THE MURATORIAN CANON

(c. 200 ancient list of canonical books probably drawn up in Greek, but surviving in Latin translation)



Latin text from Migne *PL*, Vol. 3, Col. 173 Translation as found in H.M Gwatkin *Selection from Early Christian Writers* The Latin text as found in Gwatkin is also on this site.

This fragment containing a "canon" of Christian scriptures, if it can be accurately dated to the late 2nd century, is the first clear witness to a list of "approved " Christian writings as found in the New Testament. The text was discovered by Lodovica Antonio Muratori (1672-1750) in an 8th century codex which was formerly in the monastery at Bobbio and now in the Ambrosian Library in Milan. It is probably a translation from a Greek original dating from the late 2nd century, but some scholars dispute the dating. The first part of the text is missing and it begins in mid sentence, fairly clearly referring to Mark's gospel. Thus there is no mention of Matthew. Otherwise all the New Testament books are mentioned except for Hebrews, James, the First and Second Letters of Peter, and the Third Letter of John. The canon also approves a book called the "Wisdom of Solomon" and mentions the "Apocalypse of Peter", but implies that the latter should not be read in Church. The "Shepherd of Hermas" is recommended for reading, though not publicly in Church. The codex contains a number of other patristic works, one of which the scribe copied twice. The variations between these two versions of the same work indicate the carelessness of the scribe. Small parts of the same "canon" were subsequently discovered in 1897 at Monte Cassino in four manuscripts of Paul's epistes dating from the 11th or 12th centuries. There are some variations in the Latin text as compared with the "Muratori" text. Hence establishing accurately the original Latin text is problematic. There is a useful discussion in Bruce Metzger *The Canon of the New Testament*, pages 191-201.

FRAGMENTUM ACEPHALUM INCERTI SCRIPTORIS DE CANONE SS. SCRIPTURARUM. (S)

¹ I..... QUIBUS tamen interfuit, et ita posuit. Tertio, Evangelii librum secundo ² Lucam. Lucas iste medicus ³ post ascensum Christi, cum eo 4 Paulus quasi ut 5 juris studiosum secundum assumpsisset numeni suo ex opinione concriset ⁶ Dominum tamen nec ipse vidit in carne; et idem prout assequi potuit, ita et ⁷ (Luc. cap. I) a nativitate Joannis incipet 8 dicere. Quarti Evangeliorum 9 Joannis ex discipulis. Cohortantibus ¹⁰ condiscipulis et episcopis, suis dixit: Conjejunate mihi hodie triduo, et quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte revelatum Andreae ex apostolis, ut recognoscentibus cunctis Joannis 11 suo nomine cuncta describeret. Et ideo licet varia singulis Evangeliorum libris principia ¹² doceantur, nihil tamen differt credentium fidei ¹³ cum uno ac principali spiritu declarata sint in omnibus omnia de nativitate, de passione, de resurrectione, de conversatione ¹⁴ cum discipulis suis, et de gemino ejus adventu, primo in humilitate despectus, quod ro ¹⁵, secundum ¹⁶ potestate regali praeclarum ¹⁷ guod futurum est. Quid ergo mirum si Johannes tam constanter singula etiam in Epistolis suis proferat, dicens in semetipso (I Joan. I, 1-4): «Quae vidimus oculis nostris, et auribus audivimus, et manus nostrae palpaverunt, haec scripsimus». Sic enim non solum visorem sed 18 auditorem, sed et scriptorem omnium mirabilium Domini per ordinem, profitetur.

....but at some he was present, and so he set them down. The third book of the Gospel, that according to Luke, was compiled in his own name in order by Luke the physician, when after Christ's ascension Paul had taken him to be with him like a student of law. Yet neither did he see the Lord in the flesh; and he too, as he was

able to ascertain [events, so set them down]¹. So he began his story from the birth of John. The fourth of the Gospels [was written by] John, one of the disciples. When exhorted by his fellow-disciples and bishops, he said 'Fast with me this day for three days; and what may be revealed to any of us, let us relate it to one another.' The same night it was revealed to Andrew, one of the apostles, that John was to write all things in his own name, and they were all to certify. And therefore, though various elements are taught in the several books of the Gospels, yet it makes no difference to the faith of believers, since by one guiding Spirit all things are declared in all of them concerning the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, the conversation with his disciples and his two comings, the first in lowliness and contempt, which has come to pass, the second glorious with royal power, which is to come. What marvel therefore if John so firmly sets forth each statement in his Epistle too, saying of himself. 'What we have seen with our eves and heard with our ears and our hands have handled. these things we have written to you'? For so he declares himself not an eyewitness and a hearer only, but a writer of all the marvels of the Lord in order.

