

FRAGMENTS OF GOSPELS, ETC.

PRESERVED IN MANUSCRIPTS DISCOVERED IN RECENT YEARS

A. GREEK FRAGMENTS (See also Appendix I)

1. THE FAYOUM GOSPEL-FRAGMENT

THIS is a piece of papyrus of the third (?) century, in the Archduke Rainer's collection of papyri at Vienna: first published in 1885. There have been many attempts (as in all these cases) at restoring the missing words and letters. The first line remains quite doubtful. What may be regarded as certain is:

all ye in this
night shall be offended according to
the scripture: I will smite the shepherd and the
sheep shall be scattered. And when Peter
said: Even if all, not I, the Lord
{ said: The cock shall twice crow and thou
{ said: Before the cock crow twice to-day
{ first shalt thrice deny me
{ thou shalt thrice deny me.

It is not certain that this is a fragment of a Gospel: it may be, and is by many held to be, a somewhat abridged quotation made by a preacher or commentator. It omits, for instance, the clause: After I am risen I will go before you into Galilee. If the preacher or expositor wished to emphasize Peter's denial, he might easily pass over these words. On the other hand the first editor of it, and others, have thought that the omission was a mark of early date.

The word for *crow* is literally *cry cuckoo*.

2. THE OXYRHYNCHUS SAYINGS OF JESUS

These are on two papyri found at Oxyrhynchus by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt in excavations carried out for the Graeco-Roman branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

The first was found in 1897: it is a leaf of a papyrus *book*, of the third century. It is numbered, apparently, '11'. The second was found in 1903: it is a piece of a papyrus *roll*, also of the third century, but a little later in date than the other. It has a title or prologue.

Both are mutilated. The latest editor, Professor H. G. Evelyn White (*The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*, Cambridge, 1920), has shown good cause for believing both fragments to belong to the same collection of Sayings. He makes the second precede the first (as I said, it has a title), and believes that the Sayings are extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews. I shall follow his order in

translating the Sayings: but I must refrain from quoting all his very ingenious restorations. As a rule I shall only give the practically certain supplements.

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 654.

Prologue. These are the (. . .) words which Jesus that liveth and (. . .) spake to (. . .) and to Thomas. And he said: (Whosoever heareth) these words shall not taste (of death).

- i. Let not him that seeketh cease (seeking till he) find, and when he findeth (he shall marvel, and) having marvelled he shall reign, and (having reigned) he shall rest.

(Quoted by Clement of Alexandria as from the Gospel according to the Hebrews: see p. 2.)

- ii. (. . .) saith (Who are they that) draw us (. . .)
 . . .) the kingdom that is in heaven
 (. . .) the fowls of the heaven
 whatsoever is under the earth
 the fish of the sea. (These are they
 that draw) you; and the kingdom (of heaven) is
 within you: (and whosoever) knoweth (. . .)
 shall find it (. . .) know yourselves
 (. . .) ye are (. . .) of the
 Father (. . .) ye shall know your-
 selves to be in (. . .). And ye are
 the city (?) (of God (See below for suggested restorations.)
- iii. A man shall not hesitate (. . .)
 having found (?) to ask of (. . .)
 concerning the place of (. . .)
 for (ye shall find?) that many (first shall be last and)
 the last first and they shall (. . .)
- iv. Jesus saith (. . .)
 before thy face and (that which is hidden)
 from thee shall be revealed (to thee: for there is nothing)
 hid that shall not be manifested
 and buried that (shall not be found or raised up)
- v. his disciples) question him (and)
 say: How shall we fast (and how shall we
) and how (shall we
) and what shall we observe (. . .)
). Jesus saith (. . .)
) Do not do (. . .)
) of the truth (. . .)
) hidden (. . .)
) blessed is he (. . .)

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1.

- vi. And then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote which
 is in thy brother's eye.

- vii. Jesus saith: If ye fast not from the world ye shall not find the kingdom of God, and if ye keep not Sabbath for the whole week, ye shall not see the Father.
- viii. Jesus saith: I stood in the midst of the world, and in flesh appeared I unto them: and I found all men drunken, and none did I find thirsting among them and my soul is afflicted for the sons of men, because they are blind in their heart and see not . . .
(bottom of the column gone)
- ix, col. 2. poverty
- x. (Jesus saith) Wheresoever there are (two, they are not without) God: and where there is one alone I say I am with him. Lift up the stone and there shalt thou find me: cleave the wood, and I am there.
- xi. Jesus saith: A prophet is not acceptable in his own country, nor doth a physician do cures upon them that know him.
- xii. Jesus saith: A city built upon the top of an high mountain and established can neither fall nor be hidden.
- xiii. Jesus saith: Thou hearest with(in) thy (one) ear (but the other thou hast closed). . . .

It is not practicable to give the numerous attempts at restoration which have been made. For these I refer the reader to Evelyn White's excellent edition. But by way of a specimen I will give Evelyn White's and Lagrange's suggestions for Saying II, which is one of the most puzzling of them all. Lagrange's appeared in the *Revue Biblique*, 1922, p. 432.

