating the authority of the Lord (*e.g.*, quoting the *torah* that “one does not live by bread alone...”), and dissenting to the temptations put forth by the Devil to abuse the new powers bequeathed to him by the Spirit in the River Jordan. However, in this reading, while fasting, Jesus is not yet God. He is becoming God. Regardless of our reading, however, fasting—as a mode of transition between the human and divine—maintains an esteemed position of human-divine interaction in the Synoptic Gospels.

While the above passage from the Synoptics can be identified as man becoming God during the period of fasting, more often in Second-Temple literature, fasting is identified as one preparing oneself for an encounter with something divine, *à la* Biblical prophets. In the

post-70 CE text 4 Ezra (2 Esd 3–14), the angel of the Lord, who reveals the nature of existence and the fate of the universe, requires that Ezra fast for seven days before each of his visions, telling him “these are the signs that I am permitted to tell you, and if you pray again, and weep as you do now, and fast for seven days, you shall hear yet greater things than these” (2 Esd 5:13). Each of Ezra’s visions is predicated on his fasting of both joyful emotions and material food (2 Esd 5:13 6:31, 12:39). When he is allowed to eat, it is only from the flowers that God will provide for him (2 Esd 9:23). Ezra fasts from food, but he also fasts from companionship, shunning those who interrupt his fast (2 Esd 5:16–20). Only by his fasting, does the angel of God identify Ezra as being prepared to receive the knowledge of the cosmos and question God’s actions.

As such a fundamental means by which a human individual can encounter the divine, it seems odd that the *Gospel of Thomas*’ Jesus would so unabashedly deride fasting. I would argue that Jesus’ words on fasting are circumstantial, he is not condemning fasting in all its manifestations. I will briefly note specifically why I believe that Jesus is not disregarding the central commandment to fast on Yom Kippur nor fasting as a means of approaching the divine. Instead, I contend that the fasting which *Thomas*’ Jesus speaks against is specifically with regards to the frequent fasting practiced by certain Second-Temple groups, most prominently the Pharisees, that are not demanded by the *torah*.

As noted before, I do not suggest that what initially appears as anti-nomic rhetoric in the *Gospel of Thomas* is necessarily critiquing the *torah* forthright. Indeed, it seems evident that the *Gospel of Thomas* recognizes the importance of *torah* observant fasting, for a sinful world. In fasting on Yom Kippur, a person can become *like* God, moving her/himself away from the baseness of the Earth and sin and toward the perfection of the Father. Indeed, Yom

Kippur, as a day of atonement, is bringing God’s people *en masse* closer to God. In transgressing and doing what is counter to the *torah*, humanity increases the distance of this spiritual bond. The *torah* notes that “this [day] shall be an everlasting statute for you, to make atonement for the people of Israel once in the year for all their sin” (Lev 16:34).⁴⁹ By atoning for transgressions on Yom Kippur (both the transgressions of the individual and of the collective people of Israel), Jews are reestablishing their close bond, ‘resetting’ the covenant, so to speak, with an ever benevolent and forgiving God.⁵⁰

While this command is applicable for one day only, it is a *mitzvah* all the same. And it is a significant *mitzvah*—as much as any of God’s *mitzvot* can be compared. In the *Gospel of Thomas*, Jesus recognizes that fasting does serve a purpose in terms of atoning for transgressions. In logion 104, Jesus responds to an unknown group who call for him to fast, “What sin have I done or did they become victorious over me? But when the bridegroom leaves the bridal chamber, then may they fast and pray,” *G. Thom. log. 104*).⁵¹ Jesus is not denying the utility of fasting nor the sinful nature of individuals.⁵² Instead, Jesus here is

⁴⁹ καὶ ἔσται τοῦτο ὑμῖν νόμιμον αἰώνιον ἐξιλάσκεσθαι περὶ τῶν υἰῶν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν.

⁵⁰ Fredriksen, *Paul*, 16.

⁵¹ The term *γοταν* here implies a conditionality, not a certainty, for a possible time when the bridegroom might leave. This Thomasine passage is similar to a saying found in Mark 2:18–20, except the canonical gospel is more explicit than the Thomas passage in suggesting that the bridegroom will leave: ἐλεύσονται δὲ ἡμέραι ὅταν ἀπαρθῆ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ὁ νυμφίος, καὶ τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (“the days will come when the bridegroom is taken away from them, and then they will fast on that day,” Mark 2:20). Such a certainty is missing from the Gospel of Thomas. Instead, in the Thomas passage—while Jesus does recognize the traditional relationship between sin and atonement through fasting—it is only when and if the bridegroom is gone that fasting is necessary. There are many reasons to believe that the Thomasine community did not see Jesus as absent from the world. Instead, they identified Jesus as a ‘living’ member of their spiritual community. In such a world, the bridegroom is still present and thus to fast would be to disavow Jesus’ ‘living’ nature. Text in Coptic reads: οὐ γὰρ πε πνοβε ἡ ταειααϩ η ἡ ταϫρο εροει ρἡ οὐ αλλα ροταν ερωαηπηνμηφιου ει εβολ ρἡ πηνμηφωη τοτε μαρογνηστεγε αγω μαρογωληη.

⁵² It might be argued that Jesus speaks against atonement because he envisions a people freed of sins and innocent of transgressions. An innocent people do not need to beg for forgiveness. However, other logia in the gospel make this interpretation seem unlikely. In logion 28, Jesus laments: αειωρε ερατ ρἡ τμητε ἡπκοσμοσ αγω αειογωνε εβολ ηαϫ σαρϫ αειρε εροου τηρου εϫταρε ἡπρηε ελλαϫ ἡρητοϫ εφοβε αγω αταϫϫη † τκασ

simply stating that while he is among humanity, fasting is not appropriate. Now is a time of celebration, not a time of shame.

In the covenant between Israel and God, God gave the *torah* to the people of Israel, and the people of Israel follow the *torah* as closely as possible. Of course, people invariably transgress the law, and atonement serves as *the* means to beg for God’s forgiveness and rebuild the spiritual covenant. Only humans ever need atonement, as God never transgresses his side of the covenant. Year in and year out, the Jews reestablish their covenant with God by means of atonement through fasting. There is no reason—specifically with Jesus’ recognition of the importance of fasting *qua* atonement in logion 104—to suggest that Jesus’ words were meant to discredit the *mitzvah* related to the Day of Atonement. It would be nothing more than a paradox for Jesus to call a sin that which moves Israel away from sin.

Instead, I argue that it is more likely that Jesus’ statement here relates to the non-*torah* prescribed fasting, exemplified by the austere fasting rituals of the Pharisees. The most explicit condemnation of the fasting of the Pharisees can be found in Matthew, where Jesus commands his followers:

And whenever you fast, do not look dismal, like the hypocrites, for they disfigure their faces so as to show others that they are fasting. Truly I tell you, they have received their reward. But when you fast, put oil on your head and wash your face, so that your fasting may be seen not by others but by your

ⲉⲗⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲣⲉ ⲛⲣⲣⲟⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲣⲛⲃⲗⲗⲉⲉⲣⲉ ⲛⲉ ⲉⲙ̅ ⲡⲟⲩⲥⲏⲧ ⲁⲓⲱ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉ ⲛ̅ⲧⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲉⲓⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲟⲩⲉⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲉⲙ̅ ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲱⲟⲩⲉⲓⲧ ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲥⲉⲧⲟⲣⲉ ⲥⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲉⲓⲱⲁⲛⲛⲉⲥ ⲡⲟⲩⲏⲣⲓ ⲧⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲉⲛⲁⲓⲙⲉⲧⲁⲛⲟⲩⲉⲓ (“I stood in the midst of the world, and I appeared to them in the flesh. I found all of them drunk. I did not find anyone before the well. And my soul was in pain for the sons of men, because they are blind in their mind. But now they are drunk. When they cast off their wine, then they will repent,” *G. Thom. log. 28*). Jesus’ description here does not portray a world free of sin. Quite the opposite. Neither does Jesus’s description foresee a world bereft of transgressions (I do not think that the above translation does justice to the final line, as it seems to imply a ‘when’ when all will repent, as in some sort of Origenist eschatology. However, the Coptic employs the term ⲥⲟⲧⲁⲛ (‘when, if’) followed by a verb in the conditional tense, indicating that this ‘when’ is very much a hypothetical time (~“if they should shake off their wine, then they will repent). The only certainty is that sin will remain (at least a while) in the physical world that Jesus envisions.

Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you (Matt 6:16–18).⁵³

For Jesus, it is the *action* of fasting and not the *performance* of fasting that leads one to righteousness. If fasting is for performance, then the viewing of performance by others is your reward, for as Jesus warns, “where your treasure is, there your heart will be also” (Matt 6:21).⁵⁴ This warning appears to be in direct contrast to the showiness of the Pharisees and Scribes discussed in Mark 12: 35–40, Matthew 23:1–39, Luke 11:37–54, and the *Gospel of Thomas* 39.

Similarly, in the first-century CE *Didache*, the text warns its readers about following the fasting rituals of the Pharisees. It notes, “let not your fasts be with the hypocrites; for they fast on the second and fifth day of the week; but fast on the fourth day and the Preparation” (*Did.* 8).⁵⁵ As opposed to the Synoptic Gospels, the concern in the *Didache* is not unprescribed fasting as such but the chosen day of such fasting. However, the *Didache* mirrors the language in Matthew, in its condemnation of the hypocritical nature of the Pharisees’ fasting rituals. For the author of the *Didache*, the Pharisees’ inability to understand that they have the wrong days for fasting is borne from their misreading and misapplication of the *torah*.

Within the *Gospel of Thomas*, the inflammatory statements that Jesus told Thomas in logion 13 may relate to this type of bi-week fasting. As noted before, while Jesus’ statements

⁵³ “Όταν δὲ νηστεύητε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ σκυθρωποὶ, ἀφανίζουσιν γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἀλειψαί σου τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου νίψαι, ὅπως μὴ φανῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ· καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ ἀποδώσει σοι.

⁵⁴ ὅπου γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδιά σου.

⁵⁵ Translated by M.B. Riddle. From *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 7. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886. Text reads in Greek: Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν. νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρα σαββάτων καὶ πέμτη· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν.

in logion 14 are representative of Jesus' public ministry and are therefore vague and enigmatic, the private words spoken to Thomas in logion 13 were likely more explicative of how Jesus wanted his followers to understand his public teachings. While it seems unlikely from the popular sentiment of the Second-Temple period that Jesus would have condemned fasting for atonement (as is the case on Yom Kippur), it seems plausible, given comparable evidence in Q, Matthew, and the *Didache*, that Jesus may have condemned the specific ways in which the Pharisees fasted, both the performative and frequent nature of their fasting.⁵⁶

With such scant evidence as to the Pharisees' fasting rituals, it is difficult to definitively say that these rituals were against that which Jesus spoke in this logion. However, that the Pharisees fasted twice a week is detailed in Luke's gospel in the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector (Luke 18:9–14). In the context of this parable, the Pharisee understands his fasting as a trait that makes him more righteous than the tax collector. A combination of this parable from Luke and Jesus' condemnation of fasting in the *Gospel of Thomas* might suggest that Jesus did not see fasting apart from atonement as making one more pious than another. Fasting for the sake of atonement reunites one with God, but fasting outside of the law, for *Thomas'* Jesus, is performative and insignificant to God.

Prayer

In the second portion of logion 14, Jesus tells his followers, “if you pray, then you will be condemned” (*G. Thom. log. 14*).⁵⁷ For any reader who possesses even the scantest

⁵⁶ Cf. Josephus' discussion of popular sentiment of trust for the Pharisees among Jews in *A.J.* 1:3–4.

⁵⁷ ετετῆρωσαν ὅλην σενάρκατακρίνε ἡμῶν.

knowledge about either Judaism or Christianity, this statement, taken at face value, will come as disorienting. In nearly every Biblical book, the relationship between the Lord and his chosen people is maintained and restored through human prayer.⁵⁸ The examples of Israel’s prophets and holy men and women praying is almost endless. Indeed, prayer is so integral to one’s relationship with the Lord, that a *mitzah* is provided in Exodus specifically for its prescription.⁵⁹

This importance of prayer recognized in the Hebrew Bible is no less important for most of the authors of Second-Temple literature. Indeed, prayer is still recognized as the primary way among Second-Temple authors in which to beg for God’s intervention in times of trial. Take for instance the Greek additions to Esther, which add references to “God” and “Lord” that are absent from the earlier Hebrew text.⁶⁰ With a *terminus ante quem* of 93 CE (based on Josephus’ discussion of this Greek text in *Jewish Antiquities*), these additions illustrate a reinvigorated belief in prayer for a specific Second-Temple author, and “give the book an explicitly religious tone, ... contain[ing] themes common to late national laments.”⁶¹ In Addition C of the text, the author adds a section about Mordecai’s prayer to God in face of extermination by the Gentile ruler Haman:

Then Mordecai prayed to the Lord, calling to remembrance all the works of the Lord. He said, “O Lord, Lord, you rule as King over all things, for the universe is in your power and there is no one who can oppose you when it is your will to

⁵⁸ To cite only a few, in Genesis, Isaac prays to God that Rebekah might conceive (Gen. 25:21); in Exodus, Moses prays to God to cease the plagues every time Pharaoh appears contrite (Exod. 7–11); Hannah prays to God in 1 Samuel that she might bear a son (1 Sm. 1:9–11); King Solomon prays to dedicate the Temple (2 Chr. 6:12–42); and Job prays to the Lord to plead for an end to his trials (Jb. 17).

⁵⁹ καὶ λατρεύσεις κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου, καὶ εὐλογήσω τὸν ἄρτον σου καὶ τὸν οἶνόν σου καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ σου καὶ ἀποστρέψω μαλακίαν ἀφ’ ὑμῶν (“You shall worship the LORD your God, and I will bless your bread and your water; and I will take all sickness away from you,” Exod. 23:25).

⁶⁰ Michael D. Coogan et al., eds., “Esther (The Greek Version Containing Additional Chapters),” in *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version: An Ecumenical Study Edition*, trans. Mary Joan Winn Leith, Fully revised fifth edition (Oxford New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 56.

⁶¹ Coogan et al., 55; Coogan et al., n. 13.8–14.19: The prayers of Mordecai and Esther.

save Israel, for you have made heaven and earth and every wonderful thing under heaven. You are Lord of all, and there is no one who can resist you, the Lord. You know all things; you know, O Lord, that it was not in insolence or pride or for any love of glory that I did this, and refused to bow down to this proud Haman; for I would have been willing to kiss the soles of his feet to save Israel! But I did this so that I might not set human glory above the glory of God, and I will not bow down to anyone but you, who are my Lord; and I will not do these things in pride. And now, O Lord God and King, God of Abraham, spare your people; for the eyes of our foes are upon us to annihilate us, and they desire to destroy the inheritance that has been yours from the beginning. Do not neglect your portion, which you redeemed for yourself out of the land of Egypt. Hear my prayer, and have mercy upon your inheritance; turn our mourning into feasting that we may live and sing praise to your name, O Lord; do not destroy the lips of those who praise you.” And all Israel cried out mightily, for their death was before their eyes (Add Esth 13:8–18).

This prayer is immediately followed by a prayer to God from Esther (Add Esth 14:1–19; another Second-Temple addition). In Mordecai’s prayer, we can clearly identify the anxieties present during the Second-Temple period concerning the omnipresent threat of the Gentiles. It is in prayer that Mordecai both asks for deliverance from the evil of the Gentiles and to explain to God that a pious Jew’s actions (as exemplified here by Mordecai) never intend to give glory to the Gentiles but to give glory to God, while at times trying to appease the wrath of Gentile neighbors.

In both Mordecai and Esther’s prayers, the speaker makes it clear that the only succor from tribulation wrought by the Gentiles is through God. Therefore, in praying to God, one is praying for escape from the pains of the Gentiles. Through this narrative of the Jewish people’s persecution during the first Temple destruction, the author of Esther (and many of the authors of various Second-Temple texts) is able to focus the current anxieties of Roman destruction through the lens of Babylonian violence. And, for this reason, the imagined prayer of ancestors can serve as a useful guide for Second-Temple audiences who see elements of oppression and danger replayed in the Roman occupation of the chosen people.

These prayers, both in the Hebrew Bible and the literature of the Second-Temple period, do not arrive at the ears of an indifferent god. Time and again, God hears and answers the calls of those who are righteous.⁶² In a number of Second-Temple pieces such as the above mentioned Esther additions, Second Maccabees, 3 Baruch, *Testament of Job*, and the *Book of Jubilees*, God repeatedly comes to the aid of those who stand at the brink of persecution and wrath of the Gentiles.

With this high esteem toward prayer among Second-Temple literature, is there any evidence to suggest that the historical Jesus was opposed to prayer in the manner that the *Gospel of Thomas*' Jesus castigates prayer? From the New Testament scriptures, the answer would have to be a resounding 'no.' Jesus famously teaches his followers how to pray the Lord's Prayer in both the Gospel of Matthew (6:9–13) and the Gospel of Luke (11:2–4). At the moment before his death, Jesus cries out in prayer to the Lord, Ἐλωὶ ἔλωὶ λεμὰ σαβαχθάνι; (“*Eloi, Eloi, lema sabachthani?*” Mark 15:34; cf. Matt. 27:46 (Ἠλί ἡλί λεμὰ σαβαχθάνι;)). In his epistle to the Romans, the apostle Paul writes to the young Jesus-following community, “Rejoice in hope, be patient in suffering, persevere in prayer” (Rom 12:12).⁶³ And again, the New Testament canon makes clear that prayers are heeded, with the author of 1 Peter remarking, “For the eyes of the Lord are on the righteous, and his ears are

⁶² In the Book of Psalms, the narrator lauds, πρὸς αὐτὸν τῷ στόματί μου ἐκέκραξα καὶ ὕψωσα ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶσσάν μου / Ἀδικίαν εἰ ἐθεώρουν ἐν καρδίᾳ μου, μὴ εἰσακουσάτω κύριος. / διὰ τοῦτο εἰσήκουσέν μου ὁ θεός, προσέσχεν τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου (“I cried aloud to him, and he was extolled with my tongue. / If I had cherished iniquity in my heart, the Lord would not have listened. / But truly God has listened; he has given heed to the words of my prayer,” Ps. 66:17–19; Ps. 65:17–19 in LXX numbering). Similarly, Jeremiah records the Lord saying, καὶ προσεύξασθε πρὸς με, καὶ εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν· καὶ ἐκζητήσατέ με, καὶ εὐρήσετε με, ὅτι ζητήσετε με ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπιφανοῦμαι ὑμῖν (“when you call upon me and come and pray to me, I will hear you. When you search for me, you will find me; if you seek me with all your heart, I will let you find me,” Jr. 29:12–14; Jr. 36:12–14 in LXX numbering). It is evident beyond a doubt that this is a scripture that holds prayer in high regard as a means of communicating with the divine.

⁶³ τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες, τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες, τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτεροῦντες.

open to their prayer” (1 Pet 12).⁶⁴ There is not the slightest hint of condemnation in these passages.

There are only four passages which share even the faintest overlap with this *Thomas* logion, all within the New Testament canon. The first of these occurs in Mark, when Jesus condemns the ostentatious and performative nature of some Scribes’ prayers. The evangelist records Jesus as saying:

Beware of the scribes, who like to walk around in long robes, and to be greeted with respect in the marketplaces, and to have the best seats in the synagogues and places of honor at banquets! They devour widows’ houses and for the sake of appearances say long prayers. They will receive the greater condemnation (Mark 12:38–40).⁶⁵

Two almost verbatim passages are found in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 20:45–47) and the Gospel of Matthew (Matt 23:13).⁶⁶ All three of these passages—with the latter two certainly aware of the Markan condemnation of the Pharisees—indicates that prayer *qua* performance is worthy of condemnation, and Jesus’ teaching of the Lord’s Prayer seems to counter the long-winded prayers of the Pharisees in its simplicity. This falls in line with other condemnations that Jesus levels against the Pharisees and Sadducees in all three of the Synoptic Gospels. However, the canonical gospels *never* indicate that prayer as such is to be condemned, and they are quite explicit that prayer only be condemned when it is *performative*.

Similarly, in Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, we may find a caution about prayer, when Paul writes, “the Spirit helps us in our weakness; for we do not know how to pray as we

⁶⁴ ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ὅσα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν.

⁶⁵ Βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελότων ἐν στολαῖς περιπατεῖν καὶ ἀσπασμοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρίας ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ πρωτοκλισίας ἐν τοῖς δεῖπνοις, οἱ κατεσθίοντες τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ προσευχόμενοι· οὗτοι λήμψονται περισσότερον κρίμα.

⁶⁶ The Matthean example is thought to be an addition and often omitted.

ought, but that very Spirit intercedes with sighs too deep for words” (Rom 8:26).⁶⁷ This line appears in Paul’s exhortation to the community in Rome, wherein Paul expresses the fullness of life in the Spirit. Without the presence of the Spirit and its revelatory nature between God, the Son, and humanity, humans would be utterly unable to pray. Prayer would be meaningless. But, for Paul, with the addition of the Spirit—much like the discussion of the Spirit in the Gospel of John’s Farewell Discourse in chapters 14–17—true prayer is made possible. The prayer done through the Spirit will never lead to condemnation, and, indeed, Paul remarks at the beginning of this chapter suggest that condemnation will not come to those who accept Jesus, reading, “There is therefore now no condemnation for those who are in Christ Jesus. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus has set you free from the law of sin and of death” (Rom 8:1–2).⁶⁸

Given that there is no precedent in the Bible, what then might be the *Gospel of Thomas*’ rationale for associating prayer with condemnation? I propose three non-exclusive hypotheses that may answer this question. These hypotheses are based upon what can be gleaned from both Second-Temple literature and early Christian writings’ discussion of prayer. The first of these hypotheses is that Jesus is here speaking against a specific function of prayer, namely prayer as performance. As we saw in the above mentioned Mark, Matthew, and Luke passages, Jesus takes offense with those individuals who pray not for the sake of prayer but for the purpose of having others know that they pray—a prayer that seeks to communicate with humans rather than God. This seems likely to prompt the sort of

⁶⁷ Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συναντιλαμβάνεται τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ἡμῶν· τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξόμεθα καθὼς δεῖ οὐκ οἶδαμεν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις.

⁶⁸ Οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ἠλευθέρωσέν σε ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου.

condemnation seen in logion 14, not least of which because it echoes the sentiment found in the Synoptics.

Indeed—as will be discussed more thoroughly later—Jesus is critical of the Scribes and Pharisees in the *Gospel of Thomas*, denouncing them by saying, “The Pharisees and the Scribes received the keys of knowledge. They hid them. They do not go in, and they do not allow those desiring to go in (to go in)” (*G. Thom.* log. 39; cf. log. 102).⁶⁹ For the *Gospel of Thomas*’ Jesus, to pray like the Pharisees or the Scribes is to pray falsely. Therefore, one who prays as the Pharisees or Scribes do is to be condemned as the Scribes and Pharisees are themselves condemned.

The second hypothesis that I would propose is that in this passage Jesus is specifically speaking against those who pray but pray incorrectly. That is, those who pray not from themselves but from an ersatz soul. When his followers ask Jesus how they should pray in the *Gospel of Thomas*, Jesus responds, “Do not lie, and do not do that which you hate, because everything is revealed in the presence of Heaven. For there is nothing hidden that will not be revealed, and there is nothing covered that will remain without being exposed” (*G. Thom.* log. 6).⁷⁰ For this gospel’s Jesus, the veracity of one’s prayer is determined by the veracity of the individual’s person’s spiritual intent. From this verse we can extrapolate that a prayer said with false intentions is therefore false. A prayer founded on a lie is itself a lie. A prayer that is made out of anger and wrath is a wrathful and angry prayer. The quality by which a prayer is said becomes the quality of the prayer. Therefore a prayer not said with the

⁶⁹ ἡ φαρῖσιος ἡν ἡ τραπεματεῦς ἀγχι ἡν ἡ ἀφῆτ ἡ ττηνωσις ἀγχοποῦ οὔτε ἡ ποῦβωκ ἐζοῦν ἀγῶ νετοῦαϰ ἐβωκ ἐζοῦν ἡ ποῦκααῦ.