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Acta autem omnium Apostolorum sub uno libro scripta sunt. Lucas optime ¹⁹ Theophile ²⁰ (Act. I, 1) comprehendit, quia sub praesentia ejus singula gerebantur; sicut et semote ²¹ (Joan. XXI. 18, 19.) passionem ²² Petri evidenter declarat ²³ sed ²⁴ (Rom. XV, 24, 28.) profectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.	The Acts however of all the Apostles are written in one book. Luke puts it shortly to the most excellent Theophilus, that the several things were done in his own presence, as he also plainly shows by leaving out the passion of Peter, and also the departure of Paul from town on his journey to Spain.
Epistola ²⁵ autem Puali, quae, a quo loco, vel qua ex causa directe ²⁶ sint, voluntatibus ²⁷ intelligere ²⁸ ipse declarant ²⁹ primum omnium Corinthiis schisma haeresis interdicens, deinceps Callactis ³⁰ circumcisionem; Romanis autem ordine Scripturarum, sed e principium earum esse Christum intimans, prolixius scripsit. De quibus singulis necesse est a nobis disputari, cum ipse beatus apostolus Paulus sequens praedecessoris sui Joannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem Ecclesiis scribat ordine tali. Ad Corinthios prima ³¹ ad Ephesios secunda, ad Philippenses tertia, ad Colossenses quarta, ad Galatas quinta, ad Tessalonicenses ³² sexta, ad Romanos septima. Verum Corinthiis et Tessalonicensibus licet pro correbtione ³³ iteretur, una tamen per omnem orbem Ecclesia diffusa esse denoscitur ³⁴ Et Joannes enim in Apocalypsi, licet (Apoc. capp. I et II.) septem Ecclesia ³⁵ scribat, tamen omnibus dicit. Verum ad Philemonem una, et ad Titum una, et ad Timotheum duas ³⁶ pro affectu et dilectione, in honore tamen Ecclesiae catholicae, in ordinatione ecclesiasticae disciplinae, sanctificatae sunt. Fertur etiam ad Laudecenses, alia ³⁷ ad Alexandrinos, Pauli nomine fictae ad haeresem ³⁸ Marcionis; et alia plura, quae in ³⁹ catholicam Ecclesiam recipi non potest. Fel enim cum melle misceri non congruit. Epistola sane Judae, et superscripti Johannis duas ^{40 41} in catholica habentur. Et Sapientia ab amicis Salomonis in honorem ipsius scripta. Apocalypsis ⁴² etiam Johannis et Petri tantum recipimus, quam quidam ex nostris legi	The Epistles however of Paul themselves make plain to those who wish to understand it, what epistles were sent by him, and from what place and for what cause. He wrote at some length first of all to the Corinthians, forbidding schisms and heresies; next to the Galatians, forbidding circumcision; then to the Romans, impressing on them the plan of the Scriptures, and also that Christ is the first principle of them concerning which severally it is [not] necessary for us to discuss, since the blessed Apostle Paul himself, following the order of his predecessor John, writes only by name to seven churches in the following order – to the Corinthians a first, to the Ephesians a second, to the Philippians a third, to the Colossians a fourth, to the Galatians a fifth, to the Thessalonians a sixth, to the Romans a seventh; whereas, although for the sake of admonition there is a second to the Corinthians and to the Thessalonians, yet <i>one</i> Church is recognized as being spread over the entire world. For John too in the Apocalypse, though he writes to seven churches, yet speaks to all. Howbeit to Philemon one, to Titus one, and to Timothy two were put in writing from personal inclination and attachment, to be in honour however with the Catholic Church for the ordering of the ecclesiastical mode of life. There is current also one to the Laodicenes, another to the Alexandrians, [both] forged in Paul's name to suit the heresy of Marcion, and several others, which cannot be received into the Catholic Church; for it is not fitting that gall be mixed with honey. The Epistle of Jude no doubt, and the couple bearing the name of John, are accepted in the Catholic [Church]; and the Wisdom written by the friends of Solomon in his honour. The Apocalypse also of John, and of Peter [one Epistle, which] only we receive; [there is also a second] ² which some of our friends will not have read in the Church.
in Ecclesia nolunt.	