Evelyn White would restore thus:

Judas) saith: (Who then
are they that draw us, (and when shall come
the kingdom that is in heaven? (Jesus saith:)
The fowls of the heaven (and of the beasts what
-ever is beneath the earth (or upon the earth, and)
the fishes of the sea, (these are they that
draw you: and the kingdom (of heaven)
is within you: (and whosoever) knoweth (himself)
shall find (it: and having found it)
ye shall know yourselves, (that) ye are (sons and heirs)
of the Father the (Almighty, and)
shall know yourselves (that ye are) in (God and God in you).
And ye are the (City of God).

Judas the interrogator is 'not Iscariot'.

Lagrange:

(Judas) saith: (Who then
are they that draw us (unto heaven above, if
the kingdom (is) in heaven? (Jesus saith)
The fowls of the heaven, (the beasts and if

- 5 there be anything beneath the earth (or upon the earth, and the fishes of the sea (are they that) draw you (unto God) and the kingdom (of heaven) is within you (and whosoever) knoweth (God) shall find it: (for if ye know him)
- 10 ye shall know yourselves (and shall know that) ye are (sons) of the Father that is (perfect: and likewise) ye shall know yourselves (to be citizens in heaven). And ye are the city (of God) or (that which affrighteth Satan).
- He gives an alternative for lines 8-10:
 is within you (and whosoever) knoweth (himself) shall find it. (Take pains therefore) to know yourselves, &c.

FRAGMENT OF A GOSPEL

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 655. This is a broken leaf of a papyrus roll of the third century. Very little of the second column—only the beginnings of words—remains.

(Take no thought)
 from morning until evening
 nor from evening
 to morning, either for
 your food, what ye
 shall eat, nor for your
 raiment, what ye shall
 put on. Much better
 are ye than the lilies
 which do not card
 nor spin . . .
 having one gar-
 ment, what . . . and
 ye, who can add
 unto your stat-
 ure? He shall give
 you your rai-
 ment. His disciples
 say unto him
 When wilt thou
 be manifest unto us and when
 shall we see thee? He saith:
 When ye have put off your raiment and
 are not ashamed.

(Cf. the Gospel according to the Egyptians.)

Col. 2. The sense of the lower part only can be made out with certainty.

He said The key of knowledge have ye hidden:
yourselves ye entered not in, and to them that were
coming in ye opened not

(after two lines)

harmless as doves.

The other little pieces of the leaf give no sense.

FRAGMENT OF ANOTHER GOSPEL

Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part V, 1908.

A leaf of a parchment book of the third century, almost complete.
first, before he doeth wrong he excuseth himself (*or* falleth into error). But take ye heed lest haply ye also suffer like things with them. For not only among the living do evildoers among men receive (retribution), but they endure also a punishment and great torment.¹

And he took them with him and led them to the cleansing-place itself (*or* holy place) and walked in the Temple. And there came near a Pharisee, an high priest, Levi (?) by name, and met them and said unto the Saviour: Who hath given thee leave to tread this holy place and to look upon these holy vessels, without thy first bathing thyself, and without thy disciples having washed their feet, but unclean *as thou art* hast thou walked in this Temple, which is a clean place, wherein no man walketh but one that hath bathed himself and changed his clothes, nor presumeth to look upon these holy vessels?

And straightway (the Saviour) stood with his disciples and answered him: Art thou then clean, that art here in the Temple? He said unto him: I am clean, for I have bathed myself in the pool of David, and when I had gone down *into it* by the one ladder (stair), I came up by the other: and I have put on white and clean raiment, and then did I come, and have looked upon these holy vessels. The Saviour answered him and said: Woe unto you, ye blind, that see not! Thou hast bathed thyself in these waters that are poured forth, into which, night and day, dogs and swine are cast: and after thou hadst washed thyself didst scour thine outer skin, which the harlots also and flute-girls anoint and bathe and scour and beautify to (arouse) desire in men,² but within it is (*or* they are) filled with scorpions and

¹ The above is mainly Zahn's rendering. Swete's is: 'beforehand he useth every device to injure first (unlike the righteous, who—see Wisdom xviii. 2—do not retaliate when they are injured first). . . . For evildoers do not receive retribution among animals only (animals that do harm are punished here and now) but *hereafter* also undergo torment,' &c.

² I am reminded of an addition in the Septuagint to the text of 1 Kings xxii. 38: They washed (*Ahab's*) chariot at the fountain of Samaria: and the *swine and the dogs* licked up the blood, and the *harlots washed themselves* in the blood, according to the word of the Lord which he spake.

all evil. But I and my disciples, of whom thou sayest, that we are not washed, have been washed in living waters which came down from (God out of heaven). But woe unto them that (*wash the outside, but within are unclean*, is Dr. Swete's suggested supplement).

The writer seems to show gross ignorance of Jewish matters in assuming that swine could be suffered in the neighbourhood of the Temple, and in other ways. Yet some have defended him on this score.