⁷⁰ ἡ πρξε βολ ἀγῶ πετετῆμοστε ἡ μοϰ ἡ πρᾶαῦ κε σεβωλι τηροῦ ἐβολ ἡ πεμτο ἐβολ ἡ τπε ἡν λααῦ γαρ ἐζηπ ἐφναοῦωνε ἐβολ ἀν ἀγῶ ἡν λααῦ ἐζηοβς ἐγναβω οὔεωἡ βολπι.

fullest intention of honestly communicating with God, and a prayer that is performed with distaste or anger, is a prayer that ought to be condemned—unworthy of transmitting the divine relationship between a human and his/her God.

The final hypothesis I would put forth is that the Thomasine evangelist may believe that prayer itself leads to vice and sin, albeit as an indirect agent. The logic here goes that prayer—in making an individual feel more righteous as it does the Pharisees and Sadducees—makes it all the more difficult to return to God’s grace when one has inevitably sinned. This sentiment is described in a short story from (Pseudo-)Basil’s Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah:⁷¹

I want you to visualise [sic] a young man brought up in a holy life since childhood, who conscientiously goes to the *houses of prayer*, is earnest in good deeds to the best of his ability; is mindful of eternal judgment, and adheres to the word of instruction, but who then lapses into fornication: how after the loss of chastity and the despoiling of its fruits, thereafter complete destruction follows. *A bad conscience keeps him from the place of prayer, for he has not remained in the ranks of the faithful, but has fallen away; nor does he stand in the place of penitents, since he is ashamed* (emphasis added).⁷²

For Basil, in falling from a state of grace—a grace maintained with prayers to one’s Lord—the prototypical youth becomes trapped in an inescapable cycle of shame. The narrative continues that, having fallen from this state of prayer through sexual intercourse, the youth will soon fall into further sins eventually leading to apostasy. For an individual who falls

⁷¹ P. Trevisan, *San Basilio. Commento al profeta Isaia*, 2 vols., Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1939: 1:3-397; 2:3-575. Retrieved from:

<http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu.proxy.library.ucsb.edu:2048/Iris/Cite?2040:009:45288>. Greek text reads: Ὅρα γάρ μοι νέον τινά ἐκ παιδὸς τεθραμμένον ἐν βίῳ σεμνῷ, εἰς οἴκους ἀπαντῶντα τῶν προσευχῶν φιλοπόνως, τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν εὐποιίας μὴ ἀμελοῦντα, μεμνημένον κρίματος αἰωνίου, ἀντεχόμενον λόγου διδασκαλίας. Εἶτα ὀλισθήσαντα εἰς τὴν πορνείαν, πῶς μετὰ τὸν ἀφανισμόν τῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν τῶν καρπῶν, λοιπὸν καὶ ἡ παντελὴς αὐτῷ καταστροφὴ ἀκολουθεῖ. Οὐκ ἄγει δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ πονηρὰ συνείδησις εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς προσευχῆς, διότι ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν πιστῶν οὐχ ἔστηκεν· ἐξέπεσε γάρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν ὑποκλαιόντων χώρα οὐχ ἴσταται, αἰσχύνεται γάρ.

⁷² Basil the Great, *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah*, trans. Nikolai A. Lipatov, Texts and Studies in the History of Theology 7 (Mandelbachtal; Cambridge: Edition cicero, 2001), 24.

from grace, the shame brought forth by prayer represents a nearly insurmountable obstacle to returning to a state of grace.

While I do not believe that the *Gospel of Thomas*' conception of sin is nearly as fatalistic as what is evident in Basil's commentary, I do believe that the *Gospel of Thomas* does indicate a propensity for a belief that prayer may lead one into a false sense of salvific security as described by Basil. For *Thomas*' Jesus, prayer alone does not lead to salvation. However, prayer—as noted in the first of these three hypotheses—is something that is performed by the Pharisees when they wish to *appear* holy rather than when they wish to *become* holy (39 and 102). That is, prayer, as a simple action divorced from the elements of true conception of the “hidden teachings” of Jesus, has no value. Indeed, it should be argued that prayer here goes beyond what is merely worthless. Instead, prayer can be dangerous in this conception because of its ability to lead one into believing, incorrectly, that salvation is a promised result of prayer. Similarly, as Basil describes, prayer *qua* traditional form of righteousness leads to a false sense of salvific security and serves as a major stumbling block for those who have fallen into temptation.

Compare this final point to what is present in Q. In Q's presentation of the Lord's Prayer, sparser than even what is found in Matthew and Luke, the author of Q sets forth the way to pray that allows for neither pride nor variance:⁷³

Matthew 6:7–15	Luke 11:1–4
Προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βατταλογήσητε ὡς περ οἱ ἔθνηκοί, δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται· μὴ	Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον, ὡς ἐπαύσατο, εἶπεν τις τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν· Κύριε, δίδαξον

⁷³ Reconstruction of Q adapted from Robert J. Miller, ed., *The Complete Gospels: Annotated Scholars Version*, Rev. and expanded ed (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 270. Again “Luke's version” is closer to the hypothetical Q version.

<p>οὐκ ὁμοιωθήτε αὐτοῖς, οἵδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὃν χρειαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν. Οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. ἐὰν γὰρ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, ἀφήσει καὶ ὑμῖν ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ἀφήσει τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν.</p> <p>When you are praying, do not heap up empty phrases as the Gentiles do; for they think that they will be heard because of their many words. Do not be like them, for your Father knows what you need before you ask him. Pray then in this way: Our Father in heaven, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come. Your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And do not bring us to the time of trial, but rescue us from the evil one. For if you forgive others their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if you do not forgive others, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.</p>	<p>ἡμᾶς προσεύχεσθαι, καθὼς καὶ Ἰωάννης ἐδίδαξεν τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτοῖς· Ὅταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε· Πάτερ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν· καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν, καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν· καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν.</p> <p>He was praying in a certain place, and after he had finished, one of his disciples said to him, “Lord, teach us to pray, as John taught his disciples.” He said to them, “When you pray, say: Father, hallowed be your name. Your kingdom come. Give us each day our daily bread. And forgive us our sins, for we ourselves forgive everyone indebted to us. And do not bring us to the time of trial.”</p>
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The prayer presupposes the sinful nature of its speaker, and the need for the speaker to seek atonement from God. This in comparison to the Pharisees’ prayers as portrayed in the Synoptic Gospels (texts which certainly hyperbolize their statements concerning the Pharisees, as many Second-Temple texts do of their enemies) is a prayer focused not on the

individual's good actions and observance of the *torah* but on an individual's neglect of their duties in the covenant.

In comparison to Basil's fear of a sinner feeling unnecessarily righteous, Q's prayer does not make this possibility probable. Instead, the universal nature of sin and debt is made plain in one humbling him/herself before God in prayer.

Alms

The final element of Jesus' three-part proscription in logion 14 relates to charity. Jesus says, "if you give alms, then you will do harm to your spirits" (*G. Thom. log. 14*).⁷⁴ Like the other elements of the proscription, the *torah* contains *mitzvot* that are directly opposed to this statement—arguably even stronger in its language than with fasting and prayer as are evidenced in the Hebrew Bible.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ ετετηρωσαντ̄ ελεημοσυνη ετετηναειρε̄ νογκακον̄ η̄νετη̄πη̄νᾱ.

⁷⁵ Take for instance in Deuteronomy, when the Lord says to Israel, 'Εὰν δὲ γένηται ἐν σοὶ ἐνδεῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου ἐν μιᾷ τῶν πόλεων σου ἐν τῇ γῆ, ἣ ἡ κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι, οὐκ ἀποστέρξεις τὴν καρδίαν σου οὐδ' οὐ μὴ συσφίγξης τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου τοῦ ἐπιδομένου· ἀνοίγων ἀνοίξεις τὰς χεῖράς σου αὐτῷ, δάνειον δανιεῖς αὐτῷ ὅσον ἐπιδέεται, καθ' ὅσον ἐνδεεῖται. ("If there is among you anyone in need, a member of your community in any of your towns within the land that the LORD your God is giving you, do not be hard-hearted or tight-fisted toward your needy neighbor. You should rather open your hand, willingly lending enough to meet the need, whatever it may be," Deut 15:7–8). In addition, the *torah* lays out clear guidelines in Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy for how one's wealth should be apportioned for a specific form of charity: tithing. The three books' prescription diverges with respect to the tithing of animals and a few other small details, but the "spirit of the law" remains constant through all three books. The *mitzvah* reads in Deuteronomy, Δεκάτην ἀποδεκατώσεις παντός γενήματος τοῦ σπέρματός σου, τὸ γένημα τοῦ ἀγροῦ σου ἐνιαυτὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, καὶ φάγη αὐτὸ ἐναντι κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, ᾧ ἂν ἐκλέξεται κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ· οἴσετε τὰ ἐπιδέκατα τοῦ σίτου σου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου σου καὶ τοῦ ἐλαίου σου, τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν βοῶν σου καὶ τῶν προβάτων σου, ἵνα μάθης φοβεῖσθαι κύριον τὸν θεόν σου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας. ἐὰν δὲ μακρὰν γένηται ἀπὸ σοῦ ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ μὴ δύνῃ ἀναφέρειν αὐτά, ὅτι μακρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ ὁ τόπος, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξεται κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, ὅτι εὐλογῆσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου, καὶ ἀποδώσει αὐτὰ ἀργυρίου καὶ λήμψῃ τὸ ἀργύριον ἐν ταῖς χερσίν σου καὶ πορεύῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξεται κύριος ὁ θεός σου αὐτόν, καὶ δώσεις τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ παντός, οὗ ἐὰν ἐπιθυμῇ ἡ ψυχὴ σου, ἐπὶ βοῦσι ἢ ἐπὶ προβάτοις, ἐπὶ οἴνῳ ἢ ἐπὶ σικερα ἢ ἐπὶ παντός, οὗ ἐὰν ἐπιθυμῇ ἡ ψυχὴ σου, καὶ φάγη ἐκεῖ ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου καὶ εὐφρανθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου καὶ ὁ Λευίτης ὁ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσίν σου, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ μερίς οὐδὲ κληρὸς μετὰ σοῦ.—μετὰ τρία ἔτη ἐξοίσεις πᾶν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον τῶν γεννημάτων σου· ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκείνῳ θήσεις αὐτὸ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσίν σου, καὶ ἐλεύσεται ὁ Λευίτης, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ μερίς οὐδὲ κληρὸς μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος καὶ ὁ ὀρφανὸς καὶ ἡ χήρα ἢ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσίν σου καὶ φάγονται καὶ ἐμπλησθήσονται, ἵνα εὐλογῆσῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις, οἷς ἐὰν ποιῆς. ("Set apart a tithe of all the yield of your seed that is

Several pieces of Second-Temple literature make explicit how such *mitzvot* can be followed and how they have been followed by the holy men and women of Israel's history. Nowhere is this more clear than in the *Testament of Job*, a text written between the first century BCE and the first century CE that details aspects of Job's narrative not discussed in the Hebrew Book of Job.⁷⁶ In this work, Job's initial wealth, generosity, and kind spirit are described in great detail. A small portion of this description reads:

I used to have 130,000 sheep; of them I designated 7,000 to be sheared for the clothing of orphans and widows, the poor, and the helpless ... And I used to have 9,000 camels; from them I chose 3,000 to work in every city. After I loaded them with good things, I sent them away into the cities and villages, charging them to go and distribute to the helpless, to the destitute, and to all of the widows. And I used to have 140,000 grazing she-asses. From these I marked off 500 and gave a standing order for their offspring to be sold and given to the poor and needy ... There were still others [strangers], at the time without resources and unable to invest a thing, who came and entreated me, saying, "We beg you, may we also engage in this service. We own nothing, however. Show mercy on us and lend us money so we may leave for distant cities on business and be able to do the poor a service. And afterward we shall repay you what is yours." When I heard these things, I would rejoice that they would not take anything at all from me for the care of the poor. And receiving their not eagerly, I would give them as much as they wished, taking no security from them except a written note (*T. Job* 9:1–6, 11:2–8).⁷⁷

brought in yearly from the field. In the presence of the Lord your God, in the place that he will choose as a dwelling for his name, you shall eat the tithes of your grain, your wine, and your oil, as well as the firstlings of your herd and flock, so that you may learn to fear the Lord your God always. But if, when the Lord your God has blessed you, the distance is so great that you are unable to transport it, because the place where the Lord your God will choose to set his name is too far away from you, then you may turn it into money. With the money secure in hand, go to the place that the Lord your God will choose; spend the money for whatever you wish—oxen, sheep, wine, strong drink, or whatever you desire. And you shall eat there in the presence of the Lord your God, you and your household rejoicing together. As for the Levites resident in your towns, do not neglect them, because they have no allotment or inheritance with you. Every third year you shall bring out the full tithes of your produce for that year, and store it within your towns; the Levites, because they have no allotment or inheritance with you, as well as the resident aliens, the orphans, and the widows in your towns, may come and eat their fill so that the Lord your God may bless you in all the work that you undertake," Deut. 14:22–29).

⁷⁶ James H. Charlesworth, ed., "Testament of Job: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, trans. R.P. Spittler, vol. 1 (Hendrickson Publishers, 2016), 833.

⁷⁷ Charlesworth, 842–44.

Job's charity is placed in apposition with his piety (15:4–7), humility (15:8), and opposition to idolatry (2–3). While Job is wealthy, it is not from his wealth that his generosity originates as becomes evident in later portions of the text when Job becomes destitute. The only moment when Job does not exhibit generosity is when Satan arrives, dressed in the guise of a poor beggar, to request food. However, even in this moment, Job gives Satan a charred piece of bread, noting, “You shall no longer eat from my loaves at all, for I have been estranged from you. Yet I have given you this loaf of bread in order that I may not be accused of providing nothing to a begging enemy” (*T. Job* 7:10–11) It has been noted that this line echoes the sentiment of Proverbs 25:21–22 (ἐὰν πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρός σου, τρέφε αὐτόν, ἐὰν διψᾷ, πότιζε αὐτόν· τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν ἄνθρακας πυρὸς σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ κύριος ἀνταποδώσει σοι ἀγαθά; “If your enemies are hungry, give them bread to eat; and if they are thirsty, give them water to drink; for you will heap coals of fire on their heads, and the Lord will reward you”),⁷⁸ and this rhetoric is also echoed in other Second-Temple literature such as the Synoptic Gospels.

Take for instance, the overlap of the *Testament of Job* with some of Jesus' sayings recounted in the New Testament. In the Gospel of Mark, Jesus chastises some of his apostles telling them, “you will always have the poor with you and you can show kindness to them whenever you wish” (Mark 14:7).⁷⁹ This longevity of the poor is projected in direct contrast to the ephemeral nature of the physical presence of Christ. There will not always be reason to celebrate, but there will always be need. In the Gospel of Matthew, Jesus tells the wealthy young man who asks him how to secure eternal life, “if you wish to be perfect, go, sell your

⁷⁸ Charlesworth, n. 7b.

⁷⁹ πάντοτε γὰρ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, καὶ ὅταν θέλητε δύνασθε αὐτοῖς εὖ ποιῆσαι.

possessions, and give the money to the poor and you will have treasure in heaven” (Matt. 19:21).⁸⁰ At the wealthy man’s dismay upon hearing these words, Jesus tells his apostles, “Truly I tell you, it will be hard for a rich person to enter the kingdom of heaven. Again I tell you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for someone who is rich to enter the kingdom of God” (Matt 19:23–24).⁸¹ In these instances, Jesus appears not to be countering the *torah* but strengthening it, as is suggested in the Gospel of Matthew 4–5.

Indeed, Jesus’ focus on giving to the poor is so explicit in the gospels that it has led some scholars during the Quests for the historical Jesus to argue—incorrectly, I contest—that Jesus only sought to reaffirm *mitzvot* related to compassion and was uninterested in commandments of the *torah* related to purification. Marcus Borg, a prominent author in the transition from the New (Second) Quest to the Third Quest, was a proponent of this theory (along with fellow New Testament scholars N.T. Wright and John Dominic Crossan).⁸² Borg argues that the historical Jesus actively opposed a system of purificatory hierarchy expressed by some of the *mitzvot*. This tension between ethical and purificatory *mitzvot* led, Borg suggests, to “a world with sharp social boundaries: between pure and impure, righteous and sinner, whole and not whole, male and female, rich and poor, Jew and Gentile.”⁸³ In preaching compassion—as is the case with the canonical charity and alms passages discussed above—Borg argues that Jesus is “attacking” the Jewish system of purity. He writes, “there is something boundary shattering about the *imitatio dei* that stood at the center of Jesus’

⁸⁰ Εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, ὕπαγε πώλησόν σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ δός πτωχοῖς, καὶ ἔξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς.

⁸¹ Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι πλούσιος δυσκόλως εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· πάλιν δὲ λέγω ὑμῖν, εὐκοπώτερόν ἐστιν κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος ῥαφίδος εἰσελθεῖν ἢ πλούσιον εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁸² Paula Fredriksen, “Did Jesus Oppose the Purity Laws?,” *Bible Review* 11, no. 3 (June 1995).

⁸³ Marcus J. Borg, “Jesus, Compassion, and Politics,” in *Meeting Jesus Again for the First Time: The Historical Jesus and the Heart of Contemporary Faith*, 1st ed (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1994), 52.

message and activity: ‘Be compassionate as God is compassionate.’ Whereas purity divides and excludes, compassion unites and includes ... The politics of purity was replaced by a politics of compassion.”⁸⁴

While I can see the appeal and imagined progressive quality of Borg’s conception of the historical Jesus, his description does not match what most historical sources inform us about Jesus’ (and most pious Second-Temple Jews’) relationship with the *torah*. There is no indication from any first century CE source, even the New Testament as Borg would interpret it, that there was a conceptual divide among Jews between laws of compassion and laws of purity. In fact—while I do not believe that Borg was in any ways intentional in this sentiment—such a reading of the toppling over of Jewish purity *mitzvot* by Jesus-emphasized, super-session compassion laws seems ripe for producing anti-Semitic discourse around the *torah* itself and Jews (both ancient and modern), who observe the *torah*.

Scholars have critiqued this purity versus compassion duality, into which Borg divides the *torah*. Paula Fredriksen penned a response to anti-purity legalism arising from scholars such as Borg, entitled “Did Jesus Oppose the Purity Laws?”⁸⁵ Fredriksen argues that Borg and other scholars conflate purity with morality, establishing a non-existent hierarchy of moral purity.⁸⁶ Indeed, as Fredriksen notes, for a pious Jew to follow the totality of the *mitzvot* and perform quotidian actions necessitated frequent moments of impurity (*e.g.*, handling a corpse, sexual intercourse, menstruation, birth, etc.).⁸⁷ Being impure does not, as Borg suggests, indicate a subservient gender, social, or economic class, since impurity is a

⁸⁴ Borg, 58.

⁸⁵ Fredriksen, “Did Jesus Oppose the Purity Laws?”

⁸⁶ Fredriksen, 22.

⁸⁷ Fredriksen, 22.

given of every-day practices.⁸⁸ For these reasons, there is no moral retribution that must be sought to atone for impurity. As we have noted earlier in the section on fasting, sin requires atonement. Impurity, on the other hand, only requires purification.

I note this critique, because I do not believe that Jesus’ proscription of charity *qua* tithing, fasting, or prayer is designed as an attack against purity laws specifically. Instead, as there is no qualification to the charity or prayer specified in Jesus’s critique, there is no reason to believe here that Jesus is constructing a division between laws of compassion and laws of purity. Scholars may parse this binary reading from the Synoptic Gospels, as is exemplified by Borg, but this analysis is both incorrect and not easily credible once we examine literature outside of the Synoptic Gospels.

However, there are brief moments, where sayings of the historical Jesus seem to go against specific *mitzvot*, but nothing to the extreme of eliminating one half of the *torah* as Borg suggests. Take for instance, Jesus’ statement in Q that one should “let the dead bury the dead”:⁸⁹

Matthew 8:21–22	Luke 9:59–60
<p>ἕτερος δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν εἶπεν αὐτῷ· Κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι πρῶτον ἀπελθεῖν καὶ θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἀκολούθει μοι, καὶ ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροῦς.</p> <p>Another of his disciples said to him, “Lord, first let me go and bury my father.” But Jesus said to him, “Follow me, and let the dead bury their own dead.”</p>	<p>εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς ἕτερον· Ἀκολούθει μοι. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Κύριε, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἀπελθόντι πρῶτον θάψαι τὸν πατέρα μου. εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ· Ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν νεκροῦς, σὺ δὲ ἀπελθὼν διάγγελλε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.</p> <p>To another he said, “Follow me.” But he said, “Lord, first let me go and bury my father.” But Jesus said to him, “Let the dead bury their own dead; but as for you, go and</p>

⁸⁸ Fredriksen, 23.

⁸⁹ Reconstruction of Q adapted from Miller, “Q,” 266.

proclaim the kingdom of God.”

Such a statement would indicate a significant move away from the traditional burial of parents as prescribed in the *torah*.⁹⁰ The *Gospel of Thomas* contains a number of similar verses that also disparage the relationship between a follower of Jesus and his parents (*G. Thom. log. 55, 99, 101, 105*). *Thomas*’ Jesus even says, “He who does not hate his father and his mother like me, he will not be able to become my disciple. And he who does not love his father and his mother like me will not be able to become my disciple. For my mother [], but my true mother gave me life” (*G. Thom. log. 101*).⁹¹ As this logion shows us, there are parts of the *Gospel of Thomas* that speak against traditional Jewish life and against specific *torah* observance (in this case the honoring of one’s mother and father: Exod 20:12, 21:15, 21:17, Lev. 19:3). However, one must be careful to not make sweeping generalizations as to the types or classes of *torah* prescriptions against which Jesus spoke.

Instead, a more likely explanation for the proscription of charity in the *Gospel of Thomas* may be parsed if we examine Jesus’ rhetoric in the Synoptic Gospels with regards to *performative* charity. In the Gospel of Mark, the evangelist recounts an episode in which a poor widow and wealthy patrons are donating money to the treasury:

He [Jesus] sat down opposite the treasury, and watched the crowd putting money into the treasury. Many rich people put in large sums. A poor widow came and put in two small copper coins, which are worth a penny. Then he called his disciples and said to them, “Truly I tell you, this poor widow has put in more than all those who are contributing to the treasury. For all of them have

⁹⁰ Ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ μιανθήσονται ἐν τῷ ἔθνει αὐτῶν ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τῷ ἔγγιστα αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ πατρὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ υἱοῖς καὶ θυγατράσιν, ἐπ’ ἀδελφοῦ (“No one shall defile himself for a dead person among his relatives, except for his nearest kin: his mother, his father, his son, his daughter, his brother,” Lev 21:1–2).

⁹¹ πεταμεστε πεφει[αυτ] αν μη τεφμααυ νταρε φνααφρ μ[αθητ]ης ναει αν αγω πεαμρρε πεφ[ειωτ] αν μ]ν τεφμααυ νταρε φνααφρ μ[αθητης να]ει αν ταμααυ γαρ ντασ[.]ολ τα[μαα]υ δε νμε αστ[ναει] νπωνε.

contributed out of their abundance; but she out of her poverty has put in everything she had, all she had to live on” (Mark 12:41–44).⁹²

Much like with the condemnation of the scribes, which directly precedes this passage, Jesus highlights the rationale and sacrifice involved in one’s practice of the *torah*. As opposed to using the *torah* to bring glory and honor to oneself, as Mark’s evangelists portray the aristocracy and the Sadducees as doing, the *torah* ought to be used to bring glory and honor to the Lord. The wealthy contributors give nothing and expect everything, while the poor widow gives everything and expects nothing. With this in mind, Jesus’ warning that charity will harm one’s spirits seems more in place. In giving to the treasury for one’s own recognition, one is simultaneously bolstering his/her material self while damaging his/her spiritual relationship with the divine.