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Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in ⁴³ urbe Roma Herma ⁴⁴ conscripsit, sedente cathedra ⁴⁵ urbis Romae Ecclesiae Pio episcopo fratre ejus. Et ideo legi cum quidem oportet, se publicare ⁴⁶ vero in Ecclesia populo, neque inter Prophetas completum ⁴⁷ numero, neque inter Apostolos, in finem temporum potest.	But the Shepherd was written quite lately in our times by Hermas, while his brother Pius, the bishop, was sitting in the chair of the city of Rome; and therefore it ought indeed to be read, but it cannot to the end of time be publicly read in the Church to the people, either among the prophets, who are complete in number, or among the Apostles.
Arsinoi autem, seu Valentini, vel Mitiadis, nihil ⁴⁸ in	But of Valentinus the Arsinoite and his friends we receive
totum recipimus, qui etiam novum Psalmorum librum	nothing at all; who have also composed a long new book of
Marcioni conscripserunt una cum Basilide Assianum	Psalms; together with Basilides and the Asiatic founder of
Catafrygum constitutorem ⁴⁹ .	the Montanists.

MIGNE NOTES ON THE LATIN TEXT

1. I.--Quibus tamen interfuit. Si Christi Domini res gestae, non ipsi Apostoli, hic designentur, contradixerit fragmenti auctor verbis Papiae, qui, ut supra vidimus, veterem presbyterum secutus, hoc de Marco negabat, nempe eum aut ipsum Dominum audivisse, aut sectatum esse, quod quidem ex ore presbyteri a Papia acceptum dein Hieronymum suffragio suo stabilientem habes in procemio Commentarii super Matthaeum. Taceo de aliis Patribus. Tamen perquam nota est de Marco contraria illa traditio, an et certissima sit dubito, ab Epiphanio in Haeresi II, 6, commemorata, qua is statuitur fuisse ex discipulis LXXII; quod idem de sancto quoque Luca ab eodem Epiphanio narratur ad 11, prout de utroque evangelista prius positum erat ab eo in Haeresi XX, 4, Hippolytum secuto, si testimoniis, quae collocata sunt a Millio ante Evangelia, credendum. Hoc autem cum initio Evangelii S. Lucae vix conciliari posse, multi viri doctissimi existimarunt, neque id miror; aut si fuerit umquam Domini discipulus Lucas, certe unus τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοπτῶν, is non videtur fuisse qui ita scriberet, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτοπταὶ καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ Λόγου. Consentit cum viris illis eruditis fragmenti auctor, ut mox videbis, Lucae discipulatu negato, consentit et Eusebius in lib. III Hist. Eccl., capp. 4 et 24, qui et in lib. I, c. 12, ejusd. op. nullum ait extare τῶν δ. discipulorum catalogum, etsi unum ex illis Barnabam fuisse traditum sit. Postquam haec annotaveram, vidi cl. Freindaller in nupera sua hujus fragmenti editione locum ita interpretandum esse censere, quasi interfuisset Marcus Petri concionibus; etsi aiat postea, «fortasse cuipiam obrepere posse opinionem Marcum, cum Christo conversatum, ea quibus ipse interfuit, postea scriptis mandasse, idque esse quod fragmenti auctor iis verbis innuerit. Verum id ipsum apud Papiam antiquissimus presbyter, Aristio, pernegat; neque fas est evangelistae Marci personam cum altera Joannis Marci confundere, cujus in Actibus Apostolorum cap. XII mentio fit, de quo quidem posteriore simile quid opinandi locus esse videretur.» Haec ille. Verumtamen, quidquid de Marci discipulatu, aut de Joanne Marco, statuitur, nihilominus potest fieri ut hujusmodi quid auctor fragmenti revera scripsisset: Marcus discipulus et interpres Petrijuxta quod Petrum referentem audierit (huc usque Hieronymi verba affero, de Viris Ill. c. 8.), digessit res gestas a Domino, quibus tamen interfuit, et ita posuit. Idem illud de Petro et Marco habent, praeter presbyterum Papianum Joannem, Irenaeus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origenes, Eusebius, Epiphaniusque. Ait Tertullianus quoque lib. IV adv. Marcion. cap. 5: Marcus quod edidit, Petri affirmari, cujus interpres Marcus. Porro Evangelium hoc a Joanne apostolo comprobatum fuisse tradit Eusebius lib. III Hist. cap. 24. Ad Eusebii verba quod attinet, in lib. II Hist. cap. 15, et lib. IV. cap. 14 de Marci Evangelio posita, quae utroque loco ex uno eodemque Clemente, si modo Clementis fuerint hypotyposes illae, quae multa saltem frivola atque absurda continebant, desumpta sunt; mihi guidem ita illa concilianda atque interpretanda videntur, ut statuantur ibi Romani Marcum, qui Petri jamdiu fuisset sectator, rogasse, ut quae dicta ab eodem essent, conscriberet, et postea secum communicaret.