We have no clue to the identity of the book from which the fragment comes. If it were not that Jesus is here spoken of as 'the Saviour', not 'the Lord', I should suggest the Gospel of Peter. 'Saviour' is the common word in the Gnostic literature. The Gospel of the Egyptians is an obvious possibility: but all is uncertain. At least, the leaf is *not* from the Gospel according to the Hebrews: and it approaches the style of the Synoptists more nearly than do the next fragments.

B. COPTIC

1. A fragmentary papyrus of the fourth or fifth century at Strasburg, edited by A. Jacoby in 1900. I follow the rendering in Hennecke's *Apokr. d. N.T.*, which seems better than Jacoby's.

[*front*] that he may be known by his (hospitality to strangers) and be praised for his fruit: for . . .

. . . Amen. Give me now thy (strength) O Father, that (they) with me may endure the world. Amen. (I have) received the crown (*or* sceptre) of the kingdom.

I am become king through thee, Father. Thou wilt subject all things unto me. (Amen.) Through whom shall (the last) enemy be destroyed? Through (Christ). Through whom shall the sting of death be (destroyed)? (Through the) only-begotten. Amen.

Unto whom belongeth the dominion? (Unto the Son.) Amen.

[*back*] Now when he had ended all the (song of praise to his Father?) he turned himself to us and said (unto us): The hour is come when I shall be taken from you.

The spirit (is) willing, but the flesh is weak: (stay) and watch with me.

But we the apostles wept, saying:

He answered and said unto us: Fear not (because of) the destruction (of the body) but (fear) much more . . . the power of (darkness). Remember all (that I) have said unto you: (If) they have persecuted me, (they will) persecute you also. . . . (Ye) rejoice because I (have overcome the world).

Another fragment of the same.

[front] (that I) may reveal unto you all my glory and show you all your strength and the mystery of your apostleship. . . .

[back] Our eyes penetrated through all places. We beheld the glory of his Godhead and all the glory of his dominion. He clothed us with the power of (our) apostleship.

We gain little from this. The scene is evidently the garden of Gethsemane. Our Lord utters a hymn to the Father: a faint resemblance to that in the Acts of John is perceptible. In it are clear reminiscences of 1 Cor. xv. Further reminiscences of St. John's Gospel occur just after this. The second fragment implies a vision of the glorified Christ seen by the apostles. The writing of which these are fragments cannot have been a very early production. The apostles speak in the first person plural: but we need not infer that the book was a Gospel or the Gospel according to the Twelve (though this is Revillout's view). As in other cases (e.g. the Gospel of Peter) a single apostle would most likely have figured as the author in some other part of it.

2. Bound up with the fifth-century manuscript which contains the *Pistis Sophia* is a slightly later leaf on which is the end of a book that may have been a Gospel. It has echoes of the last twelve verses of St. Mark.

the righteous man. They went forth by threes to the four regions of the heaven and preached the gospel of the kingdom in the whole world, Christ working with them by the word of strengthening and the signs and wonders which accompanied them. And so have men learned of the kingdom of God in all the earth and in the whole world of Israel for a testimony for all nations that are from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof.

3.¹ Similarly the remains of the ancient manuscript of the Acts of Paul include a single leaf of a Gospel narrative:

. . . the works . . .
 they wondered greatly and pondered
 in their hearts. He said unto them:
 Why marvel ye that I raise
 the dead, or that I make the lame
 to go, or that I cleanse the lepers
 or raise up the sick, or that I have
 healed the palsied and the possessed,
 or that I have parted a few
 loaves and satisfied many, or that I
 have walked on the sea or that I
 have commanded the winds? If ye
 believe this and are convinced,
 then are ye great. For verily I say

¹ See Appendix II.

unto you: If ye say unto this mountain
Lift thyself and be cast into the sea
without having doubted in your soul,
it shall happen unto you . . .
as one of them was convinced
whose name was Simon, and who
said: O Lord verily great are
the works which thou doest. For
we have never heard, nor have we seen
[2nd page] ever a man that hath raised
the dead, save thee.
The Lord said unto him: Ye shall
pray for the works, which I myself shall do
. . . But the other works will I
do straightway. For these I do
for the sake of (?) a momentary sal-
vation in time, in these places where
they are, that they may believe on him who
hath sent me. Simon said unto him:
O Lord, command me, that I may
speak. He said unto him: Speak, Peter.
For from that day he did
call them by name. He said:
What then is this work which is greater than these
. . . except the raising of the dead
and the feeding of such a multitude?
The Lord said unto him: There is somewhat that is greater
than this, and blessed are they, that have believed
with their whole heart. But Philip
lifted up his voice in wrath
saying: What manner of
thing is this, that thou wilt teach us?
But he said unto him: Thou

This again is not very instructive. The burden of it is, 'Greater works than these will I do'. There is nothing in it which goes outside the sphere of the canonical Gospels, save Philip's anger. We shall see that in the Acts of Philip his proneness to wrath is emphasized.