In giving to charity during the Second-Temple period, there was an understanding—as was discussed in reference to 4 Ezra earlier—that from suffering comes perfection. Suffering is not a sign that one has sinned, as much as it is a sin that one is being tested. On this logic, the entire narrative of the *Testament of Job* rests. It is only Satan who peddles the false logic that “unless you deserved the evils, you would not have received them in return” (*T. Job* 23:6). Therefore, giving to charity is a recognition of others’ trials and giving of oneself into those trials. The Synoptic Gospels follow this logic in their constant encouragement to sell off possessions and give the profit to the poor. For this reason, it is all the stranger that the *Gospel of Thomas* apparently seems to deny the moral value of charity.

⁹² Καὶ καθίσας κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου ἐθεώρει πῶς ὁ ὄχλος βάλλει χαλκὸν εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον· καὶ πολλοὶ πλούσιοι ἔβαλλον πολλά· καὶ ἐλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν λεπτὰ δύο, ὃ ἐστὶν κοδράντης. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι ἡ χήρα αὕτη ἢ πτωχὴ πλεῖον πάντων ἔβαλεν τῶν βαλλόντων εἰς τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον· πάντες γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος αὐτοῖς ἔβαλον, αὕτη δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑστερήσεως αὐτῆς πάντα ὅσα εἶχεν ἔβαλεν, ὅλον τὸν βίον αὐτῆς.

In the next section, I will examine this issue and Jesus' other proscriptions from logion 14 in light of criticism leveled against a particular Jewish sect, the Pharisees. It is through a critique of the Pharisees—and not fasting, prayer, and charity as such—that Jesus' words in logion 14 make the most sense.

Pharisees and Scribes

In the past section, I have discussed the various interpretations that might explain Jesus' hostility in logion 14 to fasting, prayer, and charity. Additionally, I have presented points at which Jesus' proscriptions are at odds and representative of trends in Second-Temple literature. Working from the above discussion, this next portion of the essay aims to analyze what is the common denominator in the rationale for Jesus' denunciatory statements: performative and self-righteous employment of *mitzvot*, particularly by the Pharisees.

Before moving into this discussion of the veiled critique of the Pharisees and Scribes, it is worthwhile to briefly look at the two explicit condemnations found in the *Gospel of Thomas* that lambast these groups for their activities. These explicit condemnations are, of course, by no means unique to the *Gospel of Thomas*, with almost identical comparanda found in the four canonical gospels (cf. Mark 8:15; Matt 3:7, 5:20, 16:6–12, 23:1–36; Luke 7:30, 11:42–54, 12:1, 16:14, 18:1–14; John 7:48, 12:42). Additionally, critiques of opposing Jewish sects are common in Second-Temple literature, such as in the *Testament of Moses's* critique of an unknown group (7:3–10; referenced earlier), Q's lambasting of the Pharisees, the Essenes' disapproval of the Seekers After Smooth Things (4Q169), and the Mishnah's retelling of the Sadducees' complaints against the Pharisees (Mishnah Yadayim 4). With these comparisons in mind, it is worthwhile to dissect how *Thomas* hints at a counter-

narrative against the Pharisees and how similar *Thomas*' anti-Pharisaic language is to the Synoptics before moving into our discussion of how the triad of Jesus' critiques in logion 14 is also aimed at the Pharisees and Scribes.

Explicit Condemnation: Logia 39 and 102

In logion 39 of the *Gospel of Thomas*, Jesus says to his disciples, ⲙⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲎ ⲎⲒⲐⲔⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉϥⲥ ⲁϥⲁⲓ ⲎⲪⲁⲱⲧ ⲎⲧⲧⲎⲱⲥⲓⲥ ⲁϥⲒⲟⲓⲟϥ ⲟϥⲧⲉ ⲙⲒⲟϥⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲒⲟϥⲎ ⲁϥⲱ Ⲏⲉⲧⲟϥⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲒⲟϥⲎ ⲙⲒⲟϥⲕⲁⲁϥ ⲎⲧⲱⲧⲎ ⲁⲉ ⲱⲱⲓⲉ ⲙⲒⲑⲣⲟⲛⲓⲙⲟⲥ Ⲏⲉⲉ ⲎⲎⲒⲟⲩ ⲁϥⲱ Ⲏⲁⲕⲉⲣⲁⲓⲟⲥ Ⲏⲉⲉ ⲎⲎⲖⲣⲟⲙⲓⲉ
("The Pharisees and the Scribes received the keys of knowledge. They hid them. They do not go in, and they do not allow those desiring to go in (to go in). But be as wise as serpents and as innocent as doves" *G. Thom.* log. 39). The Coptic phrase ⲙⲫⲁⲣⲓⲥⲁⲓⲟⲥ ⲙⲎ ⲎⲒⲐⲔⲙⲙⲁⲧⲉϥⲥ in *Thomas* is identical (as much as any texts written in two different languages can be identical) to the Greek phrase "Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς" (cf. Matt 15:1) employed in the Synoptic Gospels.

It is interesting to note that *Thomas* does not make use of the equally common "οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ Σαδδουκαῖοι" ("the Pharisees and Sadducees"). Indeed, like the Q-gospel, there is no reference in the *Gospel of Thomas* to the Sadducees. There are many possible explanations for this, but one of the stronger arguments is that the Sadducees do not pose a threat to the authors of Q and the *Gospel of Thomas*. This may be that these two documents have later compositional dates than are usually ascribed to them, and that being written after the destruction of the Jewish Temple in 70 CE, the Sadducees are no longer an (important)

extant sect in Jewish discourse. This is one hypothesis, but it is an odd coincidence that Q and *Thomas* alike only deal with the Pharisees.

This phrasal similarity of $\bar{\mu}\bar{\phi}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\rho}\bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\iota}\bar{\omicron}\bar{\varsigma}$ $\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\rho}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\tau}\bar{\epsilon}\bar{\gamma}\bar{\varsigma}$ does indicate a high probability of some familiarity between logion 39 and the Synoptics' (specifically Q-material as evidenced in the Synoptics) discussion of the Pharisees and Scribes.⁹³ Indeed, the latter part of this logion (“As for you, be as sly as snakes and as simple as doves”) in the Greek P.Oxy. 655 fragment is almost identical in its message, phrasing, and word choice as a verse from the Synoptics.⁹⁴ The Greek *Thomas* fragment reads:

δὲ γεῖ[...]
μοι ὦ[...]
κέρα[...]
[...].⁹⁵

This Greek fragment when re-constructed using the Coptic text, results in:

[... ὕμεῖς]
δὲ γεῖ[νεσθε φρόνι]
μοι ὦ[ς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἄ]
κεραι[οὶ ὡς αἱ περιστέ]
ρ[αί].⁹⁶

This fragment has been noted for its similarity to a passage in the Gospel of Matthew:

γίνεσθε οὖν φρόνομοι ὡς οἱ ὄφεις καὶ ἀκέραιοι ὡς αἱ περιστεραί (“be wise as serpents and innocent as doves,” Matt 10:16; likely derived from Special-M).⁹⁷ The two verses do share a great deal of textual alignment, although the extent of the similarity should always be taken

⁹³ Mark S. Goodacre, *Thomas and the Gospels: The Case for Thomas's Familiarity with the Synoptics* (Grand Rapids, Mich: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co, 2012), 55–56.

⁹⁴ Goodacre, 39.

⁹⁵ Bernard P. (Bernard Pyne) Grenfell and Arthur S. (Arthur SurrIDGE) Hunt, “655: Fragment of a Lost Gospel,” in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. IV, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London : Egypt Exploration Fund, 1904), 23–24, <http://archive.org/details/oxyrhynchuspapyr04gren.3>

⁹⁶ Goodacre, *Thomas and the Gospels*, 39.

⁹⁷ Goodacre, 39; Miller, *The Complete Gospels*, 329.

with a grain of salt, lest the re-constructed nature of logion 39 inform us to the quality of similarity upon which it was reconstructed—a tautological nightmare. Regardless, the similarity in the placement of δε γει, μοι ω, κεραι, and ρ in the two-column format of the papyrus fragment does indicate a likely correspondence with the verse from Matthew and “possibly a nine-word consecutive string.”⁹⁸ The similarity between this canonical verse and logion 39 suggests that this logion is speaking to a similar criticism against the Pharisees as is found in the Synoptic tradition.

However, unlike the Synoptic Gospels, this phrase in the *Gospel of Thomas* proceeds Jesus telling his disciples that the Pharisees and Scribes “have taken the keys of knowledge and have hidden them.” This is in contrast to the verse’s placement in the Gospel of Matthew, where the verse is in the context of the apostles’ forthcoming ministry and their subsequent persecution before unbelieving councils and synagogues (Matt 10:16–22). There is no indication that the *Gospel of Thomas*’ Jesus aligns his condemnation of the Pharisees and Scribes with the future persecution of his believers.

Instead, the *Gospel of Thomas*’ structure indicates that because the Pharisees and Scribes “have taken the keys of knowledge,” the true believer must have constant vigilance in parsing between the “secret sayings that the living Jesus spoke” and the false words, which the Pharisees and Scribes taught—the false words that are in lieu of the ones they have hidden. In that the Pharisees and Scribes had access to the true knowledge suggests that the knowledge that can be found in the words brought forth by the living Jesus existed prior to Jesus’ revelation of the words. However, because of the Scribes and Pharisees’ abuses of the *torah*, there is no longer a salvific truth that can be revealed from the holy scripture of the

⁹⁸ Goodacre, *Thomas and the Gospels*, 39.

Pentateuch. Instead the *torah* has become an instrument to reinscribe the Pharisees and Scribes' power; for *Thomas*, the *torah* no longer reveals the salvific truths, necessitating Jesus' revelation of the true words. Therefore, in telling his apostles to "be as sly as snakes and as simple as doves," Jesus is imploring his followers to be shrewd in discerning between the corrupted *torah* (*i.e.*, the *torah* as abused by the Pharisees and Scribes) and the true *torah* (*i.e.*, the revealed truth that can be found only in the secret sayings of the living Jesus).

This sentiment from logion 39 is repeated in logion 102, where Jesus says, [ο]γοει
 ναγ ἡφαραισαῖος δε εγεινε [ἡ]ογογγορ εφἡκοτκ ριχἡ πογονεφ ἡρ[ἡ]νεροογ δε ογτε
 φογωμ αν ογτε φκ[ω] αν ἡνεροογ εογωμ ("Damn the Pharisees, for they are like a dog
 sleeping in the cattle manger, for it does not eat or [let] the cattle eat," log. 102). Similarly to
 logion 39, we can identify that Jesus does not condemn the Pharisees simply for abusing the
torah, rather he condemns them for abusing the *torah* and preventing others from
 understanding the truth extant in the *torah*. Neither the Pharisees nor those who follow the
 Pharisees will "eat" of the truth. This condemnation is not too dissimilar from Jesus' critique
 of the Pharisees in Matthew 23, where Jesus tells his followers, Οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν, γραμματεῖς καὶ
 Φαρισαῖοι ὑποκριταί, ὅτι κλείετε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων·
 ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐκ εἰσέρχεσθε, οὐδὲ τοὺς εἰσερχομένους ἀφίετε εἰσελθεῖν ("But woe to you,
 scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you lock people out of the kingdom of heaven. For you
 do not go in yourselves, and when others are going in, you stop them," Matt 23:13).

Biblical scholars have also highlighted the striking similarity of the logion with the story ‘De invidio cane et bove’ from *Aesop’s Fables*.⁹⁹ The fable reads:

A dog was lying down in a manger full of hay. A cow came to eat hay, when the dog, immediately raising itself, barked with its whole voice. The cow said, “may the gods destroy you, with your envy, for indeed you do not eat from the hay, nor will you permit me to eat.”¹⁰⁰

Indeed, the structure and sentiments between this fable and logion 102 are striking, and it would not be surprising if both of these are variants of a common ancient aphorism, suggesting a common structure of critique not just within Jewish Second-Temple literature but throughout the ancient Mediterranean. In the fable and its following moral, the dog would rather take what he both does not need and cannot use, so as to prevent the ox from using what he needs. So too does the author of the *Gospel of Thomas* present the situation with the Pharisees. In abusing the laws, the Pharisees can gain no salvation or guidance for themselves, however they still prevent others (*i.e.*, the greater Jewish community) from accessing the true teachings of the *torah* and the salvific truth it contains.

Implicit Condemnation

Having discussed the two explicit condemnations of the Pharisees and Scribes in logia 39 and 102, let us return to our previous discussion concerning the condemnation of these two groups through logion 14’s proscription against fasting, prayer, and charity. All three of the proscriptions in logion 14 refer to actions for which the Pharisees and Scribes are

⁹⁹ John F. Priest, “The Dog in the Manger: In Quest of a Fable,” *The Classical Journal* 81, no. 1 (1985): 49–58; Marvin W. Meyer, ed., *The Gospel of Thomas: The Hidden Sayings of Jesus*, 1st ed (San Francisco, Calif.: HarperSanFrancisco, 1992), n. 102.

¹⁰⁰ Translation my own. Original Latin: *In praesepe faeni pleno decumbibat canis. Venit bos ut comedat faenum, cum canis, confestim sese erigens, tota voce elatravit. Cui bos, “Dii te, cum ista tua invidia, perdant,” inquit, “nec enim faeno ipse vesceris, nec me vesci sines.”*

denounced for hypocrisy in the sixth chapter of the Gospel of Matthew (likely from Special M).

Take, for instance, fasting. In Matthew, Jesus commands his followers:

And whenever you fast, do not look dismal, like the hypocrites, for they disfigure their faces so as to show others that they are fasting. Truly I tell you, they have received their reward. But when you fast, put oil on your head and wash your face, so that your fasting may be seen not by others but by your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you (Matt 6:16–18).¹⁰¹

For Jesus, it is the *action* of fasting and not the *performance* of fasting that leads one to righteousness. If fasting is for performance, then the viewing of performance is your reward, for as Jesus warns, “where your treasure is, there your heart will be also” (Matt 6:21).¹⁰² This warning appears to be in direct contrast to the show of the Pharisees and Scribes discussed in Mark 12: 35–40, Matthew 23:1–39, Luke 11:37–54, and the *Gospel of Thomas* 39.

The other two proscriptions of logion 14, prayer and charity, are also prominently discussed in chapter six of Matthew. On prayer, the Matthean evangelist similarly writes:

And whenever you pray, do not be like the hypocrites; for they love to stand and pray in the synagogues and at the street corners, so that they may be seen by others. Truly I tell you, they have received their reward. But whenever you pray, go into your room and shut the door and pray to your Father who is in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you. When you are praying, do not heap up empty phrases as the Gentiles do; for they think that they will be heard because of their many words. Do not be like them, for your Father knows what you need before you ask him (Matt 6:5–8).¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ὅταν δὲ νηστεύητε, μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ σκυθρωποὶ, ἀφανίζουσιν γὰρ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύοντες· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. σὺ δὲ νηστεύων ἄλειψαί σου τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου νίψαι, ὅπως μὴ φανῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νηστεύων ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ· καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυφαίῳ ἀποδώσει σοι.

¹⁰² ὅπου γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρός σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδιά σου.

¹⁰³ Καὶ ὅταν προσεύχησθε, οὐκ ἔσεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταὶ· ὅτι φιλοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς γωνίαις τῶν πλατειῶν ἐστῶτες προσεύχεσθαι, ὅπως φανῶσιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσι τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. σὺ δὲ ὅταν προσεύχη, εἰσελθε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖόν σου καὶ κλείσας τὴν θύραν σου πρόσευξαι τῷ πατρὶ σου τῷ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ· καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ἀποδώσει σοι. Προσευχόμενοι δὲ μὴ βαταλογήσητε ὡς περ οἱ ἐθνικοὶ, δοκοῦσιν γὰρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολυλογίᾳ αὐτῶν εἰσακουσθήσονται· μὴ οὖν ὁμοιωθῆτε αὐτοῖς, οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατήρ ὑμῶν ὃν χρεῖαν ἔχετε πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν.

Jesus follows this condemnation with the introduction of the Lord's Prayer (Matt 6:9–14). It is interesting to note that the Gentiles become part of Jesus' condemnation in this passage (those who feel the need to pontificate in their prayers and intercession). Such prayer, for Jesus, does not lead to betterment. This discussion on prayer echoes Jesus' parable in Luke 18:9–14 of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector—the former who praises his own virtues during prayer and the latter who recognizes his sinful nature during prayer.

Lastly, Jesus also discusses the hypocrisy of performative charity in Matthew 6. Jesus tells those listening:

Whenever you give alms, do not sound a trumpet before you, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, so that they may be praised by others. Truly I tell you, they have received their reward. But when you give alms, do not let your left hand know what your right hand is doing, so that your alms may be done in secret; and your Father who sees in secret will reward you (Matt 6:2–4).¹⁰⁴

Nothing is given in what is given for show. Rather, Jesus asserts that the reward from the Father comes to those who give not for this world but for the other. Again, this lesson is mirrored by a Synoptic parable—this time by the Widow's Mite in Mark 12:41–44 and Luke 21:1–4. In giving what little she had from her poverty, the widow gives more than all those who contributed for praise and accolades.

Indeed, all three of the proscriptions from logion 14 are neatly packaged in chapter six of Matthew, albeit in an inverted order (charity (vv. 2–4), prayer (5–15), and fasting (16–18)). The common link between the three is the value of humility and piety in the face of

¹⁰⁴ Ὅταν οὖν ποιῆς ἐλεημοσύνην, μὴ σαλπίσης ἔμπροσθέν σου, ὥσπερ οἱ ὑποκριταὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ῥύμαις, ὅπως δοξασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπέχουσιν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῶν. σοῦ δὲ ποιοῦντος ἐλεημοσύνην μὴ γνῶτω ἡ ἀριστερά σου τί ποιεῖ ἡ δεξιὰ σου, ὅπως ἢ σου ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ· καὶ ὁ πατήρ σου ὁ βλέπων ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ ἀποδώσει σοι.

opportunities of grandeur. This link is summarized within the chapter's opening verse, which reads, "beware of practicing your piety before others in order to be seen by them; for then you have no reward from your Father in heaven" (Matt 6:1).¹⁰⁵

Jesus' warnings in this chapter call upon the imagery of false piety encapsulated by Pharisees, Scribes, and the wealthy. In this regard, these proscriptions share similarities not only with logion 14 but also with logion 39, where Jesus implores his followers not to be fooled by the performative piety of Pharisees and Scribes, who have no reward in the Kingdom. In verse 14, then, we find an implicit condemnation of the Pharisees and Scribes, with the evangelist assuming presumptive knowledge of the Pharisees and Scribes' failure to perform humble piety.

In this way, the critique of fasting, prayer, and charity, appears to be an argument against following the *torah*. Indeed, as we noted in detail from contemporaneous Second-Temple texts, all three of these *mitzvot* are still integral to the practice of Judaism. Instead, Jesus' statement in the *Gospel of Thomas* is a condemnation of the manner in which Pharisees abuse this law. As noted earlier, the *Gospel of Thomas* does not provide the private, apostolic teachings of Jesus' public ministry found in the Synoptic Gospels, and as such, we must recognize in reading logion 14 that the public words hide a deeper teaching. Matthew 6 effectively works with the same criticism from Jesus but provides a framework in which Jesus' words are not critical of *torah* observance as such but rather of the Pharisees' incorrect observance of the *torah*.

¹⁰⁵ προσέχετε δὲ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ὑμῶν μὴ ποιεῖν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὸ θεαθῆναι αὐτοῖς· εἰ δὲ μὴ γε, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν τῷ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

Logion 53: Circumcision

Apart from logion 14, the most critical logion to traditional Jewish *torah* observance is found in logion 53, which diminishes the fundamental role of circumcision. In this logion, Jesus’ apostles ask him, “Is circumcision beneficial for us” (*G. Thom. log. 53*),¹⁰⁶ to which Jesus responds, “Were it beneficial, their father would beget them from their mother circumcised, but real circumcision in the Spirit is entirely beneficial” (*G. Thom. log. 53*).¹⁰⁷

For Jews, however, physical circumcision on the eighth day represented the most fundamental sign of one’s participation in the Covenant (Lev 12:3). When God enters into his Covenant with Abraham, circumcision is presented as the main sign of a male’s participation in the divine agreement and a testament to the Lord’s special relationship with his chosen people.¹⁰⁸ This symbol, so integral to the Hebrew Bible, is an important theme in Second-Temple literature, particularly in regard to maintaining Jewishness in the face of Hellenization. In the *Book of Jubilees*—a Second-Temple retelling of the Genesis narrative,

¹⁰⁶ πσββε ρωφελει η ημον.

¹⁰⁷ νεφρωφελει νεπογειωτ ναχιποου εβολ ρη τογμααυ εγσββηγ αλλα πσββε ημε ρη πνα αφσν ρηγ τηρη.

¹⁰⁸ On this, Genesis 17 reads, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Ἀβραάμ· Σὺ δὲ τὴν διαθήκην μου διατηρήσεις, σὺ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα σου μετὰ σὲ εἰς τὰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν. καὶ αὕτη ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διατηρήσεις, ἀνά μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνά μέσον τοῦ σπέρματός σου μετὰ σὲ εἰς τὰς γενεὰς αὐτῶν· περιτμηθήσεται ὑμῶν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν, καὶ περιτμηθήσεσθε τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας ὑμῶν, καὶ ἔσται ἐν σημεῖῳ διαθήκης ἀνά μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὑμῶν. καὶ παιδίον ὀκτῶ ἡμερῶν περιτμηθήσεται ὑμῖν πᾶν ἀρσενικόν εἰς τὰς γενεὰς ὑμῶν, ὁ οἰκογενῆς τῆς οἰκίας σου καὶ ὁ ἀργυρώνητος ἀπὸ παντὸς υἱοῦ ἀλλοτρίου, ὃς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματός σου. περιτομῆ περιτμηθήσεται ὁ οἰκογενῆς τῆς οἰκίας σου καὶ ὁ ἀργυρώνητος, καὶ ἔσται ἡ διαθήκη μου ἐπὶ τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν εἰς διαθήκην αἰώνιον. καὶ ἀπερίτμητος ἄρσεν, ὃς οὐ περιτμηθήσεται τὴν σάρκα τῆς ἀκροβυστίας αὐτοῦ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ, ἐξολεθρευθήσεται ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκείνη ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτῆς, ὅτι τὴν διαθήκην μου διεσκέδασεν (God said to Abraham, “As for you, you shall keep my covenant, you and your offspring after you throughout their generations. This is my covenant, which you shall keep, between me and you and your offspring after you: Every male among you shall be circumcised. You shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskins, and it shall be a sign of the covenant between me and you. Throughout your generations every male among you shall be circumcised when he is eight days old, including the slave born in your house and the one bought with your money from any foreigner who is not of your offspring. Both the slave born in your house and the one bought with your money must be circumcised. So shall my covenant be in your flesh an everlasting covenant. Any uncircumcised male who is not circumcised in the flesh of his foreskin shall be cut off from his people; he has broken my covenant,” Gen. 17:9–14).

dating from 161–140 BCE¹⁰⁹—the author frequently employs discussion on the importance of circumcision to define who exists within God’s covenant. The author records the Lord as saying:

Anyone who is born whose own flesh is not circumcised on the eighth day is not from the sons of the covenant with the LORD made for Abraham since (he is) from the children of destruction. And there is therefore no sign upon him so that he might belong to the LORD because (he is destined) to be destroyed and annihilated from the earth and to be uprooted from the earth because he has broken the covenant of the LORD our God (*Jub.* 15:26).

No other symbol—for males, at least—distinguished Jews quite as much from their Mediterranean neighbors (although, Philo was eager to remind his Gentile readers—in relation to this passage from Genesis—that Egyptians also practiced circumcision for both men and women).¹¹⁰ The process was so essential to Jewish identity that it was likened during the Second-Temple period to pruning and purifying a tree, curtailing the growth of undesirable parts of the human tree to bolster the sprigs of Israel, who are in God’s Covenant.¹¹¹

That the *Gospel of Thomas* would openly diminish the importance of physical circumcision in such a way is shocking. In criticizing the symbol of the *torah*, the *Gospel of Thomas* criticizes that which God has ordered from Abraham onward to seal the Covenant. A number of scholars have noticed the striking parallel between this logion and Paul’s discussion of circumcision in the second chapter of Romans, suggesting that the *Gospel of*

¹⁰⁹ James H. Charlesworth, ed., “Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction,” in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, trans. O.S. Wintermute, vol. 2 (Hendrickson Publishers, 2016), 44.