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ATHANASIUS - 39th FESTAL LETTER

Greek text from Migne PG, Vol. 26, Col. 1436 NPNF translation

In the year 367 in his 39th *Festal Letter* (written shortly after Epiphany to define the date of Easter) Athanasius declares which books are to be canonical in the New Testament, as well as giving a list of Old Testament books. This is the first time we have the exact 27 books included which are in the New Testament today. Note that the order is slightly different. It is of interest that Gregory of Nazianzus, writing in a similar period, omits from his own list the book of Revelation (See *Poems* 1. 12. 5 ff.). The letter has been reconstructed from Greek, Syriac and Coptic fragmentary texts.

An excellent website about the formation of the Canon of the New Testament can be found at www.ntcanon.org

	They have ¹ fabricated books which they call books of tables ² , in which they shew stars, to which they give the names of Saints. And therein of a truth they have inflicted on themselves a double reproach: those who have written such books, because they have perfected themselves in a lying and contemptible science; and as to the ignorant and simple, they have led them astray by evil thoughts concerning the right faith established in all truth and upright in the presence of God.
'Αλλ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ μὲν τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἐμνήσθημεν ὡς νεκρῶν, περὶ δὲ ἡμῶν ὡς ἐχόντων πρὸς σωτηρίαν τὰς θείας Γραφάς· καὶ φοβοῦμαι ¹ μήπως, ὡς ἔγραψε Κορινθίοις Παῦλος, ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀκεραίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος καὶ τῆς ἁγνότητος πλανηθῶσιν ἀπὸ τῆς πανουργίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ λοιπὸν ἐντυγχάνειν ἑτέροις ἄρξονται τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀποκρύφοις, ἀπατώμενοι τῆ ὁμωνυμία τῶν ἀληθῶν βιβλίων· παρακαλῶ ἀνέχεσθαι, εἰ περὶ ῶν ἐπίστασθε, περὶ τούτων κἀγὼ μνημονεύων γράφω, διά τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸ χρήσιμον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.	But ³ since we have made mention of heretics as dead, but of ourselves as possessing the Divine Scriptures for salvation; and since I fear lest, as Paul wrote to the Corinthians ⁴ , some few of the simple should be beguiled from their simplicity and purity, by the subtilty of certain men, and should henceforth read other books—those called apocryphal—led astray by the similarity of their names with the true books; I beseech you to bear patiently, if I also write, by way of remembrance, of matters with which you are acquainted, influenced by the need and advantage of the Church.

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Μέλλων δὲ τούτων μνημονεύειν, χρήσομαι πρὸς σύστασιν τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τόλμης τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Λουκᾶ, λέγων καὶ αὐτός[,] Ἐπειδήπερ τινες ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ἑαυτοῖς τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπόκρυφα, καὶ μῖξαι ταῦτα τῆ θεοπνεύστῷ Γραφῆ, περὶ ἦς ἐπληροφορήθημεν, καθὼς παρέδοσαν τοῖς πατράσιν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ Λόγου, ἔδοξε κἀμοί, προτραπέντι παρὰ γνησίων ἀδελφῶν, καὶ μαθόντι ἄνωθεν, ἑξῆς ἐκθέσθαι τὰ κανονιζόμενα καὶ παραδοθέντα, πιστευθέντα τε θεĩα εἶναι βιβλία[,] ἵνα ἕκαστος, εἰ μὲν ἠπατήθη, καταγνῷ τῶν πλανησάντων[,] ὁ δὲ καθαρὸς διαμείνας χαίρῃ πάλιν ὑπομιμνησκόμενος.