¹¹⁰ *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin III* 47–51 .

¹¹¹ *QG* 3 50. Discussed in detail in Maren R. Niehoff, “Circumcision as a Marker of Identity: Philo, Origen and the Rabbis on Gen 17: 1—14,” *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (2003): 98.

Thomas is addressing similar concerns of Gentile conversion to Jewish law.¹¹² As noted earlier, this does not suggest that the *Gospel of Thomas* was aware of the Pauline epistles, only that the two authors are concerned with similar topical issues. In his Epistle to the Romans, Paul writes:

Circumcision indeed is of value if you obey the law; but if you break the law, your circumcision has become uncircumcision. So, if those who are uncircumcised keep the requirements of the law, will not their uncircumcision be regarded as circumcision? Then those who are physically uncircumcised but keep the law will condemn you that have the written code and circumcision but break the law. For a person is not a Jew who is one outwardly, nor is true circumcision something external and physical. Rather, a person is a Jew who is one inwardly, and real circumcision is a matter of the heart—it is spiritual and not literal. Such a person receives praise not from others but from God (Rom 2:25–29).¹¹³

I do not deny that Paul is fairly explicit that salvation does not come through circumcision.

Circumcision is a symbol for one's privileged place with God, but it does not forgive one for transgressions nor does it guarantee one salvation, which Paul believes can only be obtained via faith through Jesus (Rom 1:16–17). While circumcision and the *torah* more generally have value in Paul's eyes (Rom 3:1–2), they are both symbols for the more fundamental semiotic relationship between God's covenant and circumcision of the heart. For Paul, it makes no sense for a Gentile man, who was not circumcised on the eighth day, to be physically circumcised when he can find salvation through faith and righteousness (*i.e.*, through the law and circumcision of the heart (Rom 2:15–16)).

¹¹² April D. De Conick, *Recovering the Original Gospel of Thomas: A History of the Gospel and Its Growth*, Library of New Testament Studies ; Early Christianity in Context 286 (New York: T&T Clark International, 2005), 190; Meyer, *The Gospel of Thomas*, n. 53.

¹¹³ Περιτομή μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ ἐὰν νόμον πράσσης· ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖς, ἡ περιτομή σου ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν. ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσει, οὐχ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν λογισθήσεται; καὶ κρινεῖ ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία τὸν νόμον τελοῦσα σὲ τὸν διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου. οὐ γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή· ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομὴ καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι, οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

Indeed, Paul is not alone in recognizing the importance of both physical circumcision and the spiritual circumcision of the heart. In the *Book of Jubilees*—the same text that denied covenantal inclusivity for the uncircumcised—the author notes the importance of the spiritual circumcision of the heart, writing:

I know their [God’s chosen people’s] contrariness and their thoughts and their stubbornness. And they will not obey until they acknowledge their sin and the sins of their fathers. But after this they will return to me in all unrighteousness and with all of (their) heart and soul. And I shall cut off the foreskin of their heart and the foreskin of the heart of their descendants. And I shall create for them a holy spirit, and I shall purify them, so that they will not turn away from me from the day and forever. And their souls will cleave to me and my commandments (*Jub.* 1:22–24).

The author of the *Book of Jubilees* is not here denying the value of physical circumcision, whose importance is made manifestly clear throughout the text. Instead, this passage indicates that physical circumcision is a permanent and everlasting symbol for the even-more important circumcision of the heart. What is made physical on a boy’s eighth day, is what is made spiritual in the heart of all Jews who participate in God’s covenant.

Like the nuanced approach found in the *Book of Jubilees*, through this exegesis of Paul’s statement about circumcision, I do not find the above passage from Romans 2 to be a universal prescription or proscription regarding circumcision. Instead, as Paul has “become all things to all people, that [he] might by all means save some” (1 Cor 9:22), we should view Paul’s discussion on circumcision as speaking both to what the Pauline scholar Daniel Boyarin calls the “universal” and the “particular.”¹¹⁴ To the “particular” (*i.e.*, the Jew), circumcision is and always was an important symbol of a male’s participation in the divine covenant and his place among the followers of the *torah*. There is nothing wrong with Jewish

¹¹⁴ Boyarin, *A Radical Jew*, chap. 9.

physical circumcision as such, for this is the correct path of the “particular.” However, the “universal,” (what exists outside the “particular” of the Jew, *i.e.*, the Gentile) need not follow the prescription of the “particular,” as he is not a member of the nation for which circumcision is a symbol of one’s covenant with God. Boyarin makes his argument for this tension of the “particular” and “universal” in his reading of Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians, but I would argue that the exact same tension is present in Paul’s Epistle to the Romans. Therefore, rather tautologically, circumcision is useful for those for whom circumcision is useful (*i.e.*, the Jews), and it is not useful for those for whom it is not useful (*i.e.*, the Gentiles).

The *Gospel of Thomas* makes no distinction as to the usefulness of circumcision for the “particular” versus the “universal.” Instead, the *Gospel of Thomas* says that God would have made males circumcised, if they ought to have been circumcised. There is no distinction made between the Jew and Gentile here, suggesting that the author of this logion does not see the nuanced value of circumcision and the *torah* that authors such as Paul see for the “particular.”

Unlike logion 14, it is difficult to situate logion 53’s discussion about circumcision into a critique of the Pharisees. There is no evidence among Second-Temple literature that any Jewish sect was against circumcision. And yet, the *Gospel of Thomas* seems to suggest here that no one should be circumcised without providing any nuances of circumcision for the Jews and uncircumcision for the Gentiles, this logion implicitly suggests uncircumcision for all. Indeed, when responding to the apostle’s question in this logion, Jesus contends that if circumcision was necessary, then children would be born “already circumcised from their mothers.” The natural (*i.e.*, the “universal” without regard to the very prominently contextual

“particular”) state of things (*i.e.*, uncircumcision) is enough of a self-explanation for Jesus. For this reason, it is exceedingly difficult to read this logion through the hermeneutical lens of either the historical Jesus or controversies of Second-Temple Jews.

Instead, it is more useful to read logion 53’s dismissal of the most symbolic aspect of *torah* observance as an indicator of a controversy occurring during the authorship of the *Gospel of Thomas*. To this idea, April DeConick makes an astute point about the crafting of the *Gospel of Thomas*, remarking:

Sayings in *Thomas* that reflect the crises within the broader Christian community probably entered the collection contemporaneous to the time when other communities were also experiencing the crises. This claim is based on the assumption that certain discussions or problems seemed to have occurred at particular times in the broader early Christian experience. For instance, communities were concerned about circumcision for the Gentiles during a specific window of time: when the conversion of non-Jews became increasingly popular. It simply was not an issue previous to this, nor was it an issue at the beginning of the second century. Therefore, if a saying in *Thomas* echoes concerns about circumcision, it should be attributed to the mid- to late-first century.¹¹⁵

While logion 14 is emblematic of concerns with Pharisees that may have arisen both during Jesus’ own lifetime as well as around the period of the Temple’s destruction, in which growing tension between Pharisees and Jesus-following Jews as a large issue, there is no debating that the issue of circumcision in logion 53 was an issue that arose after the life of the historical Jesus. Circumcision is an issue that deals with the ontology of Jewishness, an issue that is of much greater concern when the Jewish movement was spreading among Gentiles in the Jesus-following movement versus when Jewish authors consistently warned of the dangers of Hellenization.

¹¹⁵ April D. DeConick, “The Original ‘Gospel of Thomas,’” *Vigiliae Christianae* 56, no. 2 (2002): 190.

It is for these reasons that I feel comfortable in labelling logion 53 as both not a statement of the historical Jesus and as an anti-nomic entry in the *Gospel of Thomas*. Unlike logion 14, there is simply no way to justify logion 53's critique through an anti-Pharisaic lens. Instead, we must view logion 53 as an early but telling instantiation of anti-nomic tendencies in proto-Christian Jewish writing.

In this sense, we can compare logion 53 to the Acts of the Apostles 15 and the *Epistle of Barnabas*, which both concern themselves with how *torah* observance ought to be followed among a sect of Judaism that was becoming largely Gentile. In the Acts of the Apostles, the author records a debate on this very matter of circumcision, writing:

Then certain individuals came down from Judea and were teaching the brothers, "Unless you are circumcised according to the custom of Moses, you cannot be saved." And after Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and debate with them, Paul and Barnabas and some of the others were appointed to go up to Jerusalem to discuss this question with the apostles and the elders ... Some believers who belonged to the sect of the Pharisees stood up and said, "It is necessary for them to be circumcised and ordered to keep the law of Moses," ... James replied, ... "I have reached the decision that we should not trouble those Gentiles who are turning to God, but we should write to them to abstain only from things polluted by idols and from fornication and from whatever has been strangled[e] and from blood. For in every city, for generations past, Moses has had those who proclaim him, for he has been read aloud every sabbath in the synagogues" (Acts 15:1–2, 5, 13, 19–21).

The resolution in Acts 15 does not go as far as the *Gospel of Thomas* appears to,¹¹⁶ but it is informative in revealing that the author viewed both Gentile-Jesus-missionaries (Paul and Barnabas) and Jewish-Jesus-missionaries (James) as recognizing the necessity of suspending the symbolic aspect of the law for Gentile converts. This passage also gives credence to DeConick's notion that the *Gospel of Thomas* would include a discussion on circumcision,

¹¹⁶ This is in large part a product of the Acts of the Apostle's significantly later composition than the *Gospel of Thomas*.

despite not being a saying of the historical Jesus, because it spoke to a pressing issue of the day.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* advances what James says in Acts 15 and applies the rule of uncircumcision to all Jesus-followers, Gentile or Jew. The epistle reads:

He [the Lord] speaks moreover concerning our ears, how He has circumcised both them and our heart. The Lord says in the prophet, In the hearing of the ear they obeyed me. And again He says, By hearing, those shall hear who are afar off; they shall know what I have done. And, Be circumcised in your hearts, says the Lord ... He has circumcised our ears, that we might hear His word and believe, for the circumcision in which they trusted is abolished. For He declared that circumcision was not of the flesh (*Ep. Barn.* 9).¹¹⁷

The *Epistle of Barnabas* reaches the same conclusion that the *Gospel of Thomas* does in logion 53. If circumcision is not useful for the Gentiles because of the salvific power of Jesus, why is circumcision required for Jews? Are Jews not worthy of the same salvific power? Through this assessment, both the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Gospel of Thomas* promote circumcision of the heart not in addition but in opposition to circumcision of the flesh.

Conclusion: “We’ll Meet Again”

In 1939, six years before the discovery of the *Gospel of Thomas* among the Nag Hammadi codices, British songwriters Ross Parker and Hughe Charles wrote the widely popular song, “We’ll Meet Again.” Becoming an unofficial anthem of sweet-hearts sent abroad during the Second World War, the song, made popular by the original version sung in

¹¹⁷ Translated by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. From *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. 1. Edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885.

Dame Vera Lynn's ever-hopeful voice, narrates the longed-for reunion of two separated souls.¹¹⁸ The song begins and ends with the famous refrain:

*We'll meet again,
Don't know where,
Don't know when.
But I know we'll meet again
Some sunny day.*

In these simple lyrics, I find extant one of the main themes of the *Gospel of Thomas*, not as a piece of literature but as an object. This is a gospel that was buried away, hidden from the light of the world, considered lost forever to the unforgiving nature of time and history. And then, from the sands of the earth, the gospel was rediscovered, some seventeen centuries later in the very literal "sunny day" of the Egyptian desert. The *Gospel of Thomas* exited the world, a persecuted text of a young religion. It reentered the world, a testament to a bygone age and a lone voice in a brave new world.

Whoever last laid their hands on the *Gospel of Thomas* would have had no idea the impact this gospel would have on the study of Christianity in the twenty and twenty-first century any more than they would have known the resonance of a twentieth-century song to their 114 logia gospel. But such has fortune crafted the story of this solitary, complete manuscript of the *Gospel of Thomas*.

The sayings are not the only thing that we have "met again." Indeed, in finding and rereading the *Gospel of Thomas*, we become an audience to an otherwise unknown early Christian community. It is up to us, as modern scholars of Second-Temple Judaism and early Christianity, to parse this text for information about the community it represents. I hope in

¹¹⁸ Tristram Fane Saunders, "We'll Meet Again: How Vera Lynn's Song Inspired Everyone from Kubrick to the Queen," *The Daily Telegraph*, June 18, 2020, sec. Culture, <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/music/artists/meet-vera-lynns-song-inspired-everyone-kubrick-queen/>.

this essay to have performed a small sliver of this task. In questioning the *Gospel of Thomas*'s complex relationship with the Jewish *torah*, I hope to make it possible to “meet again” a tension, lost in its details, concerning whether Jesus-followers should be expected to follow traditional Jewish *torah* practices. In combining common critiques of Pharisees and Scribes with Second-Temple literature, the *Gospel of Thomas* explored a nuanced layer of anti-Pharisaic rhetoric in this early Christian text. From this analysis, I do not suggest that we take away too many definitive positive statements about the *Gospel of Thomas*. As noted before in this essay, definitive statements for a text with only one full extant copy are few and far between. Instead, this essay aims to present plausible and evidenced theories for how the *Gospel of Thomas* interacted with traditional Jewish observance of the *torah*, early Christian literature, and a rapidly changing world.

Perhaps this exploration leads to more questions than answers. However, I do not believe this to be a bad thing. Instead, just as it took centuries for the world to rediscover the *Gospel of Thomas*, I believe that there are centuries if not millenia ahead of us in Thomasine studies. We can only hope that with dedication to this unique gospel and its 114 puzzling logia that “we’ll meet again some sunny day.”

Appendix I: Translation of the *Gospel of Thomas*

<i>Coptic</i> ¹¹⁹	<i>English</i>
(Prologue) ⲛⲁⲗⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲛⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲉⲟⲛⲓ ⲉⲛⲧⲁⲓϫ̅ ⲉⲧⲟⲛⲉ ¹²⁰ ⲭⲟⲟϥ ⲁϥⲱ ⲁϥϩⲉⲗⲓϫ̅ⲟϥ ⲛⲃⲓⲗⲓⲗϥⲙⲟϥ ⲓⲟϥⲗⲁϥ ⲉⲱⲙⲁϥ•	These are the hidden ¹²¹ sayings that the living Jesus spoke and that Didymus Judas Thomas wrote down.
(1) ⲁϥⲱ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲣ ⲭⲉⲡⲉⲧⲁⲗⲉ ⲉⲟⲉⲣⲙⲛⲛⲉⲓⲗ ⲛⲛⲉⲉⲓⲱⲁⲭⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲭⲓⲧⲡⲉ ⲁⲛⲉ ⲛⲡⲟϥ•	And he said, “the one who finds ¹²² the interpretation of these sayings will not taste death.”
(2) ⲡⲉⲭⲉⲓϫ̅• ⲛⲏⲧⲣⲉϥⲗⲟ ⲛⲃⲓⲡⲉⲧⲱⲛⲉ ⲉϥⲱⲛⲉ ⲱⲁⲛⲧⲉϥⲃⲓⲛⲉ• ⲁϥⲱ ⲗⲟⲧⲁⲛ ⲉϥⲱⲁⲛⲃⲓⲛⲉ ⲕⲛⲁⲱⲧⲣ̅ⲧⲣ̅• ⲁϥⲱ ⲉϥⲱⲁⲛⲱⲧⲟⲣⲧⲣ̅ ⲕⲛⲁⲣ̅ⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ• ⲁϥⲱ ⲕⲛⲁⲣ̅ⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲭⲙ̅ⲡⲧⲏⲣⲥ•	Jesus said, “May the one who seeks not stop seeking until he finds. And if he finds, he will be troubled. And if he is troubled, he will be amazed, and he will become king over everything.” ¹²³

¹¹⁹ The Coptic transcription of the *Gospel of Thomas* presented here is adapted from the transcription of Bentley Layton, ed., “The Gospel According to Thomas,” in *Coptic Gnostic Chrestomathy: A Selection of Coptic Texts with Grammatical Analysis and Glossary* (Leuven ; Dudley, Mass: Peeters, 2004), 189–205. A special thank you to the *Gospel of Thomas* resources compiled by Michael W. Gordon on <http://www.gospel-thomas.net/>.

¹²⁰ Variant of ⲱⲛⲉ.

¹²¹ Or “secret.”

¹²² Lit. “fall upon.”

¹²³ Or “over the world.”

<p>(3) πεχεῖς̄ χεεγωα.χοος̄ νητῆ̄ ̄ν̄οῖνετςωκ̄ ρηττηγτῆ̄χ̄εεῖς̄ρηητε ετμη̄ν̄τερο ρη̄ν̄τπε̄ εεῖε̄ν̄ραλητ̄ νᾱρ̄ωορπ ερωτῆ̄ν̄ ἡ̄τετπε̄• εγω̄αν.χοος̄ νητῆ̄ χ̄ε̄ς̄ρ̄η̄θαλασσᾱ εεῖε̄ν̄τβτ̄ νᾱρ̄ωορπ̄ ερωτῆ̄• αλλᾱ τμη̄ν̄τερο̄ σ̄μ̄πετῆ̄ρ̄ογν̄• ᾱγω̄ σ̄μ̄πετῆ̄ν̄βαλ̄• ροταν̄ ε̄τετῆ̄ω̄αν̄σογ̄ων̄τηγτῆ̄ τοτε̄ σ̄ε̄νᾱσογ̄ων̄τηη̄• ᾱγω̄ τετ̄νᾱειμε χ̄ε̄ν̄τωτῆ̄ν̄ πε̄ ἡ̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄πειω̄τ̄ ε̄τον̄ρ̄• ε̄ω̄ω̄πε Δε̄ τετ̄νᾱσογ̄ων̄τηγτῆ̄ αν̄ εεῖε̄τετῆ̄ω̄οοπ̄ ρ̄η̄ογ̄μη̄ν̄τ̄ρη̄κε̄• ᾱγω̄ ἡ̄τωτῆ̄ν̄ πε̄ τμη̄ν̄τ̄ρη̄κε̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “if those who lead you¹²⁴ say to you, ‘Behold! The Kingdom is in Heaven,’ then the birds will precede you in the sky. If they say to you, ‘it is in the ocean,’ then the fish will precede you. But the Kingdom is inside you and outside you.¹²⁵ When¹²⁶ you recognize¹²⁷ yourselves, then they will recognize you, and you will understand that you are the sons of the living Father. But if you shall not recognize yourselves, then you will exist in a poverty, and you are the poverty.”</p>
<p>(4) πεχεῖς̄• ρνα.χναγ̄ αν̄ ἡ̄οῖπρω̄με ̄η̄ρ̄λλο ρ̄η̄νε̄ρ̄ροογ̄ ε̄χ̄νεογ̄κογ̄εῑ ἡ̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ω̄η̄μ̄ ε̄ρ̄ρ̄η̄σαω̄ῖ̄ ἡ̄ρ̄ροογ̄ ε̄τ̄βε̄π̄τοπο̄ς̄ ἡ̄π̄ω̄η̄ρ̄• ᾱγω̄</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The old man¹²⁸ will not hesitate to question a small, seven-day old child about the place of life. And he will live.</p>

¹²⁴ Or “those who tempt you.” Cf. LA lemma no. C3414 (ςωκ̄ (ρητϩ)), in: Coptic Dictionary Online, ed. by the Koptische/Coptic Electronic Language and Literature International Alliance (KELLIA), <https://coptic-dictionary.org/entry.cgi?tla=C3414>.
¹²⁵ Lit. “your inside and your eyes.”
¹²⁶ Temporal conditional. ροταν̄ can also be translated as and should be understood with the connotation of ‘if.’
¹²⁷ Or “know.”
¹²⁸ Lit. “old in his days.”

<p>ϕηλαωνη• χειογ̅νηζαη̅ η̅ωορη ηα̅ρ̅ζαε̅ α̅γω η̅σεω̅ωπε̅ ο̅γα̅ ο̅γωτ̅•</p>	<p>There are many, being first, will become last, and they will become a single one.”</p>
<p>(5) η̅ε̅χε̅ι̅ς̅• σο̅γω̅νη̅πε̅τ̅η̅π̅η̅το̅ η̅πε̅κ̅ρο̅ ε̅βολ̅• α̅γω̅ πε̅θη̅η̅ ε̅ρο̅κ̅ ϕη̅λα̅σω̅λη̅η̅ ε̅βολ̅ η̅α̅κ̅• η̅η̅λα̅α̅γ̅ γα̅ρ̅ ε̅φ̅ζη̅η̅ ε̅φ̅η̅α̅ο̅γ̅ω̅νη̅ ε̅βολ̅ α̅η̅•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Recognize he who is before your face. And the one who¹²⁹ is hidden from you will be revealed to you. For there is nothing which is hidden that will not be revealed.”</p>
<p>(6) α̅γ̅χ̅η̅ο̅γ̅ϕ̅ η̅β̅ι̅νη̅ε̅φ̅μα̅θη̅της̅ η̅ε̅χα̅γ̅ η̅α̅ϕ̅ χει̅ο̅γ̅ω̅ω̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅η̅η̅η̅ς̅τ̅ε̅γ̅ε̅• α̅γω̅ ε̅ω̅ τ̅ε̅ θη̅ ε̅η̅α̅ω̅λη̅η̅• ε̅η̅α̅τ̅ε̅λη̅μο̅ς̅γ̅η̅η̅• α̅γω̅ ε̅η̅α̅ρ̅πα̅ρα̅τ̅η̅ρ̅ει̅ ε̅ο̅γ̅ η̅β̅ιο̅γ̅ω̅η̅• η̅ε̅χε̅ι̅ς̅ χει̅η̅π̅ρ̅χε̅σο̅λ̅• α̅γω̅ πε̅τε̅τ̅η̅μο̅ς̅τε̅ η̅η̅μο̅ϕ̅ η̅π̅ρ̅α̅α̅γ̅• χει̅ε̅σε̅σο̅λη̅η̅ τ̅η̅ρο̅υ̅ ε̅βολ̅ η̅π̅ε̅μ̅το̅ ε̅βολ̅ η̅τ̅η̅ε̅• η̅η̅λα̅α̅γ̅ γα̅ρ̅ ε̅φ̅ζη̅η̅ ε̅φ̅η̅α̅ο̅γ̅ω̅νη̅ ε̅βολ̅ α̅η̅• α̅γω̅ η̅η̅λα̅α̅γ̅ ε̅φ̅ζ̅ο̅β̅ς̅ ε̅γ̅η̅α̅σω̅ ο̅γε̅ω̅ η̅β̅ο̅λη̅η̅ϕ̅•</p>	<p>His disciples asked him, “Do you want us to fast? And what is the manner in which we should pray? Should we give alms? And should we observe food <laws>?” Jesus said, “Do not lie, and do not do that which you hate, because everything is revealed in the presence of Heaven. For there is nothing hidden that will not be revealed, and there is nothing covered that will remain without being exposed.”</p>

¹²⁹ Or “that which is hidden to you.”

<p>(7) πεχεῖς• ογμακαριος πε πμογει παι ετειρωμε ναογομϙ αγω ν̄τειμογει ωωπε ̄ρωμε• αγω ϙβητ ν̄σιρωμε παι ετειμογει ναογομϙ• αγω πογει ναωωπε ̄ρωμε•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Blessed is the lion whom the man will eat and the lion will become human. And the man becomes polluted who eats the lion, and the lion will become man.”</p>
<p>(8) αγω πεχαϙ χεειρωμε τ̄ντων αγογωρε ρ̄ρη̄νητ παι ν̄ταρνουχε ν̄τεϙαβω εθαλασσα• αϙωκ̄ μ̄μοϙ ερραῖ ̄θαλασσα εμερ̄ ν̄τβτ̄ ν̄κογει• ν̄ραῖ ν̄ητοϙ αϙρε αγνοϙ ν̄τβτ̄ ενανοϙ ν̄σιπογωρε ρ̄πῑνητ•αϙνουχε ν̄ν̄κογει τηροϙ ν̄τβτ̄ εβολ ε[πε]χητ̄ εθαλασσα• αϙωτ̄μ¹³⁰ μ̄πινοϙ ν̄τβτ̄ χωριϙιϙε• πετεοϙν̄μαα.χε μ̄μοϙ εσωτ̄μ̄ μαρεϙωτ̄μ̄•</p>	<p>And he said, “The man is like a wise fisherman who cast his net into the sea. He drew it, full of little fish, up from the sea. From among these, the wise fisherman found¹³¹ a good, large fish. He threw all the little fish into the sea. He chose¹³² the large fish without difficulty. May he who has ears to listen listen.”</p>
<p>(9) πεχεῖς χεειςρηητε αϙει εβολ</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Behold! The one who sows</p>

¹³⁰ Variant of σωτ̄ι.

¹³¹ Same verb (ρε) used in logion 1 to describe ‘finding’ the meaning of Jesus’ sayings.

¹³² Verb can also mean “heard.”

<p> ἄνωγειναι• ἀφ᾽ ἡμερῶν τῶν ἀνοχῶν• ἀροεῖναι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας• ἀφ᾽ ἡμερῶν ἀλάτῃς• ἀκατῶν• ἔκκοοντο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πέτρας• ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἐπέστη ἡ καρὰ• ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν¹³³ ἐβραῖ ἐπέστη• ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας• ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν• ἀφ᾽ ἀποκρίσεως οὐρανόθεν• ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιφανείας ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἐβραῖ ἐπέστη ἐπιφανείας• ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν </p>	<p> went out, filled his hand, and cast [seeds]. Some fell upon the road, and the birds came, and the birds gathered them. Some fell upon the outcrop, and they did not send roots down to the soil, nor they did not send ears toward Heaven. Some fell upon the thorns, and they choked the seed(s), and the worm ate them. And some fell upon the earth which was good, and it bore good fruit. It yielded 60 a measure and 120 a measure.” </p>
<p> (10) ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας• ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν¹³⁴ ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν </p>	<p> Jesus said, “I cast fire upon the world, and, behold, I watch it until it burns.” </p>
<p> (11) ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀνοχῶν </p>	<p> Jesus said, “This heaven will pass away, and the one that is after it will pass away. And the dead do not live. And the living will not </p>

¹³³ Variant of τᾶγο.

¹³⁴ Variant of ἐβραῖ.

<p> ϸΕΟΝΖ ΔΑΝ• ΔΥΩ ΝΕΤΟΝΖ ϸΕΝΑΜΟΥ ΔΑΝ• ΝΖΟΥ ΝΕΤΕΤΝΟΥΩΜ ΜΠΕΤΗΟΥΤ ΝΕΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΜΜΟϸ ΜΠΕΤΟΝΖ• ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΤΝΩΔΑΝΩΠΕ ΖΜΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΟΥ ΠΕΤΕΤΝΑΔΑ• ΖΜΦΟΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΟ ΝΟΥΑ ΔΤΕΤΝΕΙΡΕ ΜΠϸΝΑΥ• ΖΟΤΑΝ ΔΕ ΕΤΕΤΝΩΔΑΩΠΕ ΝϸΝΑΥ ΟΥ ΠΕΕΤΕΤΝ ΝΑΔΑ• </p>	<p>die. The days when you were eating that which¹³⁵ was dead, you made it¹³⁶ living. When¹³⁷ you are in the light, what will you do? On the day you were one, you became two. But when you become two, what will you do?”</p>
<p> (12) ΠΕΧΕΜΜΑΘΗΤΗϸ ΝΙϸ ϸΕΤΝϸΟΟΥΝ ϸΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΤΟΟΤΝ• ΝΙΜ ΠΕΕΤΝΑΡΝΟϸ ΕΖΡΑΪ ΕΧΩΝ• ΠΕΧΕΙϸ ΝΑΥ ϸΕΠΜΑ ΝΤΑΤΕΤΝΕΙ ΜΜΑΥ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΩΔΑΪΚΩΒΟϸ ΠΔΙΚΑΙΟϸ ΠΑΕΙ ΝΤΑΤΠΕ ΜΝΠΚΑΖ ΩΠΕ ΕΤΒΗΤϸ• </p>	<p>The disciples said to Jesus, “We recognize that you will leave us. Who will be exalted before us?” Jesus said to them, “The place, where you have come, you will be going to James the Just,¹³⁸ for Heaven and Earth exist because of him.”</p>
<p> (13) ΠΕΧΕΙϸ ΝΜΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗϸ ϸΕΤΝΤΩΝΤ ΝΤΕΤΝΧΟΟϸ ΝΑΕΙ ϸΕΕΕΙΝΕ ΝΝΙΜ• ΠΕΧΑϸ ΝΑϸ ΝϸΙϸΙΜΟΝ ΠΕΤΡΟϸ ϸΕΕΚΕΙΝΕ ΝΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟϸ </p>	<p>Jesus said to his disciples, “Liken me and tell me whom I resemble?” Peter Simon said to him, “You are like a just messenger.”¹⁴¹ Matthew said to him, “You are like a wise</p>

¹³⁵ Or “the one who.”

¹³⁶ Or “him.”

¹³⁷ Temporal conditional used here and in the following sentence.

¹³⁸ Lit. “Jacob the Just.”

¹⁴¹ Or “angel.”

<p> $\bar{\nu}\Delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$• $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\beta\iota\ \bar{\nu}\mu\alpha\theta\theta\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\omega\mu\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma\omicron\phi\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\rho\bar{\mu}\bar{\nu}\eta\gamma\eta\tau$• $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\upsilon\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\beta\iota\theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\pi\varsigma\alpha\gamma\ \gamma\omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha\tau\alpha\pi\omicron\ \nu\alpha\langle\omega\rangle\omega\pi\eta\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma$ $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}\bar{\mu}$• $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\bar{\nu}\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa\pi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\kappa\omega$• $\alpha\kappa\uparrow\gamma\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\bar{\nu}\tau\tau\pi\eta\gamma\eta$ $\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\epsilon$¹³⁹ $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\bar{\nu}\omicron\kappa\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\omega\tau\bar{\iota}\varsigma$• $\alpha\gamma\omega$ $\alpha\upsilon\chi\iota\tau\bar{\eta}\ \alpha\upsilon\alpha\bar{\nu}\alpha\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\iota$• $\alpha\upsilon\chi\omega\ \nu\alpha\upsilon\ \bar{\nu}\omega\mu\bar{\iota}\tau$¹⁴⁰ $\bar{\nu}\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon$• $\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\bar{\rho}\epsilon\theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \Delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\iota\ \omega\alpha\bar{\nu}\epsilon\upsilon\omega\beta\epsilon\epsilon\bar{\rho}$ $\alpha\gamma\chi\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \chi\epsilon\bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\iota\bar{\varsigma}\ \chi\omicron\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\omicron\gamma\ \nu\alpha\kappa$• $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\upsilon$ $\nu\alpha\gamma\ \bar{\nu}\beta\iota\theta\omega\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\epsilon\iota\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}\chi\omega\ \bar{\nu}\eta\tau\bar{\nu}\ \omicron\gamma\alpha$ $\gamma\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omega\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\upsilon\chi\omicron\omicron\upsilon\gamma\ \nu\alpha\epsilon\iota\ \tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\alpha\upsilon\iota\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omicron\upsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\ \epsilon\bar{\rho}\omicron\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\gamma\omega\ \bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\omicron\gamma\kappa\omega\gamma\tau\ \epsilon\iota$ $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \gamma\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}\omega\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\varsigma\bar{\rho}\omega\gamma\kappa\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\mu}\omega\tau\bar{\nu}$• </p>	<p> philosopher.” Thomas said to him, “Master, my mouth will not at all accept that I say whom you are like.” Jesus said, “I am not your master. Because you drank, you became drunk from the bubbling well, which I measured.” And he took him¹⁴² and withdrew. He told him three sayings. But when Thomas came toward his friends, they asked him, “What did Jesus say to you?” Thomas said to them, “If I say to you one of the sayings which he said to me, you will take stones, you will throw [them] at me, a fire will come forth from the stones, and it will incinerate you.” </p>
<p>(14) $\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\bar{\varsigma}\ \nu\alpha\gamma\ \chi\epsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\omega\alpha\bar{\nu}\bar{\rho}\bar{\nu}\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$</p>	<p>Jesus said to them, “If you fast, then you</p>

¹³⁹ Variant of $\beta\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$.

¹⁴⁰ Variant of $\omega\mu\bar{\iota}\tau$.

¹⁴² *I.e.*, “Jesus took Thomas.”

<p> ΤΕΤΝΑΧΠΟ ΝΗΤἼ ἸΝΟΥΝΟΒΕ• ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤἼΩΑΝΩΛΗΛ ΣΕΝΑΡΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ ἸΜΩΤἼ• ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤἼΩΑΝΩΛΗΛ ΣΕΝΑΡΚΑΤΑΚΡΙΝΕ ἸΜΩΤἼ• ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤἼΩΑΝ†ΕΛΕΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ἸΟΥΚΑΚΟΝ ἸΝΕΤἸΠἸΝΑ• ΑΥΩ ΕΤΕΤἼΩΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΚΑΖ ΝΙΜ ΑΥΩ ἸΤΕΤἸΜΟΟΦΕ ΖἸΝἸΧΩΡΑ ΕΥΩΑΡἸΠΑΡΑΔΕΧΕ ἸΜΩΤἼ ΠΕΤΟΥΝΑΚΑΑΦ ΖΑΡΩΤἼ ΟΥΟΜἸ• ΝΕΤΩΩΝΕ ἸΖΗΤΟΥ ΕΡΙΘΕΡΑΠΕΥΕ ἸΜΟΟΥ• ΠΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΓΑΡ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΖἸΤΕΤἸΤΑΠΡΟ ΦΝΑΧΩΖἸΤΗΥΤἼ ΔΝ• ΑΛΛΑ ΠΕΡἸΝΗΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸΤΕΤἸΤΑΠΡΟ ἸΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΝΑΧΑΖἸΤΗΥΤἼ• </p>	<p> will bring forth sin. And if you pray, then you will be condemned. And if you give alms, then you will do harm to your spirits. And if you go into any land and walk into the country, if they receive you, eat whatever they place before you. Heal those who are sick among them. For what will go into your mouth will not pollute you, but what comes out from your mouth is what will pollute you.” </p>
<p> (15) ΠΕΧΕΙΣ ΧΕΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΤἼΩΑΝΝΑΥ ΕΠΕΤΕἸΠΟΥΧΠΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖἸΤΣΙΜΕ ΠΕΖΤΤΗΥΤἼ ΕΧἸΠΕΤἸΖΟ ἸΤΕΤἸΟΥΩΩΤ ΝΑΦ• ΠΕΤἸΜΑΥ ΠΕ ΠΕΤἸΕΙΩΤ• </p>	<p> Jesus said, “When¹⁴³ you see he who was not begotten from a woman, prostrate yourselves before him and worship him. This man is your father.” </p>

¹⁴³ Temporal conditional.

<p>(16) πεχεῖς̄ δε̄ ταχᾱ εγμεεγε̄ ν̄σῑρρωμε̄ δε̄νταεῑεῑ ενογχε̄ ν̄ογειρηνη̄ εχ̄μ̄ποκομο̄ς• αγω̄ σεσοογν̄ αν̄ δε̄νταεῑεῑ ανογχε̄ ν̄ζ̄ν̄πωρ̄χ̄ εχ̄μ̄πκαρ̄ ογκωρ̄τ̄ ογχη̄φ̄ε ογπολεμο̄ς• ογ̄ν̄τ̄ογ̄ γαρ̄ ναωωπε̄ ζ̄ν̄ογ̄νεῑ• ογ̄ν̄ωομ̄τ̄ ναωωπε̄ εχ̄μ̄σ̄ναγ̄ αγω̄ σ̄ναγ̄ ε̄λ̄ν̄ωομ̄τ̄ π̄ειω̄τ̄ εχ̄μ̄π̄ωρη̄ε̄ ᾱγε̄ π̄ωρη̄ε̄ εχ̄μ̄π̄ειω̄τ̄• αγω̄ σεναωζε̄ ερατογ̄ εγ̄ο μ̄μοναχο̄ς•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Perhaps men think that I came to cast peace upon the world. And they do not recognize that I came to cast division upon the earth: a fire, a sword, a war. For there will be five in a house. There will be three against two and two against three. The father against the son and the son against the father. And they will stand upon their feet, being a single one.”</p>
<p>(17) πεχεῖς̄ δε̄τ̄νατ̄̄ νητ̄ν̄ μ̄πετε̄μ̄πεβαλ̄ ναγ̄ ερογ̄ αγω̄ πετε̄μ̄πεμαᾱᾱχε̄ σοτμεγ̄ αγω̄ πετε̄μ̄πεσῑχ̄ σ̄μ̄σωμ̄γ̄¹⁴⁴ αγω̄ μ̄πεφ̄εῑ ε̄ζ̄ραϊ̄ ζ̄ιφ̄ητ̄ ρ̄ρωμε̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “I will give you what the eye did not see, what the ear did not hear, what the hand did not touch, and what has not descended upon the mind of men.”</p>
<p>(18) πεχε̄μ̄μαθη̄της̄ ν̄ις̄ δε̄χοο̄ς̄ ερον̄ δε̄τ̄ν̄ζ̄αν̄¹⁴⁵ εσ̄ναωωπε̄ ν̄αω̄ ν̄ζε̄• πεχεῖς̄•</p>	<p>The disciples said to Jesus, “Tell us in what manner our end will be.” Jesus said, “Have you revealed the beginning that you shall</p>

¹⁴⁴ Variant of σομσ̄μ̄.

¹⁴⁵ Variant of ζ̄αε̄.

<p> ατττ̄νωλι γαρ εβολ̄ ν̄ταρχη̄ χεκαασ ετττ̄ναωινε̄ ν̄σαθαζη¹⁴⁶ χεζ̄μ̄πμα εττταρχη̄ μ̄μαγ̄ εθαζη̄ ναωωπε̄ μ̄μαγ̄• ογμακαριος̄ πετνα[[ε]]ωζε̄ ερατϥ ζ̄ν̄ταρχη̄• αγω̄ φνασογ̄ωνοζαη̄• αγω̄ φναχῑτ̄πε̄ αν̄ μ̄μογ̄. </p>	<p>ask about the end,¹⁴⁷ for where the beginning is there the end will be. Blessed is he who will stand up at the beginning. He will recognize the end, and he will not taste death.”</p>
<p> (19) πεχε̄ῑς̄ χεογμακαριος̄ πενταζωωπε̄ ζατεζη̄ εμπ̄ατεφωωπε̄• ετττ̄νωανωωπε̄ ναεῑ μ̄μαθη̄της̄ ν̄τττ̄νωτ̄μ̄ αναφ̄αχε̄ νεειωνε̄ νᾱρ̄διακονεῑ νητ̄ν̄• ογ̄ν̄τη̄τ̄ν̄ γαρ μ̄μαγ̄ ν̄τ̄ογ̄ νωην̄ ζ̄μ̄παρ̄αδ̄ῑκος̄ εσεκιμ̄ αν̄ νωωμ̄ μ̄πρω̄• αγω̄ μαρενογ̄ωβε¹⁴⁸ ζε̄ εβολ̄• πετνασογ̄ωνογ̄ φναχῑτ̄πε̄ αν̄ μ̄μογ̄• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “Blessed is he who existed at the beginning before he existed. If you are my disciples and if you listen to my sayings, these stones will serve you. For there in paradise you have five trees which move neither in summer nor winter. And may their leaves not fall away. He who shall recognize them will not taste death.”</p>
<p> (20) πεχε̄μ̄μαθη̄της̄ ν̄ῑς̄ χεχοος̄ ερον̄ χετ̄μ̄ν̄τερο̄ ν̄μ̄πηγε̄ εστ̄ν̄των̄ εν̄ιμ̄• πεχαϥ </p>	<p>The disciples said to Jesus, “Tell us what the kingdom of the heavens is like.” He said to</p>

¹⁴⁶ Variant of ζαε.

¹⁴⁷ Or “the end of life.” Cf. W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon, Press, 1939), 24.

¹⁴⁸ Variant of σωωβε.

<p> ΝΑΥ ΧΕΕΣΤῆΤΩΝ ΑΥΒΛΒΙΛΕ ΝΩΛΤΑΜ¹⁴⁹ <C>CОВК ΠΑΡΑΝῆΡΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ• ΖΟΤΑΝ ΧΕ ΕCΩΔΑΝΖΕ ΕΧΜΠΚΑΖ ΕΤΟΥΡῆΩΒ ΕΡΟΥ ΩΑΦΤΕΥΟ¹⁵⁰ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΝΟΥΝΟC ΝΤΑΡ ΝΦΩΠΕ ΝCΚΕΠΗ ΝΖΑΛΑΤΕ ΝΤΠΕ• </p>	<p> them, “It is like a mustard seed, smallest of all seeds. But when it falls upon the tilled earth, it sends out large branches and it becomes shelter for the birds of the sky.” </p>
<p> (21) ΠΕΧΕΜΑΡΙΖΑΜ ΝΙC ΧΕΕΝΕΚΜΑΘΗΤΗC ΕΙΝΕ ΝΝΙΜ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΧΕΕΥΕΙΝΕ ΝΖῆΩΗΡΕ ΩΗΜ ΕΥΘΕΛΙΤ¹⁵¹ ΑΥCΩΦΕ ΕΤΩΟΥ ΑΝ ΤΕ• ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΥΩΔΑΙ ΝCῆΝΧΟΕΙC ΝΤCΩΦΕ CΕΝΑΧΟΟC ΧΕΚΕΤῆCΩΦΕ ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΝ• ΝΤΟΟΥ CΕΚΑΚ¹⁵² ΑΖΗΥ ῆΠΟΥῆΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΤΡΟΥΚΑΑC ΕΒΟΛ ΝΑΥ ΝCΕ†ΤΟΥCΩΦΕ ΝΑΥ• ΔΙΑΤΟΥΤΟ †ΧΩ ῆΜΟC ΧΕΕΦΩΔΕΙΜΕ ΝCΠΧΕCῆΝΗΙ¹⁵³ ΧΕΦΝΗΥ </p>	<p> Mary¹⁵⁷ said to Jesus, “What are your disciples like?” He said, “they are like small children living in a field that is not theirs. When¹⁵⁸ the masters come to the field, they will say, ‘Hand us over our field.’ They strip naked in their presence so as to hand it over, and they give their field to them. Therefore, I say that if the master of the house knows that the thief is about to come, he will keep watch before he¹⁵⁹ comes, and he will not allow him to make a hole into his kingdom’s </p>

¹⁴⁹ Variant of φλοσm.

¹⁵⁰ Variant of ταγο.

¹⁵¹ Variant of σοιλε.

¹⁵² Variant of κωκ.

¹⁵³ Variant of χοειc.

¹⁵⁷ Lit. “Mariam.”

¹⁵⁸ Temporal conditional.

¹⁵⁹ *I.e.*, “the thief.”

<p> $\bar{\nu}\sigma\iota\pi\rho\epsilon\varphi\chi\iota\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\ \varphi\eta\alpha\rho\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\varphi\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\varphi\tau\bar{\mu}\kappa\alpha\alpha\varphi\ \epsilon\omega\sigma\chi\tau$¹⁵⁴ $\epsilon\zeta\omicron\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varphi\eta\epsilon\iota$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varphi\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\ \epsilon\tau\rho\epsilon\varphi\iota\ \bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon\varphi\sigma\kappa\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma\bullet$ $\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\tau\bar{\nu}\ \Delta\epsilon\ \rho\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \zeta\alpha\tau\epsilon\zeta\eta\ \bar{\mu}\pi\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\bullet\ \mu\omicron\gamma\rho$ $\bar{\mu}\mu\omega\tau\bar{\nu}\ \epsilon\chi\bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\dagger\pi\epsilon\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\eta\omicron\gamma\eta\omicron\varsigma\ \bar{\nu}\Delta\gamma\eta\mu\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\omega\iota\eta\alpha\ \chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\eta\lambda\eta\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma\ \zeta\epsilon\ \epsilon\zeta\eta\ \epsilon\iota\epsilon\ \omega\alpha\rho\omega\tau\bar{\nu}$ $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \tau\epsilon\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\sigma\omega\omega\tau\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \zeta\eta\tau\bar{\varsigma}\ \sigma\epsilon\eta\alpha\zeta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\bullet\ \mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varphi\omega\omega\pi\epsilon\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\tau\bar{\nu}\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\ \bar{\nu}\beta\iota\omicron\gamma\rho\omega\mu\epsilon$ $\bar{\nu}\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\omega\eta\bullet\ <///>\ \bar{\nu}\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\omega\zeta$ $\alpha\varphi\epsilon\iota\ \zeta\bar{\nu}\eta\omicron\gamma\sigma\epsilon\pi\eta\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\varphi\alpha\sigma\zeta$¹⁵⁵ $\zeta\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\varphi\sigma\iota\chi\bullet$ $\alpha\varphi\zeta\alpha\sigma\varphi\bullet$¹⁵⁶ $\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\gamma\bar{\nu}\eta\mu\alpha\alpha\chi\epsilon\ \bar{\mu}\mu\omicron\varphi\ \epsilon\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\nu}$ $\mu\alpha\rho\epsilon\varphi\sigma\omega\tau\eta\bullet$ </p>	<p> house so as to carry off his possessions. But keep watch from the beginning of the world. Bind yourselves to your loins with great power in order that thieves will not find a way to come to you, because the difficulty that you look out for will be found. May a knowledgeable man be in your midst. When the fruit burst,¹⁶⁰ he quickly came with his sickle in his hand. He harvested it. May he who has ears to listen listen.” </p>
<p> (22) $\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \eta\alpha\gamma\ \alpha\zeta\bar{\nu}\kappa\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\chi\iota\ \epsilon\rho\omega\tau\epsilon\bullet$ $\pi\epsilon\chi\alpha\varphi\ \bar{\nu}\eta\epsilon\varphi\mu\alpha\theta\eta\tau\eta\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\eta\epsilon\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\gamma\epsilon\iota$ </p>	<p> Jesus saw little [infants] suckling milk. He said to his disciples, “These little [infants] suckling milk are like those who will enter </p>

¹⁵⁴ Variant of $\omega\sigma\omega\tau\bar{\nu}$.

¹⁵⁵ Variant of $\omicron\sigma\zeta$.

¹⁵⁶ Variant of $\omega\zeta\varsigma$.

¹⁶⁰ *I.e.*, “was ripe.”

<p> ΕΤΧΙΕΡΩΤΕ ΕΥΤΗΝΤΩΝ ΔΑΝΕΤΒΗΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΑΤΜΗΝΤΕΡΟ• ΠΕΧΔΥ ΝΑΥ ΧΕΕΕΙΕΝΟ ΝΚΟΥΩΙ ΤΗΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΤΗΝΤΕΡΟ• ΠΕΧΕΙΗC ΝΑΥ ΧΕΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΤΗΩΔΑΡΠΙCΝΑΥ ΟΥΑ ΔΥΩ ΕΤΕΤΗΩΔΑΡΠΙCΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΙCΑ ΝΒΟΛ ΔΥΩ ΠΙCΑ ΝΒΟΛ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΙCΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΔΥΩ ΠΙCΑ ΝΤΠΕ ΝΘΕ ΜΠΙCΑ ΜΠΙΤΝ ΔΥΩ ΦΙΝΑ ΕΤΕΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΜΦΟΟΥΤ ΜΗΤCΖΙΜΕ ΜΠΙΟΥΑ ΟΥΩΤ ΧΕΚΑΔC ΝΕΦΟΟΥΤ ΡΖΟΟΥΤ ΝΤΕ ΤCΖΙΜΕ ΡCΖΙΜΕ ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΤΗΩΔΑΕΙΡΕ ΝΖΗΝΒΑΛ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥΒΑΛ ΔΥΩ ΟΥCΙΧ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΝΟΥCΙΧ ΔΥΩ ΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥΕΡΗΤΕ ΟΥΖΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΜΑ ΝΟΥΖΙΚΩΝ ΤΟΤΕ ΤΕΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΟΥΝ Ε[Τ]ΜΗΝ[ΤΕΡ]Ο• </p>	<p> into the kingdom.” They said to him, “Surely, as we are little, we will enter into the kingdom.” Jesus said to them, “When¹⁶¹ you make the two one, and when you make the inner side like the outer side and the outer side like the inner side, and the upper side like the bottom side, and that you make the male and the female a single one so that the male does not become male and the female does not become female, [and] when you make eyes in the place of an eye, and a hand in the place of a hand, and a foot in the place of a foot, an image in the place of an image, then you will enter into the kingdom.” </p>
<p> (23) ΠΕΧΕΙC ΧΕΤΝΑCΕΤΠΙΤΗΝΕ ΟΥΑ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΩΟ ΔΥΩ CΝΑΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΗΤΒΑ• ΔΥΩ CΕΝΑΩΖΕ ΕΡΑΤΟΥ ΕΥΟ ΟΥΑ ΟΥΩΤ• </p>	<p> Jesus said, “I will choose one from among a thousand and two from among ten-thousand, and they will stand, being a single one.” </p>

¹⁶¹ Temporal conditional used throughout this logion.