Έστι τοίνυν τῆς μὲν Παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία τῷ ἀριθμῷ τὰ πάντα εἰκοσιδύο· τοσαῦτα γάρ, ὡς ἤκουσα, καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα τὰ παρ' Ἑβραίοις εἶναι παραδέδοται· τῆ δὲ τάξει καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι ἔστιν ἕκαστον οὕτως· Πρῶτον Γένεσις, εἶτα Ἔξοδος, εἶτα Λευϊτικὸν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Ἀριθμοί, καὶ λοιπόν, τὸ Δευτερονόμιον· ἑξῆς δὲ

τούτοις ² ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ, καὶ Κριταί, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἡ Ῥούθ· καὶ πάλιν ἑξῆς Βασιλειῶν τέσσαρα βιβλία· καὶ τούτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον εἰς Ἐν βιβλίον ἀριθμεῖται· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον ὁμοίως εἰς ἕν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Παραλειπομένων α' καὶ β', ὁμοίως εἰς Ἐν βιβλίον ἀριθμούμενα· εἶτα Ἔσδρα α' καὶ β', ὁμοίως εἰς Ἐν μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βίβλος Ψαλμῶν, καὶ ἑξῆς Παροιμίαι· εἶτα Ἐκκλησιαστής, καὶ Ἄισμα ἀσμάτων· πρὸς τούτοις ἔστι καὶ Ἰώβ, καὶ λοιπόν Προφῆται, οἱ μὲν δώδεκα εἰς Ἐν βιβλίον ἀριθμούμενοι· εἶτα Ἡσαΐας, Ἱερεμίας, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Βαρούχ, Θρῆνοι, Ἐπιστολή ³, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἱεζεκιὴλ καὶ Δανιήλ· ἄχρι τούτων τὰ τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης ἵσταται. In proceeding to make mention of these things, I shall adopt, to commend my undertaking, the pattern of Luke the Evangelist, saying on my own account:

'Forasmuch as some have taken in hand⁵,' to reduce into order for themselves the books termed apocryphal, and to mix them up with the divinely inspired Scripture, concerning which we have been fully persuaded, as they who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the Word, delivered to the fathers; it seemed good to me also, having been urged thereto by true brethren, and having learned from the beginning, to set before you the books included in the Canon, and handed down, and accredited as Divine; to the end that any one who has fallen into error may condemn those who have led him astray; and that he who has continued stedfast in purity may again rejoice, having these things brought to his remembrance.

There are, then, of the Old Testament, twenty-two books in number; for, as I have heard, it is handed down that this is the number of the letters among the Hebrews; their respective order and names being as follows. The first is Genesis, then Exodus, next Leviticus, after that Numbers, and then Deuteronomy. Following these there is Joshua, the son of Nun, then Judges, then Ruth. And again, after these four books of Kings, the first and second being reckoned as one book, and so likewise the third and fourth as one book. And again, the first and second of the Chronicles are reckoned as one book. Again Ezra, the first and

second⁶ are similarly one book. After these there is the book of Psalms, then the Proverbs, next Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs. Job follows, then the Prophets, the twelve being reckoned as one book. Then Isaiah, one book, then Jeremiah with Baruch, Lamentations,

and⁷ the epistle, one book; afterwards, Ezekiel and Daniel, each one book. Thus far constitutes the Old Testament.

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Τὰ δὲ τῆς Καινῆς πάλιν οὐκ ὀκνητέον εἰπεῖν ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα' Εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα, κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα Πράξεις ἀποστόλων, καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ Καθολικαὶ καλούμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων ἑπτά· οὕτως μὲν, Ίακώβου μὲν α', Πέτρου δὲ β', εἶτα Ἰωάννου γ', καὶ μετὰ ταύτας Ἰούδα α'· πρὸς τούτοις Παύλου άποστόλου είσιν έπιστολαί δεκατέσσαρες, τῆ τάξει γραφόμεναι οὕτως· πρώτη πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, εἶτα πρὸς Κορινθίους δύο' καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Γαλάτας' καὶ έξῆς πρὸς Ἐφεσίους εἶτα πρὸς Φιλιππησίους, καὶ πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δύο καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ἐβραίους καὶ εὐθὺς πρὸς μὲν Τιμόθεον δύο· πρὸς δὲ Τίτον μία· καὶ τελευταία ή πρὸς Φιλήμονα καὶ πάλιν Ἰωάννου Άποκάλυψις. Ταῦτα πηγαὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου, ὥστε τὸν διψῶντα τῶν έν τούτοις έμφορεῖσθαι λογίων έν τούτοις μόνοις τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκαλεῖον εὐαγγελίζεται. Μηδεὶς τούτοις έπιβαλλέτω, μηδὲ τούτων ἀφαιρείσθω τι. Περί δὲ τούτων ὁ Κύριος Σαδδουκαίους μὲν έδυσώπει, λέγων ⁴· «Πλανᾶσθε μὴ εἰδότες τὰς γραφὰς·» τοῖς δὲ Ἰουδαίοις 5 παρήνει 6·«Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι αὐταί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ έμοῦ.» Ἀλλ' ἕνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθημι καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως, ὡ
ς 7 ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ἕτερα