<p>(24) πεχενεφμαθητης δεματσεβον επτοπος ετκ̄μαγ̄ επει ταναγκη ερον τε ετρ̄νη̄ω̄ινε̄ ν̄σωφ• πεχαφ̄ ναγ̄ δεπετεγ̄ν̄μααδε̄ μ̄μοφ̄ μαρεφσωτ̄η̄• ογ̄ν̄ογ̄οειν̄ φ̄οοπ̄ μ̄φογ̄η̄ ν̄νογ̄ρ̄μ̄ογ̄οειν̄• αγ̄ω̄ φ̄ρ̄ογ̄οειν̄ επκοσμος̄ τηρ̄φ• εφτ̄μ̄ρ̄ογ̄οειν̄ ογ̄κακε̄ πε•</p>	<p>His disciples said, “Show us that other place,¹⁶² because it is necessary for us to search for it.” He said to them, “May he who has ears listen. There is a light existing¹⁶³ inside a being of light. And it illuminates the whole world. Being not a light, he is darkness.”</p>
<p>(25) πεχε̄ῑς̄ δεμερεπεκσον̄ ν̄θε̄ ν̄τεκ̄ψ̄χη̄• εριτηρεῑ μ̄μοφ̄ ν̄θε̄ ν̄τελογ̄¹⁶⁴ μ̄πεκβαλ̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Love your brother like your soul. Guard him like the pupil of your eye.”</p>
<p>(26) πεχε̄ῑς̄ δεπ̄χη̄ ετ̄ζ̄μ̄πβαλ̄ μ̄πεκσον̄ κ̄ναγ̄ εροφ̄• π̄σοεῑ¹⁶⁵ δε̄ ετ̄ζ̄μ̄πεκβαλ̄ κ̄ναγ̄ αν̄ εροφ̄• ροταν̄ εκ̄ω̄αννογ̄χε̄ μ̄π̄σοεῑ εβολ̄ ζ̄μ̄πεκβαλ̄ τοτε̄ κ̄ναναγ̄ εβολ̄ ενογ̄χε̄ μ̄π̄χη̄</p>	<p>Jesus said, “You see the speck that is in the eye of your brother. But you do not see the beam in your eye. When¹⁶⁶ you cast the beam from your eye, then you will see the speck in the eye of your brother.”</p>

¹⁶² Or “your place.”

¹⁶³ Or “becoming.”

¹⁶⁴ Variant of αλω.

¹⁶⁵ Variant of coi.

¹⁶⁶ Temporal conditional.

<p>εβολ ρ̄μ̄πβαλ ἡ̄πεκσον•</p>	
<p>(27) <πεχε̄ις δε>ε̄τε<τ̄ν>τ̄μ̄ρ̄νηστε̄γε ε̄πκοσμο̄ς τε̄τνᾱρε αν̄ ε̄τ̄μ̄ν̄τερο• ε̄τε̄τ̄ν̄τ̄μ̄ειρε̄ μ̄π̄σᾱμβᾱτον̄ ἡ̄σᾱββᾱτον̄ ἡ̄τε̄τ̄νᾱνᾱγ αν̄ ε̄πεῑω̄τ•</p>	<p><Jesus said, “If you> do not fast from the world, you will not find the kingdom. If you do not keep the Sabbath, you will not see the Father.”</p>
<p>(28) πεχε̄ις̄ δε̄ᾱεῑω̄ρε̄ ε̄ρᾱτ ρ̄ν̄τ̄μη̄τε ἡ̄π̄κοσμο̄ς• ᾱγ̄ω̄ δε̄ῑο̄γ̄ω̄ν̄ρ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ νᾱγ ρ̄ν̄σᾱρ̄ζ• δε̄ῑρε̄ ε̄ρο̄ο̄γ̄ τ̄η̄ρο̄γ̄ ε̄γ̄τᾱρε̄• ἡ̄π̄ῑρε̄ ε̄λᾱᾱγ̄ ἡ̄ρ̄η̄το̄γ̄ ε̄φο̄βε̄• ᾱγ̄ω̄ ᾱτᾱψ̄γ̄χη̄ †τ̄κᾱς ε̄χ̄ἡ̄ν̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ ἡ̄ρ̄ρω̄με̄ δε̄ ρ̄ν̄β̄λλ̄ε̄ε̄γε̄ νε̄ ρ̄μ̄πο̄γ̄ρη̄τ• ᾱγ̄ω̄ σε̄νᾱγ̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ αν̄ δε̄ν̄τᾱγει ε̄π̄κοσμο̄ς ε̄γ̄ω̄γ̄εῑτ• π̄λη̄ν̄ τε̄νο̄γ̄ σε̄το̄ρε̄• ρ̄ο̄ταν̄ ε̄γ̄ω̄αν̄νε̄ρ̄πο̄γ̄η̄ρ̄π¹⁶⁷ το̄τε σε̄νᾱρ̄με̄τᾱνο̄ει•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “I stood in the midst of the world, and I appeared to them in the flesh. I found all of them drunk. I did not find anyone before the well. And my soul was in pain for the sons of men, because they are blind in their mind. But now they are drunk. When¹⁶⁸ they cast off their wine, then they will repent.”</p>
<p>(29) πεχε̄ις̄• ε̄ω̄δε̄ν̄τᾱτ̄σᾱρ̄ζ̄ ω̄ω̄πε</p>	<p>Jesus said, “It is a marvel if the flesh exists</p>

¹⁶⁷ Variant of νογρε.

¹⁶⁸ Temporal conditional.

<p> ετβεπ̄νᾱ ογ̄ωπ̄ηρε̄ τε• εω̄χεπ̄νᾱ δε̄ ετβεπ̄σωμᾱ ογ̄ωπ̄ηρε̄ ν̄ωπ̄ηρε̄ πε• αλλᾱ ανοκ̄ †ρ̄ωπ̄ηρε̄ η̄παεῑ χεπ̄ως̄ αττεινοσ̄ η̄μ̄ν̄τ̄ρ̄η̄μᾱο̄ ασογ̄ωρ̄ ρ̄ν̄τ̄εῑμ̄ν̄τ̄η̄κε• </p>	<p>because of the spirit. But it is a marvel of marvel if the spirit [exists] because of the flesh. But I am amazed at how this great wealth dwells in this poverty.”</p>
<p> (30) πε̄χε̄ις̄ χεπ̄μᾱ εγ̄ν̄ωμο̄τ̄ η̄νωγ̄τε̄ η̄μᾱγ̄ ρ̄η̄νωγ̄τε̄ νε• π̄μᾱ εγ̄ν̄σ̄νᾱγ̄ η̄ ογ̄ᾱ ανοκ̄ †ω̄ρο̄π̄ η̄μ̄μᾱφ• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “The place that has three, they are gods there. The place that has two or one, I exist there.”</p>
<p> (31) πε̄χε̄ις̄• η̄η̄προφ̄η̄της̄ ω̄η̄π̄¹⁶⁹ ρ̄η̄μ̄πε̄φ̄†με̄• μᾱρ̄ε̄σο̄εῑν¹⁷⁰ ρ̄ε̄ρᾱπε̄γε̄ η̄ν̄ε̄τ̄σο̄ο̄γ̄η̄ η̄μο̄φ• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “There is no prophet accepted in his own village. There is no doctor healing those who know him.”</p>
<p> (32) πε̄χε̄ις̄ χε̄ογ̄πο̄λις̄ εγ̄κω̄τ̄ η̄μο̄ς̄ ρ̄ῑχ̄η̄νογ̄το̄ο̄γ̄ ε̄φ̄χο̄σε̄ ε̄σ̄τᾱχ̄ρη̄γ̄ η̄η̄σο̄μ̄ η̄σ̄ρ̄ε̄• ογ̄δε̄ σ̄νᾱω̄ρ̄ω̄π̄ αν̄• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “A city built upon a tall mountain and strengthened is neither able to fall nor will it be hidden.”</p>
<p> (33) πε̄χε̄ις̄• πε̄τ̄κ̄νᾱσ̄ω̄τ̄η̄ ε̄ρο̄φ̄ </p>	<p>Jesus said, “What you will hear in your ear, in the other ear yell it from your roofs. For</p>

¹⁶⁹ Variant of ω̄ω̄π̄.

¹⁷⁰ Variant of σ̄ᾱεῑν.

<p> ʒ̄m̄p̄ek̄māāx̄e ʒ̄m̄p̄ek̄māāx̄e tāw̄eoīw̄ m̄moq ʒ̄ix̄n̄nēt̄n̄x̄enēp̄op̄• māpēlāāȳ ɣap x̄erēʒ̄h̄bc̄ n̄q̄kāāq ʒ̄amāāx̄e¹⁷¹ ōȳde māq̄kāāq ʒ̄m̄mā ēq̄ʒ̄hp̄• allā ēw̄āpēq̄kāāq ʒ̄ix̄n̄t̄lx̄n̄iā x̄ekāāc̄ ōyon̄ nim̄ ēt̄bh̄k̄ ēʒ̄ōyn̄ āȳw̄ ēt̄n̄nh̄ȳ ēbol̄ ēȳnānāȳ āpēq̄ōȳēin̄• </p>	<p>no one lights a lamp and places it under a bushel nor does anyone place it in a hidden place. Rather, one places it upon the lampstand so that anyone who goes in and out will see its light.”</p>
<p> (34) pēx̄eīc̄ x̄eoȳb̄llē ēq̄w̄anc̄wk̄ ʒ̄ht̄q n̄nōȳb̄llē w̄āȳʒ̄ē m̄p̄ec̄nāȳ ēp̄ec̄ht̄ ēȳʒ̄iēit̄• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “If a blind man leads another blind man, they both will fall down into a pit.”</p>
<p> (35) pēx̄eīc̄• m̄n̄.ʒ̄om̄ n̄teoȳā w̄wk̄ ēʒ̄ōyn̄ ēp̄neī m̄p̄x̄w̄op̄ē n̄q̄x̄it̄q̄ n̄x̄nāʒ̄ ēim̄ht̄i n̄q̄mōȳp̄ n̄nēq̄ʒ̄ix̄• tōtē q̄nāp̄w̄onē ēbol̄ m̄pēq̄neī• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “One cannot enter into the house of the strong man and take it by strength unless he binds his hands. Then he will go forth from his house.”</p>
<p> (36) pēx̄eīc̄• m̄n̄q̄ip̄ooȳw̄ x̄in̄ʒ̄tooȳē w̄āp̄oȳʒ̄ē āȳw̄ x̄in̄ʒ̄ip̄oȳʒ̄ē w̄āʒ̄tooȳē x̄eoȳ </p>	<p>Jesus said, “Do not be concerned from dawn till dusk and from dusk till dawn about what you will give yourself.”</p>

¹⁷¹ The word choice here appears to be a pun introduced by the Coptic translator. In Coptic, the term *μααχε* refers most often to ear. However, the term also carries an agricultural sense and can be used to refer to a bushel of produce. The Coptic translator makes witty use of both definitions here. Cf. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, 212–13.

<p>πε<τ>ετνατααα ριωττηγτ̄•</p>	
<p>(37) πεχενεφμαθητς χεαω̄ ν̄ροογ εκναογωνρ̄ εβολ̄ νᾱν• αγω̄ αω̄ ν̄.ροογ εναναγ̄ εροκ• πεχε̄ῑς χεροταν̄ ε̄τε̄τ̄νω̄ακεκτηγτ̄ν¹⁷² ε̄ρ̄ηγ̄ μ̄πε̄τ̄νω̄πε αγω̄ ν̄τε̄τ̄ν̄φῑ ν̄νε̄τ̄νω̄τ̄ην̄ ν̄τε̄τ̄ν̄κααγ̄ ρ̄απε̄στ̄ ν̄νε̄τ̄νω̄γε̄ρη̄τε̄ ν̄θε̄ ν̄ν̄ικο̄γει νω̄ηρε̄ ω̄ημ̄ ν̄τε̄τ̄ν̄χο̄π̄χ̄π̄ μ̄μοογ̄ το̄τε̄ [τε̄τ̄]νᾱναγ̄ ε̄πω̄ηρε̄ μ̄πε̄το̄ν̄ρ̄• αγω̄ τε̄τ̄νᾱρ̄ρο̄τε̄ αν̄•</p>	<p>His disciple said, “When is the day when you will appear to us, and when is the day when we will see you?” Jesus said to them, “When¹⁷³ you strip yourselves naked without having shame, and you take your garments and place them underneath your feet like little children and you step on them, then you will see the living son and you will not be afraid.”</p>
<p>(38) πεχε̄ῑς χεραρ̄ ν̄σοπ̄ ᾱτε̄τ̄ν̄ρε̄πε̄θ̄μ̄ει ε̄σω̄τ̄ν̄ αν̄ε̄εῑω̄ᾱχε̄ νᾱεῑ ε̄τ̄.χω̄ μ̄μοογ̄ νη̄τ̄ν̄• αγω̄ μη̄τ̄η̄τ̄ν̄̄ κεογ̄ᾱ ε̄σο̄τ̄μογ̄ ν̄το̄ο̄τ̄φ̄• ογ̄ν̄ ρ̄ν̄ροογ̄ νᾱω̄ω̄πε̄ ν̄τε̄τ̄νω̄ινε̄ ν̄σ̄ω̄εῑ• τε̄τ̄νᾱρ̄ε̄ αν̄ ε̄ρο̄εῑ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Many times you desired to hear these sayings which I speak to you, and you have no other one to hear them from. Some days will befall, and you will seek after me. You will not find me.”</p>

¹⁷² Variant of κωκ.

¹⁷³ Temporal conditional.

<p>(39) πεχεῖς̄ χε̄μφαρισαιο̄ς̄ ἡ̄ν ἡ̄γραμματε̄υς̄ ἀγχῑνω̄αυτ¹⁷⁴ ἡ̄ττῑνω̄σις̄• ἀγρο̄ποῑ• οὐ̄τε̄ ἡ̄πο̄ῡβω̄κ̄ ἐρο̄υν̄• ἀγ̄ω νε̄το̄ῡω̄ ε̄βω̄κ̄ ἐρο̄υν̄ ἡ̄πο̄ῡκᾱᾱγ̄• ἡ̄τω̄τῆ̄ δε̄ ω̄ω̄πε̄ μ̄φρο̄νῑμο̄ς̄ ἡ̄θε̄ ἡ̄ν̄ρο̄ῡ ἀγ̄ω ἡ̄ᾱκε̄ραιο̄ς̄ ἡ̄θε̄ ἡ̄ν̄βρο̄μ̄πε̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The Pharisees and the Scribes received the keys of knowledge. They hid them. They do not go in, and they do not allow those desiring to go in (to go in). But be as wise as serpents and as innocent as doves.”</p>
<p>(40) πεχε̄ ἰ̄ς̄• οὐ̄βενε̄λοο̄λε¹⁷⁵ ἀγ̄το̄ς̄ ἡ̄π̄σᾱ ν̄βω̄λ̄ ἡ̄πεῑω̄τ̄• ἀγ̄ω̄ ε̄στᾱχρη̄γ̄ ἀν̄ σε̄νᾱπο̄ρκ̄¹⁷⁶ ῥ̄ᾱτε̄ς̄νο̄ῡνε̄ ἡ̄στᾱκο̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “A grapevine was planted outside of the Father, and, being not strengthened, it will be uprooted. It will be destroyed.”</p>
<p>(41) πεχεῖς̄ χε̄πε̄τε̄γ̄ῆ̄τᾱῡ ῥ̄ῆ̄τε̄φ̄σῑχ̄ σε̄νᾱ†̄ νᾱῡ• ἀγ̄ω̄ πε̄τε̄μ̄ῆ̄τᾱῡ π̄κε̄φ̄η̄μ̄ ε̄το̄ῡῆ̄τᾱῡ σε̄νᾱφῑτῆ̄ ἡ̄το̄ο̄τῆ̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who has it in his hand, he will be given, and he who does not have it, the other few that he has will be taken from him.”</p>
<p>(42) πεχεῖς̄ χε̄ω̄ω̄πε̄ ε̄τε̄τῆ̄ρ̄πᾱρᾱγε̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Be passersby.”</p>
<p>(43) πεχᾱῡ νᾱῡ ἡ̄β̄ῑνε̄φ̄μᾱθη̄τ̄η̄ς̄</p>	<p>His disciples said to him, “Who are you to</p>

¹⁷⁴ Variant of ωωυτ.

¹⁷⁵ Variant of οβενελοολε.

¹⁷⁶ Variant of πορχ.

<p> χεῖντακνιμ εκχω ἡναῖ ναη• <πεχει̅ς ναγ χε>ῖνε̅†χω ἡμοου̅ νητῆ ἡτετῆιμε̅ αν χεανοκνιμ• αλλα̅ ἡτωτῆ̅ ατετῆωπε̅ ἡε̅ ἡνῆιου̅δα̅ιος̅ χεσε̅με̅ ἡπω̅ην• σεμο̅στε ἡπε̅καρπος• αγω̅ σε̅με̅ ἡπ.καρπος• σεμο̅στε ἡπω̅ην• </p>	<p> say these things to us?” <Jesus said,> “In what I say to you, you do not understand who I am, but you are like the Judeans, since they love the tree, they hate its fruit, and they love the fruit, and hate the tree.” </p>
<p> (44) πεχει̅ς χεπετα̅χεογα̅ απειω̅τ σενακω̅ εβολ̅ ναφ• αγω̅ πετα̅χεογα̅ επω̅ηρε̅ σενακω̅ εβολ̅ ναφ• πετα̅χεογα̅ δε̅ απῆ̅να̅ ετογα̅αβ̅ σενακω̅ αν̅ εβολ̅ ναφ̅ ογτε̅ ῖ̅μ̅κα̅ρ ογτε̅ ῖ̅τ̅πε̅• </p>	<p> Jesus said, “He who speaks blasphemy toward the Father will be forgiven, and he who speaks blasphemy toward the Son will be forgiven, but he who speaks blasphemy toward the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, neither on Earth nor in Heaven.” </p>
<p> (45) πεχει̅ς• μα̅γχε̅λε̅ε̅λοο̅λε¹⁷⁷ εβολ̅ ῖ̅νω̅ντε̅• ογτε̅ μα̅γκω̅τ̅κῆ̅τε̅ εβολ̅ ῖ̅ν̅σ̅ρ̅σα̅μο̅γλ• μα̅γ†καρπος̅ γαρ̅ ογα̅γα̅θος̅ ῖ̅ρω̅με̅ ωα̅φει̅νε̅ ἡογα̅γα̅θον̅ εβολ̅ ῖ̅μ̅πε̅φε̅ρο̅• </p>	<p> Jesus said, “Grapes are not harvested from thorn trees, nor are figs gathered from Camel thorns. For they do not bear fruit. A good man brings forth a good thing from his storehouse. A bad man brings forth evil things from his storehouse, which are </p>

¹⁷⁷ Variant of χωλε.

<p>οὐκακ[ος] ῥ.ρωμε ψαφεινε ἡρῆππονερον εβολ ῥῆπεφερο εθοογ ετῆῆπεφρητ αγω ἡφχω ἡρῆ.πονερον• εβολ γαρ ῥῆφογο ἡφητ ψαφεινε εβολ ἡρῆππονηρον•</p>	<p>wicked and in his heart, and he speaks some evil things. For from the abundance of his heart, he brings forth evils.”</p>
<p>(46) πεχειτ̄ χειναδαμ ψαῖωρῆνης πβαπτιττης ῥῆῆχπο ἡῆριομε ἡῆπेतχοσε αῖωρῆνης πβαπτιττης ψινα χενογωβπ ἡβι νεφβαλ• λειχοος δε χεπेतναωπιε ῥῆτηγτῆ εφο ἡκογει φνασογωντῆῆτερο• αγω φναχισε αῖωρῆνης•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “From Adam to John the Baptist, among those begotten of women, there is not one who is as exalted as John the Baptist, such that one would not avert their gaze.¹⁷⁸ But I said that he who will become a small child among you, he will recognize the kingdom, and he will be more exalted than John.”</p>
<p>(47) πεχειτ̄ χεῆῆβom ἡτεογρωμε τελο¹⁷⁹ αῆτο συνα ἡφχωλκ ἡπιτε σῆτε• αγω ἡῆβom ἡτεογῆῆαλ ψῆψεχοεις συνα• η φναῆτιμα ἡπογα• αγω πκεογα φναῆγβριζε ἡμοφ• μαρερωμε σεῆπας αγω</p>	<p>Jesus said, “A man cannot mount two horses, and he cannot stretch two bows. And a slave cannot serve two masters, or he will honor one and will insult the other. No man drinks old wine and immediately desires to drink new wine. And new wine is not poured into old wineskins lest they should</p>

¹⁷⁸ Lit. “his eyes break.”

¹⁷⁹ Variant of ταλο.

<p> ἄνωγειναι ἄνωγειναι ἀσθηρὶ βῆρρε• ἀνω μαῖνογχιρὶ βῆρρε ἐασκοσῆας χεκαας ἄνωγειναι• ἀνω μαῖνεχιρῆσας ἐασκος βῆρρε ὡνα χενεφτεκαφ• μαχχῶστοεισῆας¹⁸⁰ ἀφθην ἄωαι¹⁸¹ εἶπει οὔνογειναι ναῶωπε• </p>	<p>burst. And old wine is not poured into new wine-skins lest it should be destroyed. And rags are not sewn to new garments because a tear will appear.”</p>
<p> (48) πεχεῖτ χερφασναγ ρεῖρηνη μῆ νογερηγ ἕμπεινει οὔωτ σεναχοος ἄνωγειναι¹⁸² χεπωωνε εβολ• ἀνω φναπωωνε• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “If two make peace with each other in this single house, they will say to the mountain ‘Go forth!’ and it will go.”</p>
<p> (49) πεχεῖτ χερεμμακαριος νε νμοναχος ἀνω ετσοτι χετετναζε ἀτηνῆτερο χεῖνωτῆνῆνεβολ ἄνητῆ• παλιν ετετναβωκ εμαγ• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “Blessed are those alone and chosen, for you will find the kingdom. Because you are from it, you will return there again.”</p>
<p> (50) πεχεῖτ χεεγφαναχοος νητῆ </p>	<p>Jesus said, “If they say to you, ‘Where are you from?’ Say to them, ‘We come from</p>

¹⁸⁰ Variant of χωλκ.

¹⁸¹ Variant of φαι.

¹⁸² Variant of τααγ.

<p> χ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ῶ̅π̅ε̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ τ̅ῶ̅ν̅ χ̅ο̅ο̅ς̅ ν̅α̅γ̅ χ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅ν̅ε̅ι̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅ῆ̅π̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ π̅ῆ̅α̅ ε̅ν̅τ̅α̅π̅ο̅γ̅ο̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ ῶ̅π̅ε̅ ῆ̅ῆ̅α̅γ̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅ι̅τ̅ο̅ο̅τ̅ι̅ ο̅γ̅α̅α̅τ̅ι̅• α̅φ̅ω̅ρ̅[ε̅ ε̅ρ̅α̅τ̅ι̅]• α̅γ̅ῶ̅ α̅φ̅ο̅γ̅ῶ̅ν̅ε̅ ε̅[β̅]ο̅λ̅ ρ̅ῆ̅ τ̅ο̅γ̅ρ̅ι̅κ̅ῶ̅ν̅• ε̅γ̅ῶ̅α̅.χ̅ο̅ο̅ς̅ ν̅ῆ̅τ̅ῆ̅ χ̅ε̅ν̅τ̅ῶ̅τ̅ῆ̅ π̅ε̅ χ̅ο̅ο̅ς̅ χ̅ε̅α̅ν̅ο̅ν̅ν̅ε̅φ̅ῶ̅ῆ̅ρ̅ε̅• α̅γ̅ῶ̅ α̅ν̅ο̅ν̅ῆ̅ς̅ῶ̅τ̅ῆ̅ ῆ̅π̅ε̅ῖ̅ῶ̅τ̅ ε̅τ̅ο̅ν̅ε̅• ε̅γ̅ῶ̅α̅ν̅χ̅ν̅ε̅τ̅ῆ̅γ̅τ̅ῆ̅¹⁸³ χ̅ε̅ο̅γ̅ π̅ε̅ π̅ῆ̅α̅ε̅ι̅ν̅ ῆ̅π̅ε̅τ̅ῆ̅ῖ̅ῶ̅τ̅ ε̅τ̅ρ̅ῆ̅τ̅ῆ̅γ̅τ̅ῆ̅ χ̅ο̅ο̅ς̅ ε̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ χ̅ε̅ο̅γ̅κ̅ι̅ν̅ π̅ε̅ ῆ̅ῆ̅ο̅γ̅α̅ν̅α̅π̅α̅γ̅ς̅ι̅ς̅• </p>	<p> within the light, the place where the light became through itself. It stood up, and it appeared in an image.’ If they say to you, ‘Are you it?’ say to them ‘We are its children, and we are the living Father’s chosen.’ If they ask you, ‘What is the sign¹⁸⁴ that your Father is within you?’ say to them, ‘It is a movement and a repose.’” </p>
<p> (51) π̅ε̅χ̅α̅γ̅ ν̅α̅γ̅ ῆ̅ῆ̅ῖ̅ν̅ε̅φ̅ῆ̅α̅ῆ̅τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ χ̅ε̅α̅ῶ̅ ῆ̅ῆ̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅τ̅α̅ν̅α̅π̅α̅γ̅ς̅ι̅ς̅ ῆ̅ῆ̅ε̅τ̅ῆ̅μ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅τ̅ ν̅α̅ῶ̅π̅ε̅• α̅γ̅ῶ̅ α̅ῶ̅ ῆ̅ῆ̅ρ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅π̅κ̅ο̅ς̅μ̅ο̅ς̅ β̅β̅ῆ̅ρ̅ε̅ ν̅ῆ̅γ̅• π̅ε̅χ̅α̅γ̅ ν̅α̅γ̅ χ̅ε̅τ̅ῆ̅ ε̅τ̅ε̅τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ῶ̅ῶ̅τ̅ ε̅β̅ο̅λ̅ ρ̅ῆ̅τ̅ς̅ α̅ε̅ῖ̅• ἀ̅λλ̅α̅ ῆ̅τ̅ῶ̅τ̅ῆ̅ τ̅ε̅τ̅ῆ̅ς̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ῆ̅ν̅ ἀ̅ῆ̅ ῆ̅ῆ̅μ̅ο̅ς̅• </p>	<p> His disciples said to him, “When is the day when the repose of the dead will be, and when is the day the new world is coming?” He said to them, “That which you await came, but you did not recognize¹⁸⁵ it.” </p>

¹⁸³ Variant of χ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅.

¹⁸⁴ *I.e.*, “proof.”

¹⁸⁵ Or “know.”

<p>(52) πεχαυ ναυ ν̄σινεφμαθητης χεχογταγτε¹⁸⁶ μ̄προφητης αυωαχε ξ̄μ̄π̄ῑσ̄ρᾱη̄λ• αυω αυωαχε τηρου ξ̄ρᾱῑ ν̄ζη̄τ̄κ• πεχαυ ναυ χεατετ̄ν̄κω μ̄πετον̄ξ μ̄πετ̄ν̄μ̄το εβολ• αυω ατετ̄ν̄ωαχε ξ̄αν̄ε̄τ̄μο̄ο̄γ̄τ̄•</p>	<p>His disciples said to him, “Twenty-four prophets spoke in Israel, and they all spoke about you.” He said to them, “You abandoned he who lives in your presence, and you spoke about those who are dead.”</p>
<p>(53) πεχαυ ναυ ν̄σινεφμαωητης χεπ̄σ̄β̄βε ρ̄ω̄φ̄ε̄λει• η̄ μ̄μον• πεχαυ ναυ χενεφ̄ρ̄ω̄φ̄ε̄λει νεπογειω̄τ̄ νᾱχ̄πο̄ο̄γ̄ εβολ ξ̄ν̄το̄γ̄μᾱαῡ ε̄γ̄σ̄β̄β̄η̄γ̄• ᾱλλα π̄σ̄β̄βε μ̄με ξ̄μ̄π̄νᾱ ᾱφ̄σ̄ν̄ξη̄γ̄ τηρη•</p>	<p>His disciples said to him, “Is circumcision beneficial for us?” He said to them, “Were it beneficial, their father would beget them from their mother circumcised, but real circumcision in the Spirit is entirely beneficial.”</p>
<p>(54) πεχε̄ῑς̄ χεξ̄ν̄μακαριος νε ν̄ζηκε χετω̄τ̄ν̄ τε τ̄μ̄ν̄τερο ν̄μ̄πηγε•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Blessed are the poor, for yours is the Kingdom of Heaven.”</p>
<p>(55) πεχε̄ ῑς̄ χεπεταμ̄ε̄στεπεφειω̄τ̄ αν̄ μ̄ν̄τεφ̄μᾱαῡ φ̄ναω̄ρ̄μᾱθητης αν̄ νᾱει αυω</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who does not hate his father and his mother will not be able to become my disciple, and he who does not hate his</p>

¹⁸⁶ Variant of χογωτγτοογ.

<p> ἄνεστις ἐνεφάνη μὴνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἄνεστις ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη </p>	<p> brothers and his sisters, he will not carry his cross like I. He will not be worthy to me.” </p>
<p> (56) ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη </p>	<p> Jesus said, “He who recognizes¹⁸⁷ the world, he found a corpse, and he who finds a corpse, the world is not worthy of him. </p>
<p> (57) ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη ἀνεφάνη </p>	<p> Jesus said, “The Father’s Kingdom is like a man who had a good seed. His enemy came during the night. He sowed a weed upon the good seed. The man did not allow them to pluck the weed. He said to them, “Lest in going to pluck the weed, you should pluck the wheat with it. For on the day of harvest, the weeds will show forth. They (will) pluck them and they (will) burn them.” </p>

¹⁸⁷ Or “knows.”

¹⁸⁸ Variant of ἀνεφάνη.

<p>νητῆ ἐροῦν ἐγαναπαύσις δεκάδας ἡνετῶωπε ἡπτῶμα ἡσεογομηγῆ•</p>	<p>are eaten.”</p>
<p>(61) πεχεῖς• οὔνσναγ ναῖτον ἡμαγ ριογσλος• πογα ναμογ• πογα ναωνρ• πεχεσαλωμη• ἡτακνιμ πρῶμε• ρως εβολ ρῆογα ακτελο¹⁹¹ εχῆπασλος• αγω ακογωμ εβολ ρῆτατραπεζα• πεχεῖς νας χεανοκ πε πετῶοοπ εβολ ρῆπετῶωγ• αγ† ναει εβολ ρῆναπαειωτ• < - - - > ανοκ τεκμαθητης• < - - - > ετβεπαει †χω ἡμος χεροταν εφῶωωπε εφῶηγ φναμογρ οὔοειν• ροταν δε εφῶανῶωπε εφῆω φναμογρ ἡκακε•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “There are two who will rest there on a bed. One will die and the other will live.” Salome said, “Who are you, man? Like from the one, you climb upon my bed¹⁹² and you eat from my table.” Jesus said to her, “I am he who is from he who is equal.¹⁹³ I was given from the things of my Father.” < - - - > “I am your disciple.” < - - - > “Because of this I say to you when one becomes destroyed, he will be full of light. But when he becomes divided, he will be full of darkness.”</p>
<p>(62) πεχεῖς χεεῖχω ἡναμῆστηριον ἡνε[τῆπωα] ἡ[να]μῆστηριον•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “I say my mysteries to those who are worthy of my mysteries. That which</p>

¹⁹¹ Variant of ταλο.

¹⁹² Or “bier.”

¹⁹³ Or “scattered.”

<p>πε[τ]ετεκοῦναμ νααϫ μῆτρετεκζβοῦρ εἰμε χεεσροῦ•</p>	<p>your right hand will do, do not let your left hand know what it is doing.”</p>
<p>(63) πεχεῖς χενεῦνοῦρωμε ἡπλοῦσιος εὔηταϫ ἡμαγ ἡζαζ ἡχρημα• πεχαϫ χε†ναρ̄χρω ἡναχρημα χεκαας εἰναα.χο ἡταω[[ζ]]εζ¹⁹⁴ ἡτατωσε ἡταμογζ ἡναεζωρ ἡκαρπος ωῖνα χεἡῖρωζ ἡλααγ• ναει νενεφμεεγε εροογ ζἡπεφζητ• αγω ζἡτογωη εἡμαγ αφμογ• πετεῦἡμαχε ἡμοϫ μαρεφσωτἡ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “There was a rich man who had much wealth. He said, ‘I will use my wealth so that I shall sow and reap and plant and fill my storehouse with fruit so that I do not lack anything.’ These were his thoughts in his heart, and during that night, he died. He who has ears, let him listen.”</p>
<p>(64) πεχεῖς χεοῦρωμε νεῦἡταϫ ζἡωἡμο• αγω ἡταρεφσωβτε ἡπλιπνον αφχοογ ἡπεφζμζαλ ωῖνα εφνατωζμ ἡἡωἡμοει• αφβωκ ἡπωροπ• πεχαϫ ναϫ χεπα.χοεις τωζἡ ἡμοκ• πεχαϫ</p>	<p>Jesus said, “A man was having some visitors over, and when he prepared the banquet, he told his slave to invite visitors. He went to the first one and said to him, ‘My master is inviting you.’ He said, ‘I have some finances with some merchants. They are coming to me in the evening. I will go</p>

¹⁹⁴ Variant of ωζς.

<p> ΔΕΟΥΝΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ Τ¹⁹⁵ ΑΓΕΝΕΜΠΟΡΟΣ• ΣΕΝΝΗΥ ΩΡΟΕΙ ΕΡΟΥΣΕ• ΤΝΑΒΩΚ ΝΤΑΟΥΕΖΣΑΖΝΕ ΝΑΥ• ΤΡΠΑΡΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΔΙΠΝΟΝ• ΑΦΒΩΚ ΩΑΚΕΟΥΑ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕΑΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΩΖΜ ΜΜΟΚ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕΑΙΤΟΥΟΥΗΕΙ• ΑΥΩΣΕΡΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΜΟΕΙ ΝΟΥΖΗΜΕΡΑ• ΤΝΑΣΡΦΕ ΑΝ• ΑΦΕΙ ΩΑΚΕΟΥΑ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΩΖΜ ΜΜΟΚ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕΠΑΦΒΗΡ ΝΑΡΩΕΛΕΕΤ• ΑΥΩ ΑΝΟΚ ΕΤΝΑΡΔΙΠΝΟΝ• ΤΝΑΩΙ ΑΝ• ΤΡΠΑΡΑΙΤΕΙ ΜΠΔΙΠΝΟΝ• ΑΦΒΩΚ ΩΑΚΕΟΥΑ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕΠΑΧΟΕΙΣ ΤΩΖΜ ΜΜΟΚ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕΑΙΤΟΥΟΥ ΝΟΥΚΩΜΗ• ΕΕΙΒΩΚ ΑΧΙΝΩΩΜ• ΤΝΑΩΙ ΑΝ• ΤΡΠΑΡΑΙΤΕΙ• ΑΦΕΙ ΝΣΙΠΖΜΖΛΛ• ΑΦΧΟΟΣ ΑΠΕΦΧΟΕΙΣ ΧΕΝΕΝΤΑΚΤΑΖΜΟΥ ΑΠΔΙΠΝΟΝ ΑΥΠΑΡΑΙΤΕΙ• ΠΕΧΕΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΜΠΕΦΖΜΖΛΛ ΧΕΒΩΚ ΕΠΣΑ ΝΒΟΛ </p>	<p> set a contract with them. I am declining the banquet.’ He went to another one and said to him, ‘My master is inviting you.’ He said, ‘I am buying a house, and they are demanding me on this day. I will not be free.’ He went to another one and said to him, ‘My master is inviting you.’ He said to him, ‘My friend will be getting married, and I will be dining. I will not be able to come. I am declining the¹⁹⁶ banquet.’ He went to another one and said to him, ‘My master is inviting you.’ He said to him, ‘I bought a farm. I am going to receive the taxes. I will not be able to come.’ The slave went and told his master, ‘Those whom you invited to the banquet, they declined.’ The master said to his slave, ‘Go outside to the roads. Those whom you find, bring them, so that they shall dine. The traders and the merchants will not enter into my Father’s place.’” </p>
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¹⁹⁵ Variant of ζομντ.

¹⁹⁶ I.e., “your master’s.”

<p>ΑΝΖΙΟΥΕ• ΝΕΤΚΝΑΖΕ ΕΡΟΥ ΕΝΙΟΥ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΥΝΑΡΔΙΠΝΕΙ• ΝΡΕΦΤΟΥ ΜΝΝΕΩΤ[ε ΣΕΝΑΒ]ΩΚ ΑΝ ΕΖΟΥΝ ΕΝΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠΑΪΩΤ•</p>	
<p>(65) ΠΕΧΑΔ ΧΕΟΥΡΩΜΕ ΝΧΡΗ[ΣΤΟ]Σ ΝΕΥΝΤ[ΑΔ] ΝΟΥΜΑΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ• ΑΦΤΑΑΔ ΝΖΝΟΥΟΙΕ ΩΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΑΡΖΩΒ ΕΡΟΥ ΝΦΧΙ ΜΠΕΦΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΝΤΟΤΟΥ• ΑΦΧΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΖΜΖΛ ΧΕΚΑΑΣ ΕΝΟΥΟΙΕ ΝΑ† ΝΑΔ ΜΠΚΑΡΠΟΣ ΜΠΜΑΝΕΛΟΟΛΕ• ΑΓΕΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΠΕΦΖΜΖΛ• ΑΖΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΡΟΥ• ΝΕΚΕΚΟΥΕΙ ΠΕ ΝΣΕΜΟΥΤΥ• ΑΠΖΜΖΛ ΒΩΚ• ΑΦΧΟΥ ΕΠΕΦΧΟΙΣ• ΠΕΧΕ ΠΕΦΧΟΙΣ ΧΕΜΕΩΑΚ ΜΠΕΦΣΟΥΩΝΟΥ• ΑΦΧΟΥ ΝΚΕΖΜΖΛ• ΑΝΟΥΟΙΕ ΖΙΟΥΕ ΕΠΚΕΟΥΑ• ΤΟΤΕ ΑΠΧΟΙΣ ΧΟΥ ΜΠΕΦΩΗΡΕ• ΠΕΧΑΔ ΧΕΜΕΩΑΚ ΣΕΝΑΩΠΕ ΖΗΤΥ ΜΠΑΩΗΡΕ• ΑΝΟΥΟΙΕ ΕΤΜΜΑΔ ΕΠΕΙ ΣΕΣΟΥΝ ΧΕΝΤΟΥ ΠΕ</p>	<p>Jesus said, “A kind man had a vineyard. He gave it to some cultivators in order that they should work on it and take its fruit by hand. He sent his slave, in order that the cultivators would give him the fruit of the vineyard. They laid hold of his slave. They beat him. They very nearly killed him. The slave went and spoke to his master. The master said, ‘Perhaps, he did not recognize them.’¹⁹⁸ He sent another slave. The cultivators beat the other one. The master sent his son. He said, ‘Perhaps they will be ashamed in the presence of my son.’ Those cultivators, because they recognized that he was the heir to the vineyard, seized him. They killed him. He who has ears, may he listen.”</p>

¹⁹⁸ The confusion of pronouns may be explained by a scribal mistake.

<p>πεκληρονομος ἡπμαῖελοολε αγβοιγ¹⁹⁷</p> <p>αγμοογτγ• πετεγῆμααχε ἡμογ</p> <p>μαρεφσωτῆ•</p>	
<p>(66) πεχεῖς̄ χεματσεβοει¹⁹⁹ επωνε</p> <p>παει ἡταγστογ εβολ ἡβινετκωτ• ἡτογ πε</p> <p>πωωνε ἡκωρ²⁰⁰</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Show me the stone that the builders rejected. It is the cornerstone.”</p>
<p>(67) πεχεῖς̄ χεπετσοογῆ ἡπτηργ</p> <p>εφῆρωρ ογαα<φ> φῆρωρ ἡπμα τηργ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who recognizes everything, lacking himself, lacks everything.</p>
<p>(68) πεχεῖς̄ χεῆτωτῆγῆμακαριος</p> <p>ροταν εγφανμεστέτηγτῆ νσεῆδιωκε</p> <p>ἡμωτῆ• αγω σεναρε αν ετοπος γῆπμα</p> <p>εнтаγδιωκε ἡμωτῆ γραῖ ἡρητγ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Blessed are you when²⁰¹ they hate you, and they persecute you. And no place will be found where you were persecuted.”</p>
<p>(69) πεχεῖς̄• γῆμακαριος νε ναει</p> <p>ἡταγδιωκε ἡμοογ γραῖ γῆπογρηт•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Blessed are those who are persecuted in their heart. Those ones have</p>

¹⁹⁷ Variant of σωπε.

¹⁹⁹ Variant of τσαβο.

²⁰⁰ Variant of κοορ.

²⁰¹ Temporal conditional.

<p> ΝΕΤἸΜΑΥ ΝΕΝΤΑΖΣΟΥΩΝΠΕΙΩΤ ΖἸΝΟΥΜΕ• ΖἸΜΑΚΑΡΙΟΣ ΝΕΤΖΚΑΕΙΤ ΩΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΑΤΣΙΟ ἸΘΖΗ ἸΠΕΤΟΥΩ• </p>	<p>surely recognized the Father. Blessed are those who are hungry in order that they shall satisfy the belly of he who wants.”</p>
<p> (70) ΠΕΧΕΙΣ• ΖΟΤΑΝ ΕΤΕΓἸΩΑΧΠΕΠΗ ΖἸΝΤΗΥΤἸ ΠΑἸ ΕΤΕΥἸΝΤΗΤἸἸ ΦΝΑΤΟΥΧΕΤΗΥΤἸ• ΕΩΩΠΕ ΜἸΝΤΗΤἸΠΗ ΖἸΝΤ[Η]ΥΤἸ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤΕΜἸΝΤΗΤἸἸ ΖἸΝΤΗΝΕ Φ[ΝΑ]ΜΟΥΓΤΗΝΕ• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “When you beget the one within you, the one you have will save you. If you do not have the one within you, the one you do not have within you will kill you.”</p>
<p> (71) ΠΕΧΕΙΣ ΧΕΪΝΑΩΡ[ΩΡ̄ ἸΠΕΕ]ΙΝΕΙ• ΑΥΩ ΜἸΛΑΑΥ ΝΑΩΚΟΤΦ [. . .] • </p>	<p>Jesus said, “I will overthrow this house²⁰² and no one will be able to build it [again].”</p>
<p> (72) [ΠΕ]ΧΕ ΟΥΡ[ΩΜ]Ε ΝΑΦ ΧΕΧΟΟΣ ἸΝΝΑΣΝΗΥ ΩΙΝΑ ΕΥΝΑΠΩΩΕ²⁰³ ἸΝἸΝΑΑΥ ἸΠΑΕΙΩΤ ἸΜΜΑΕΙ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΦ ΧΕΩ ΠΡΩΜΕ ΝΙΜ ΠΕἸΝΤΑΖΑΑΤ ἸΡΕΦΠΩΩΕ• ΑΦΚΟΤἸ ΑΝΕΦΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ• ΠΕΧΑΦ ΝΑΥ ΧΕΜΗ ΕΕΙΩΟΟΠ </p>	<p>A man said to him, “Speak to my brothers so that they will divide my father’s things with me.” He said to him, “Man, who made me a divider?” He turned to his disciple, and said to them, “Am I a divider?”</p>

²⁰² Or “temple.”

²⁰³ Variant of ΠΩΩ.

<p> ἡμαγ ἡοῦφορτιον εαρεε αμαργαριτης• πεωωτ ετἡμαγ ογσαβε πε• αφπεφορτιον εβολ• αφτοου ναφ ἡπιμαργαριτης ογωτ• ἡτωτἡ ρωττηγτἡ ωινε ἡσαπεεεεο εμαφωχἡ εφμηη εβολ πμα εμαρεχοολεε τρνο ερογν εμαγ εογωμ ογδε μαρεφἡτ τακο• </p>	<p>merchandise. He bought this single pearl. Likewise, seek yourselves after his unceasing, remaining treasure—the place where no moth approaches to eat and no worm destroys.”</p>
<p> (77) πεχεἰε̅ χεανοκ πεπογοειν παει ετρηχωου τηρου• ανοκ πε πτηρη• ἡταπτηρη ει εβολ ἡρητ• αγω ἡταπτηρη πωρ ωαροει• πωρ ἡνογωε• ανοκ ἡμαγ• φι ἡπωνε ερραἰ• αγω τετναρε εροει ἡμαγ• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “I am the light that is on upon everyone. I am the Everything, which everything comes forth from, and, to me everything returns. Split²⁰⁹ a piece of wood. I am there. Raise up the stone, and you will find me there.”</p>
<p> (78) πεχεἰε̅ χεετβεου ατετἡει εβολ ετσωε• εναγ εγκαω εφκιμ ε[βολ] ρητἡπτηγ• αγω εναγ εγρωμ[ε ε]γἡωτηη </p>	<p>Jesus said, “Why do you come from the field to see a reed blowing in the wind and to see a man wearing soft garments upon himself like your kings and your noblemen. Those [wearing] soft garments upon</p>

²⁰⁹ Same verb in Coptic as “return” in previous sentence of this logion.

<p> εὔσῆν²¹⁰ ριῶωβ ἢ[θε̅ ἡνετ]ἡρρωδου ἡνετῆμεγιστανος ναειεν[ε]ωτην ε[τ]σῆν ριῶου• αγω̅ σεν[α]ω̅σσογντμε̅ αν̅• </p>	<p> themselves, they will not be able to recognize the truth.”²¹¹ </p>
<p> (79) πεχεογρῖμ[ε] ναϋ ρῖμῖμῖωε²¹² χενεειατς [ἡ]ερη̅ ἡταρϋι ζαροκ̅ αγω̅ ἡκι[β]ε̅ ενταρσα[[ρ]]νογωκ̅²¹³ πεχαϋ να[ς] χενεειατου̅ ἡνεταρσωτῆ απλογος̅ ἡπειωτ̅• αγαρεζ²¹⁴ ερωϋ ρῖνογμε̅• οὔῆρῖνοογ̅ γαρ̅ ναωωπε̅ ἡτετῆχ̅οος χενεειατς̅ ἡερη̅ ταει̅ ετεμπεω̅ αγω̅ ἡκιβε̅ ναει̅ εμπογ̅†ερωτε̅• </p>	<p> A woman from the crowd said to him, “Blessed is the womb that bore you and the breasts that nourished you.” He said to her, “Blessed are those who hear the word of the Father. Truly, they kept watch over him. For some days will come into being, when you say, ‘Blessed is the womb that did not conceive, and the breasts that did not give milk.’” </p>
<p> (80) πεχεῖτς̅ χενεταρσσογω̅νπκοσμο̅ς αϋζε̅ επ̅σωμα̅• </p>	<p> Jesus said, “He who recognizes²¹⁵ the world, found the body. But he who found the body, the world is not worthy of him.” </p>

²¹⁰ Variant of σῆνον.