και τουτο γραφων αναγκαιώς, ως στι ευτι και ετερα βιβλία τούτων ἕξωθεν, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μέν. τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν Πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· Σοφία

Σολομῶντος, καὶ Σοφία Σιρὰχ⁸, καὶ Ἑσθὴρ, καὶ Ἰουδὶθ, καὶ Τωβίας, καὶ διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν

Άποστόλων⁹, καὶ ὁ Ποιμήν. Καὶ ὅμως, ἀγαπητοί, κἀκείνων κανονιζομένων, καὶ τούτων

άναγινωσκομένων, οὐδαμοῦ τῶν ἀποκρύφων¹⁰ μνήμη· ἀλλὰ αἱρετικῶν ἐστιν ἐπίνοια, γραφόντων μὲν ὅτε θέλουσιν αὐτά, χαριζομένων δὲ καὶ προστιθέντων αὐτοῖς χρόνους, ἵνα ὡς παλαιὰ προφέροντες, πρόφασιν ἔχωσιν ἀπατῷν ἐκ τούτου τοὺς ἀκεραίους. Again it is not tedious to speak of the [books] of the New Testament. These are, the four Gospels, according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Afterwards, the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles (called Catholic), seven, viz. of James, one; of Peter, two; of John, three; after these, one of Jude. In addition, there are fourteen Epistles of Paul, written in this order. The first, to the Romans; then two to the Corinthians; after these, to the Galatians; next, to the Ephesians; then to the Philippians; then to the Colossians; after these, two to the Thessalonians, and that to the Hebrews; and again, two to Timothy; one to Titus; and lastly, that to Philemon. And besides, the Revelation of John.

These are fountains of salvation, that they who thirst may be satisfied with the living words they contain. In these alone is proclaimed the doctrine of godliness. Let no man add to these, neither let him take ought from these. For concerning these the Lord put to shame the Sadducees, and said, 'Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures.' And He reproved the Jews, saying, 'Search the Scriptures, for these are they that testify of Me⁸' But for greater exactness I add this also, writing of necessity: that there are other books besides these not indeed included in the Canon, but appointed by the Fathers to be read by those who newly join us, and who wish for instruction in the word of godliness. The Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Sirach, and Esther, and Judith, and Tobit, and that which is called the Teaching of the Apostles, and the Shepherd. But the former, my brethren, are included in the Canon, the latter being [merely] read; nor is there in any place a mention of apocryphal writings. But they are an invention of heretics, who write them when they choose, bestowing upon them their approbation, and assigning to them a date, that so, using them as ancient writings, they may find occasion to lead astray the simple.

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EUSEBIUS - THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT (260-340 Christian writer and historian - also Bishop of Caesarea

(260-340 Christian writer and historian - also Bishop of Caesarea from *c*. 315)

Historia Ecclesiastica, 3. 25

Greek text from Migne *PG*, Vol. 20, Col. 268 *NPNF* translation

On the subject of the writings that are to be included in The New Testament Eusebius lists those that are "accepted", "disputed", "spurious" and "heretical". His list is not entirely consistent as the Revelation of John is included under both the accepted and disputed writings. For information about Eusebius' views concerning the canonical epistles see the passage from chapter 3 of book 3.

Εὔλογον δ' ἐνταῦθα γενομένους ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης γραφάς. Καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν Εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν, οἶς ἕπεται ἡ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων γραφή. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην, τὰς Παύλου καταλεκτέον Έπιστολάς, αἶς ἑξῆς τὴν φερομένην Ἰωάννου προτέραν, καὶ ὁμοίως τὴν Πέτρου κυρωτέον Ἐπιστολήν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τακτέον, είγε φανείη, την Άποκάλυψιν Ίωάννου, περὶ ἦς τὰ δόξαντα κατὰ καιρὸν ἐκθησόμεθα. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις. Τῶν δ' άντιλεγομένων, γνωρίμων δ' οὖν ὅμως τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἡ λεγομένη Ίακώβου φέρεται, καὶ ἡ Ἰούδα, ἥ τε Πέτρου δευτέρα Ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ ἡ ὀνομαζομένη δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη Ἰωάννου, εἴτε τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τυγχάνουσαι, εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρου ὁμωνύμου ἐκείνω. Ἐν τοῖς νόθοις 1 κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου Πράξεων ἡ γραφὴ, ὄ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμήν, καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου. Καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ή φερομένη Βαρναβᾶ Ἐπιστολὴ, καὶ Τῶν άποστόλων αί λεγόμεναι Διδαχαί². ἔτι τε, ὡς ἔφην, ἡ Ίωάννου Ἀποκάλυψις, εἰ φανείη, ἤν τινες, ὡς ἔφην, άθετοῦσιν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἐγκρίνουσιν τοῖς ὁμολογουμένοις.

Since we are dealing with this subject it is proper to sum up the writings of the New Testament which have been already mentioned. First then must be put the holy guaternion of the Gospels;² following them the Acts of the Apostles.³ After this must be reckoned the epistles of Paul;⁴ next in order the extant former epistle of John, 5 and likewise the epistle of Peter, 6 must be maintained.⁷ After them is to be placed, if it really seem proper, the Apocalypse of John,⁸ concerning which we shall give the different opinions at the proper time.⁹ These then belong among the accepted writings.¹⁰ Among the disputed writings,¹¹ which are nevertheless recognized¹² by many, are extant the so-called epistle of James¹³ and that of Jude,¹⁴ also the second epistle of Peter, ¹⁵ and those that are called the second and third of John,¹⁶ whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person of the same name. Among the rejected writings¹⁷ must be reckoned also the Acts of Paul.¹⁸ and the so-called Shepherd,¹⁹ and the Apocalypse of Peter,²⁰ and in addition to these the extant epistle of Barnabas,²¹ and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles;²² and besides, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if it seem proper, which some, as I said, reject,²³ but which others class with the accepted books.²⁴

 \bigcirc early church texts *

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"Ήδη δ' ἐν τούτοις τινὲς καὶ τὸ Καθ' Ἑβραίους	And among these some have placed also the Gospel
Εὐαγγέλιον ³ κατέλεξαν, ῷ μάλιστα Ἐβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα τῶν ἀντιλεγομένων ἂν εἴη. Ἀναγκαίως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὅμως τὸν κατάλογον πεποιήμεθα, διακρίναντες τάς τε κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν παράδοσιν ἀληθεῖς καὶ ἀπλάστους, καὶ ἀνωμολογημένας Γραφὰς, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας παρὰ ταύτας, οὐκ ἐνδιαθήκους μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀντιλεγομένας, ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γινωσκομένας, ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοιμεν αὐτάς τε ταύτας, καὶ τὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀποστόλων πρὸς τῶν αἰρετικῶν προφερομένας, ἤτοι ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Ματθία, ἢ καί τινων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων Ἐὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας, ἢ ὡς Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων Πράξεις, ῶν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν	according to the Hebrews, ²⁵ with which those of the Hebrews that have accepted Christ are especially delighted. And all these may be reckoned among the disputed books. ²⁶ But we have nevertheless felt compelled to give a catalogue of these also, distinguishing those works which according to ecclesiastical tradition are true and genuine and commonly accepted, ²⁷ from those others which, although not canonical but disputed, ²⁸ are yet at the same time known to most ecclesiastical writers—we have felt compelled to give this catalogue in order that we might be able to know both these works and those that are cited by the heretics under the name of the apostles, including, for instance, such books as the
συγγράμματι τῶν κατὰ τὰς διαδοχὰς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ⁴ τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἠξίωσεν. Πόρρω δέ που καὶ ὁ τῆς φράσεως παρὰ τὸ ἦθος τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐναλλάττει χαρακτήρ, ἥ τε γνώμη καὶ ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φερομένων προαίρεσις, πλεῖστον ὅσον τῆς ἀληθοῦς ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπάδουσα ⁵ , ὅτι δὴ αἰρετικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀναπλάσματα τυγχάνει, σαφῶς παρίστησιν· ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν νόθοις αὐτὰ κατατακτέον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ παραιτητέον. Ἰωμεν δὴ λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑξῆς ἱστορίαν.	Gospels of Peter, ²⁹ of Thomas, ³⁰ of Matthias, ³¹ or of any others besides them, and the Acts of Andrew ³² and John ³³ and the other apostles, which no one belonging to the succession of ecclesiastical writers has deemed worthy of mention in his writings. And further, the character of the style is at variance with apostolic usage, and both the thoughts and the purpose of the things that are related in them are so completely out of accord with true orthodoxy that they clearly show themselves to be the fictions of heretics. ³⁴ Wherefore they are not to be
	placed even among the rejected ³⁵ writings, but are all of them to be cast aside as absurd and impious. Let us now proceed with our history.