²¹¹ Or “love,” “justice.”

²¹² Variant of ἡμῖωε.

²¹³ Variant of σαανω.

²¹⁴ Variant of ραρεζ.

²¹⁵ Or “knows.”

<p>ΠΕΝΤΑΖΩΕ ΔΕ ΕΠΩΜΑ ΠΚΟΣΜΟΣ ἸΠΩΔ ἸΜΟΥ ΔΝ•</p>	
<p>(81) ΠΕΧΕΙΣ ΧΕΠΕΝΤΑΖΩΡΡἸΜΑΟ ΜΑΡΕΦΡΡΡΟ• ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΕΥἸΤΑΦ ἸΟΥΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ ΜΑΡΕΦΑΡΝΑ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who is rich, may he become king, and he who has an authority,²¹⁶ may he renounce it.”</p>
<p>(82) ΠΕΧΕΙΣ ΧΕΠΕΤΖΗΝ²¹⁷ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΕΦΖΗΝ ΕΤΣΑΤΕ• ΑΥΩ ΠΕΤΟΥΗΥ ἸΜΟΕΙ ΦΟΥΗΥ ἸΤΜἸΤΕΡΟ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who is near me, he is near the fire. And he who is distant from me, he is distant from the kingdom.”</p>
<p>(83) ΠΕΧΕΙΣ ΧΕΝΖΙΚΩΝ ΣΕΟΥΟΝΖ ΕΒΟΛ ἸΠΡΩΜΕ• ΑΥΩ ΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ΕΤἸΖΗΤΟΥ ΦΖΗΠ ΖἸΘΙΚΩΝ ἸΠΟΥΟΕΙΝ ἸΠΕΙΩΤ• ΦΝΑΒΩΛΠ ΕΒΟΛ• ΑΥΩ ΤΕΦΖΙΚΩΝ ΖΗΠ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΙΤἸΠΕΦΟΥΟΕΙΝ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The images appear to the man, and the light that is within them is hidden in the image of the Father’s light. It will be revealed, and its image will be hidden through its light.”</p>
<p>(84) ΠΕΧΕΙΣ• ἸΖΟΥΥ ΕΤΕΤἸΝΑΥ</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The day when you see your likeness, you rejoice. But when²¹⁸ you see</p>

²¹⁶ Or “power.”

²¹⁷ Variant of ζων.

²¹⁸ Temporal conditional.

<p>επετ̄νε̄ινε̄ τ̄αρ̄ετ̄η̄ρᾱω̄ε̄• ρ̄οτ̄αν̄ δε̄ ε̄τετ̄η̄ω̄αν̄νᾱγ̄ αν̄ετ̄η̄ξ̄ικ̄ων̄ η̄τᾱρ̄ω̄ω̄πε̄ ξ̄ιτετ̄η̄ε̄ρη̄ ο̄ῡτε̄ μᾱγ̄η̄ο̄ῡ ο̄ῡτε̄ μᾱγ̄ο̄ῡω̄νη̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ τε̄τ̄η̄ᾱϕ̄ῑ ρ̄ᾱο̄ῡη̄ρ̄•</p>	<p>your images, which came into being at your beginning, and which neither died nor were revealed, how much will you bear?”</p>
<p>(85) πε̄χε̄ῑς̄ δε̄η̄τᾱᾱᾱᾱμ̄ ω̄ω̄πε̄ ε̄βο̄λ̄ ρ̄η̄η̄ο̄ῡη̄ο̄ς̄ η̄ᾱγ̄η̄ᾱμ̄ῑς̄ η̄η̄ο̄ῡη̄ο̄ς̄ η̄μ̄η̄η̄τ̄η̄η̄μᾱο̄• ᾱγ̄ω̄ η̄πε̄ϕ̄ω̄ω̄πε̄ ε̄[ϕ̄η̄]π̄ω̄ᾱ η̄μ̄ω̄τ̄η̄• η̄ε̄γ̄ᾱζ̄ῑο̄ς̄ γ̄ᾱρ̄ η̄ε̄ [η̄ε̄ϕ̄η̄ᾱ.ϕ̄ῑ]†π̄[ε̄] ᾱη̄ η̄π̄η̄ο̄ῡ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Adam came into being from a great power and a great wealth, and he did not become worthy of you. For being worthy, he would not have tasted death.”</p>
<p>(86) πε̄χε̄ῑς̄ δε̄[η̄ν̄βᾱω̄ο̄ρ̄ ο̄ῡ][η̄η̄τ̄]ᾱγ̄ η̄ο̄ῡ[β]η̄η̄• ᾱγ̄ω̄ η̄ρ̄ᾱλᾱτε̄ ο̄ῡη̄τᾱγ̄ η̄μᾱγ̄ η̄π̄ε̄γ̄μᾱρ̄• π̄ω̄η̄ρε̄ δε̄ η̄π̄ρ̄ω̄με̄ η̄η̄τᾱϕ̄ η̄η̄[ο̄]γ̄η̄ᾱ ε̄ρῑκε̄ η̄τε̄ϕ̄ᾱπε̄ η̄ϕ̄η̄η̄τον̄ η̄η̄[ο̄]ϕ̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Foxes have their dens, and birds have their nest. But the son of man does not have a place to lay²¹⁹ his head and rest.</p>
<p>(87) πε̄χᾱϕ̄ η̄β̄η̄ῑς̄ δε̄ο̄ῡτ̄ᾱλᾱῑπ̄ω̄ρον̄ η̄ε̄ π̄σ̄ω̄μᾱ ε̄τᾱϕ̄ε̄ η̄ο̄ῡς̄ω̄μᾱ• ᾱγ̄ω̄</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Wretched is the body who relies on a body, and wretched is the soul that depends on these two.”</p>

²¹⁹ Lit. “turn.”

<p>ΟΥΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΟΣ ΤΕ ΤΥΓΧΗ ΕΤΑΩΕ ΝΗΑΕΙ ΜΠCΝΑΥ•</p>	
<p>(88) ΠΕΧΕΙC ΔΕΝΑΓΓΕΛΟC ΝΗΥ ΩΑΡΩΤΗ ΜΗΝΠΡΟΦΗΤΗC• ΑΥΩ CΕΝΑ† ΝΗΤΗ ΝΝΕΤΕΥΝΤΗΤΗCΕ• ΑΥΩ ΝΤΩΤΗ ΖΩΤΗΗΤΗ ΝΕΤΗΤΟΤΗΝΕ ΤΑΔΥ ΝΑΥ ΝΤΕΤΗΧΟΟC ΝΗΤΗ ΔΕΑΩ ΝΖΟΥ ΠΕΤΟΥΝΗΗΥ ΝCΕΔΙΠΕΤΕΠΩΟΥ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The angels²²⁰ come to you with the prophets and they will give you those which you have. And you also, give that which you have to them, and say to yourself, ‘When is the day when they come and take what is theirs?’”</p>
<p>(89) ΠΕΧΕΙC ΔΕΕΤΒΕΟΥ ΤΕΤΗΕΙΩΕ²²¹ ΜΠCΑ ΝΒΟΛ ΜΠΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ• ΤΕΤΗΡΝΟΕΙ ΔΝ ΔΕΠΕΝΤΑΖΤΑΜΙΟ ΜΠCΑ ΝΖΟΥΝ ΝΤΟΦ ΟΝ ΠΕΝΤΑΦΤΑΜΙΟ ΜΠCΑ ΝΒΟΛ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not realize that he who created the inside is the one who created the outside?”</p>
<p>(90) ΠΕΧΕΙΗC ΔΕΔΗΗΕΙΤΗ ΩΑΡΟΕΙ ΔΕΟΥΧΡΗCΤΟC ΠΕ ΠΑΝΑΖΒ• ΑΥΩ ΤΑΜΗΤΧΟΕΙC ΟΥΡΜΡΑΩ ΤΕ• ΑΥΩ ΤΕΤΝΑΖΕ ΑΥΑΝΑΥΠΑCΙC ΝΗΤΗ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Come to me for my yoke is a mild one and my reign is a gentle one. And you will find a repose for yourselves.”</p>

²²⁰ Or “messengers.”

²²¹ Variant of ειω.

<p>(91) πεχαγ ναγ δεχοοο ερον δε̅ν̅τ̅κ̅ν̅ι̅μ̅ ϖ̅ι̅να̅ ε̅να̅ρ̅π̅ι̅σ̅τ̅ε̅γ̅ε̅ ε̅ρο̅κ̅• πεχαγ ναγ δε̅τε̅τ̅η̅ρ̅π̅ρα̅ζε̅ η̅π̅ρο̅ η̅τ̅π̅ε̅ η̅η̅π̅κα̅ρ̅• α̅γ̅ω̅ πε̅τ̅η̅πε̅τ̅η̅μ̅το̅ ε̅βο̅λ̅ η̅πε̅τ̅η̅σο̅γ̅ω̅ν̅α̅• α̅γ̅ω̅ πε̅ει̅και̅ρο̅ς̅ τε̅τ̅η̅σο̅ο̅γ̅η̅ν̅ α̅η̅ η̅ρ̅π̅ρα̅ζε̅ η̅μ̅ο̅α̅•</p>	<p>They said to him, “Speak to us about who you are in order that we shall believe you.” He said to them, “You test the face of Heaven and Earth, and he, of whom you are in the presence, you do not recognize²²² him, and you do not recognize how to test this time.”</p>
<p>(92) πεχε̅ι̅ς̅ δε̅ϖ̅ι̅νε̅• α̅γ̅ω̅ τε̅τ̅η̅α̅β̅ι̅νε̅• α̅λλ̅α̅ η̅ε̅τα̅τε̅τ̅η̅χ̅νο̅γ̅ει̅ ε̅ρο̅ο̅γ̅ η̅η̅ι̅ρο̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅η̅π̅ι̅χο̅ο̅γ̅ η̅η̅τ̅η̅ η̅φ̅ο̅ο̅γ̅ ε̅τ̅η̅μα̅γ̅ τε̅νο̅γ̅ ε̅ρ̅η̅α̅ι̅ ε̅χο̅ο̅γ̅• α̅γ̅ω̅ τε̅τ̅η̅ϖ̅ι̅νε̅ α̅η̅ η̅σ̅ω̅ο̅γ̅•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Seek and you will find, but that for which you asked me, in those days, I did not say to you on that day.”</p>
<p>(93) <πεχε̅ι̅ς̅ δε̅>η̅π̅ρ̅†̅πε̅το̅γ̅α̅α̅β̅ η̅η̅νο̅γ̅ρο̅ο̅ρ̅ δε̅ε̅κα̅ς̅ νο̅γ̅νο̅χο̅γ̅ ε̅τ̅κο̅π̅ρ̅ια̅• η̅π̅ρ̅νο̅γ̅δε̅ η̅η̅μ̅α̅ρ̅γα̅ρ̅ι̅τ̅η̅[ς̅ η̅]η̅ε̅ϖ̅α̅γ̅²²³ ϖ̅ι̅να̅ δε̅η̅ο̅γ̅α̅α̅γ̅ η̅λα̅[. . .]•</p>	<p>“Do not give what is holy to dogs because they throw it upon the dung hill. Do not throw pearls before swine lest they [...]”</p>

²²² Or “know” in both instantiations in this sentence.

²²³ Variant of ϖε.

<p>(94) [πεχ]εῖς• πετρίνε²²⁴ φησινε• [πεττωζῆ ε]ζουγν σεναουων ναφ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who seeks will find. It will be opened for him who knocks.”</p>
<p>(95) [πεχεῖς χε]εωωπε ουῆτητηζουτ²²⁵ μηπ† ετμησε• αλλα † [ἦμοϋ] μηετ[ε]τναχιτου αν ἠτοουτ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “If you have money, do not lend it with interest, but give it to him who will pay it back.”</p>
<p>(96) π[εχ]εῖς χετμηῆτερο ἠπειωτ εστῆτω[ν αγ]εριμε• ασχι ἠουκογει ἠσαειρ²²⁶ α[εζ]ουπυ ζἠουωωτε• ασααϋ ἠζῆνο[σ ἠ]νοεικ• πετεγῆμααχε ἠμοϋ μα[ρε]υεωωτῆ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The Father’s kingdom is like a woman. She took a little leaven. She [hid] it in a dough.²²⁷ She made it into a large (loaf of) bread. He who has ears, may he listen.”</p>
<p>(97) πεχεῖς χετμηῆτερο ἠπειωτ ε]ετῆτων αγεριμε εσϋ ζαουελ[μει] εμεεζ ἠνοειτ• εσμοουε ζ[ιτε]ζιη εσοουου²²⁸</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The Father’s kingdom is like a woman who carries a jar full of flour. She walked on the long road. The handle²²⁹ of the jar broke. The flour emptied from it onto</p>

²²⁴ Variant of φινε.

²²⁵ Variant of ζουμτ.

²²⁶ Variant of σπ.

²²⁷ The same word used for “a well” in earlier logia.

²²⁸ Variant of ουηϋ.

²²⁹ Lit. “ear.”

<p>απηλααχε μηπολμ[ε]ει ογωβπ• απνοειτ ωγοο νσως[ρ]ιτεριη• νεσσοογν αν πε• νεμηπεσειμε ερισε• νταρεσπωρ ερογν επеснеи аскапо̄лмеи аπεснт• асρε ероϷ εφωογειт•</p>	<p>the road, and she did not realize it. She did not know to be troubled. When she reached her house, she placed the jar on the ground. She found it empty.”</p>
<p>(98) πεχειс• τμη̄τερο μη̄πειωт εστ̄νη̄των εγρωμε εφογωω εμογτογρωμε μη̄μεγιστανос• аφωωλμ ν̄тснϷε ρ̄μη̄πεϷηει• αφχοτс̄ ν̄тχο δεκαас εφηλαεμε χετεφβιχ νατωκ ερογн• тотε аφρωтв̄ μη̄μη̄μεγιστανос•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The Father’s kingdom is like a man wishing to kill a nobleman. He drew forth the sword in his house. He pierced it in the wall so that he would know that he should be confident in his hand. At that time, he murdered the nobleman.”</p>
<p>(99) πεχεμη̄μαοηтис ναϷ χενεκснн̄η μη̄ντεκμαаγ σεαρεατογ²³⁰ ρ̄пса нво̄л• πεχαϷ ναγ χενεт̄νη̄εεиμα ε̄тρε²³¹ μη̄поγωω μη̄пαιωт ναει νε наснн̄η</p>	<p>The disciples said to him, “Your siblings²³² and your mother are standing outside.” He said to them, “Those in these places who do the will of my Father, these are my siblings and my mother. They are those who will</p>

²³⁰ Variant of ωρε.

²³¹ Variant of ειρε.

²³² Lit. “brothers.”

<p>μῆταμααγ• ἡτοογ πεετναβωκ εεζογν εετμῆτερο ἡπαειωτ•</p>	<p>enter into my Father’s kingdom.”</p>
<p>(100) αγτσεβεῖς²³³ αγνογβ• αγω πεχαγ ναφ χεεετηη ακαισαρ σεωγτε ἡμον ἡνωωμ• πεχαφ ναγ δετνακαισαρ ἡκαισαρ• τηναπνογτε ἡπνογτε• αγω πετεπωει πε ματηῆναειφ•</p>	<p>They showed Jesus a coin and said to him, “Those who esteem Caesar demand that we (pay) tribute.” He said to them “Give what is Caesar’s to Caesar. Give what is God’s to God. And what is mine, give to me.”²³⁴</p>
<p>(101) <πεχεῖς>• πεταμεεεπεφει[ωτ] αν ἡητεφμααγ ἡταρε φναωρμ[αθηη]ηε ναει αν• αγω πεταῆρρε²³⁵ πεφ[ειωτ αν μ]ἡητεφμααγ ἡταρε φναωρμ[αθηηηε να]ει αν• ταμααγ γαρ ἡταε[- - -][. .]ολ• τα[μαα]γ δε ἡμε δετ ναει ἡπωνηε•</p>	<p><Jesus said,> “He who does not hate his father and his mother like me, he will not be able to become my disciple. And he who does not love his father and his mother like me will not be able to become my disciple. For my mother [- - -], but my true mother gave me life.”</p>
<p>(102) πεχεῖς [χεο]γοει ναγ ἡφαισαιος</p>	<p>Jesus said, “Woe to the Pharisees, for they</p>

²³³ Variant of τσαβο.

²³⁴ What is given to Caesar and God is plural (these things which are Caesar’s). What is given to Jesus is singular (this thing which is Jesus’).

²³⁵ Variant of με; or μογρ (“bind”).

<p> $\chi\epsilon\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$ [$\bar{\nu}\bar{\nu}$]ογογζορ εφ$\bar{\nu}$κοτκ $\rho\iota\chi\bar{\nu}$πογονεφ²³⁶ $\bar{\nu}\zeta$[$\bar{\nu}$]νεζοογ $\chi\epsilon$ ογτε φογωη αν• ογτε φκ[ω] αν $\bar{\nu}$νεζοογ εογωη• </p>	<p>are like a dog laying down in an oxen manger—neither does it eat nor does it allow the oxen to eat.”</p>
<p> (103) $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\bar{c}$ $\chi\epsilon\omicron\gamma\mu\alpha$[κα]ριος πε πρωμε παει ετσοογ$\bar{\nu}$ $\chi\epsilon$ ζ[$\bar{\nu}$ αω] $\bar{\mu}$μερος ενληστης νηγ εζοογ$\bar{\nu}$ ωινα [εφ]νατωογ$\bar{\nu}$ $\bar{\nu}$φω[[ζ]]ογζ $\bar{\nu}$τεφ$\bar{\nu}$τε[ρο] αγω $\bar{\nu}$φμογρ $\bar{\mu}$μοφ ε$\chi$$\bar{\nu}$τεφ†πε ζ[α]τεζη εμπατογει εζοογ$\bar{\nu}$• </p>	<p>Jesus said, “Blessed is the man who recognizes where the thieves (will) enter, so that he will arise, gather his kingdom, and bind himself upon his loins from the beginning, before they enter.”</p>
<p> (104) $\mu\epsilon\chi\alpha\gamma$ [$\bar{\nu}\bar{\iota}$]\bar{c} $\chi\epsilon\alpha\mu\omicron\gamma$ $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$ωληλ $\bar{\mu}$ποογ αγω $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\bar{\nu}$ρνηστεγε• $\mu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\bar{c}$ $\chi\epsilon\omicron\gamma$ γαρ πε πιнове $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\alpha\epsilon\iota\alpha\alpha\phi$• η $\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau}\alpha\gamma\chi\rho$ εροει ζ$\bar{\nu}$ογ• αλλα ζοταν ερωανπηνμφιος ει εβολ $\zeta\bar{\mu}$πηνμφων τοτε μαρογνηστεγε• αγω </p>	<p>They said to Jesus, “Come. We (shall) pray today and fast.” Jesus said “What sin have I done, or did they become victorious over me? But when²³⁷ the bridegroom leaves the bridal chamber, then may they fast and pray.”</p>

²³⁶ Variant of οωομφ.

²³⁷ Temporal conditional.

<p>μαροῦ φλη•</p>	
<p>(105) πεχεῖς̄ χεπετναςοῦωνπειωτ μῆτμααῡ σεναμοῦτε εροϋ χε̄ πωηρε ῆπορη•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who recognizes the Father and the Mother, will be called the child of a prostitute.”</p>
<p>(106) πεχεῖς̄ χεροταν̄ ετετῆφαρ̄πснаγ οῦᾱ τετναςωπε̄ ῆωηρε̄ ῆπρωμε•̄ αῦω ετετῆφαναχοος̄ χεπτοοῦ̄ πωωνε̄ εβολ φναπωωνε•</p>	<p>Jesus said, when²³⁸ you make the two one, you will become children of man, and if you say ‘Mountain, go forth,’ it will go.”</p>
<p>(107) πεχεῖς̄ χετμῆτερο̄ εστῆτων̄ εῦρωμε̄ ῆωως̄ εῦῆταϋ̄ ῆμαῦ̄ ῆωε̄ ῆ̄ εσοοῦ• αοῦᾱ ῆρητοῦ̄ σωρη̄ επνοσ̄ πε•̄ αϋκω ῆπστεῦιτ•²³⁹ αϋωινε̄ ῆσαπιοῦᾱ φαντεϋρε̄ εροϋ•̄ ῆταρεϋρισε̄ πεχαϋ̄ ῆπεσο[[γ]]οῦ χε̄τοῦοωκ²⁴⁰ παρᾱ πστεῦιτ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, the Kingdom is like a shepherd who has a hundred sheep. One of them, the largest, went astray. He abandoned the ninety-nine. He searched for this one until he found it. When he was troubled, he said to the sheep, “I love you more than the ninety-nine.”</p>

²³⁸ Temporal conditional.

²³⁹ Variant of πσταιοῦιτ.

²⁴⁰ Variant of οῦωφ.

<p>(108) πεχεῖς̄ χεπετασ̄ω εβολ ζ̄ν̄ταταπρο φ̄ναωωπε̄ ν̄ταρε• ανοκ ζω†ναωωπε̄ εντοφ̄ πε• αυω νεθηπ ναουων̄ε̄ εροφ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who drinks from my mouth will become like me. I too will become like him, and the hidden things will be revealed to him.”</p>
<p>(109) πεχεῖς̄ χετμη̄τερο̄ εστ̄ν̄των ε̄υρωμε̄ ε̄ν̄ταφ̄ ν̄μαγ̄ ζ̄ν̄τεφ̄ωωε̄ ν̄νουε̄ρο εφ̄ζη[π̄ ε]φο̄ ν̄ατσοο̄υν̄ εροφ• αυω ν̄[ν̄ν̄κατ]ρεφ̄μο̄ῡ αφ̄κααφ̄ μ̄πεφ̄[ω]ρη̄ε• νε]πωρη̄ε̄ σοο̄υν̄ αν• αφ̄φ̄ιτ̄ωωε̄ ε̄τ̄μαγ̄• αφ̄ταᾱς̄ [εβο]λ̄ αυω̄ πε[ν]ταρ̄τοο̄ῡς̄ αφ̄ει εφ̄σκᾱει• αφ̄[φ̄]ε̄ απ̄ε̄ρο• αφ̄ αρ̄χεῑ ν̄†ζομ̄τ²⁴¹ ε̄τ̄μη̄σε̄ ν̄[νε]τ̄φ̄ο̄ῡωω̄ο̄ῡ•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “The kingdom is like a man who had a treasure hidden in his field without realizing it. And [when] he died, he left it to his son. The son did not know [about the treasure]. He received that field. He sold it. And he who bought it came to plow. He found the treasure. He began to lend money with interest to those whom he loved.”</p>
<p>(110) πεχεῖς̄ χεπενταρ̄β̄ινε̄ μ̄π̄κοσμο̄ς̄ ν̄φ̄ρ̄ρ̄μ̄μᾱο̄ μαρεφ̄αρ̄νᾱ μ̄π̄κοσμο̄ς̄•</p>	<p>Jesus said, “He who finds the world and becomes wealthy, may he renounce the world.”</p>

²⁴¹ Variant of ζομ̄τ̄.

<p>(114) πεχεσιμων πετρος ναυ δεμαρεμαριζαμ ει εβολ νεητην δενεζιομε μηπαδ αν μηωνη• πεχεις δεειζηητε ανοκ †νασωκ μμοσ δεκαασ εειναασ νεροογτ ωινα εснаωωπε ζωωс νεογπνα εφονη εφεινε μηωτην νεροογτ δεεζιμε ним εснаас νεροογт сनावωк ερογн ετηντερο μηπηγε•</p>	<p>Simon Peter said to them, “May Mary²⁴⁴ leave us, for women are not worthy of life.” Jesus said, “Behold, I will guide her, so that I may make her male, in order that she shall become a living spirit herself like you males, so that every woman who shall make herself male will enter into the Kingdom of the Heavens.”</p>
<p>(Epilogue) πεγαγγελιον καταθωмас•</p>	<p>The Gospel according to Thomas</p>

²⁴⁴ Lit. “Mariam.”

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