MIGNE NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT

1. *Έν τοῖς νόθοις*. Improprie hoc nomen usurpat Eusebius, pro libris scilicet qui ambiguae sunt auctoritatis, com νόθοι dici debeant libri adulterini et ab haereticis conticti, de quibus mentio fit in fine hujus capitis. Quod ut manifestius appareat, intelligendum est tres esse species librorum sacrorum. Alii sunt extra controversiam veri, alii extra controversiam falsi, tertii sunt de quibus inter antiquos ambigitur. Hi postremi vóθoι dici non possunt, cum a multis habiti sint pro veris. Restat igitur ut secundi dicantur vóθoι sive *adulterini*. Hujusmodi est Pauli Epistola ad Laodicenses, quam Hieronymus uno consensu ab omnibus explosam fuisse dicit. Porro Athanasius, seu qui alius auctor est *tractatus de sacrae Scripturae libris*, eadem ἀκυρολογία utitur qua Eusebius, dum libros ἀντιλεγομένους confundit cum libris apocryphis et adulterinis. Sed Eusebius infra in cap. 31 seipsum emendat, et adulterinos libros ab ambiguis aperte distinguit. Sed et Grogorius Naz. in iambico carmine ad Seleucum nostram sententiam aperte confirmat. Nam ex sacrae Scripturae libris alios ait esse genuinos ac legitimos, quos ibidem omnes recenset; alios vero supposititios, quos appellat νόθους, et adulterinae monetae comparat; tertios vocat medii ordinis; qui ad veros illos ac genuinos libros proxime accedant. Quam divisionem hausit Gregorius ex Origenis tomo XIII *Explanationum in Joannem*. Ibi enim Origenes de libro qui *Praedicatio Petri* inscribitur, ait: *Disquirentes sitne genuinus liber, an nothus, an mistus*. Caeterum si proprie loqui velimus, duo tantum sunt genera librorum sacrorum: veri scilicet, et dubii sive ἀντιλεγόμενοι. Nam spurii in numerum sacrorum librorum referri non merentur.

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Gregory of Nazianzus (329-389) was one of the great defenders of the orthodox faith (as defined in the Nicene Creed) during the second half of the fourth century. His famous *discourses on the Trinity* did much to revive the strength of the orthodox party in Constantinople, where he served as bishop from 378 to 382. His pronouncement on the canon was given towards the end of his life, in the form of a poem: "Concerning the Genuine Books of Divinely Inspired Scripture," reproduced below. Like Athanasius, his enumeration of the Old Testament books omits Esther. The Revelation of John is also missing from his list of the New Testament books (See <u>Cyril of Jerusalem</u> for a likely explanation).

Concerning the Genuine Books of Divinely Inspired Scripture

The divine oracles should always on the tongue and in the mind be rehearsed. For God will indeed give a reward for this labor, so that you may obtain light from anything hidden, or, what is far better, that you may be spurred by God to greater purity, and thirdly, be called away from the cares of the world by such study. But let not extraneous books seduce your mind. For many malignant writings have been disseminated. Accept, o friend, this my approved number. These are all twelve of the historical books, of the most ancient Hebrew wisdom: First there is Genesis, then Exodus, Leviticus too. Then Numbers, and the Second Law. Then Joshua and Judges. Ruth is eighth. The ninth and tenth books [are] the acts of Kings, and [the eleventh is] Chronicles. Last you have Ezra. The poetic books are five: Job being first, then [the Psalms of] David; and three of Solomon, Ecclesiastes, Canticles and Proverbs. And similarly five of prophetic inspiration. There are the Twelve written in one book: Hosea and Amos, and Micah the third; then Joel, and Jonah, Obadiah, Nahum also, and Habakkuk, and Zephaniah, Haggai, then Zechariah, and Malachi. All these are one. The second is of Isaiah. Then the one called as an infant, Jeremiah,

Then Ezekiel, and the gift of Daniel. I count therefore, twenty-two of the ancient books, corresponding to the number of the Hebrew letters. Now count also those of the new mystery. Matthew wrote the miracles of Christ for the Hebrews, Mark for Italy, Luke for Greece; John for all, the great herald, who walked in the heavens. Then the acts of the wise apostles. Of Paul there are fourteen epistles. And the seven catholic, [which include] one of James, two of Peter, three of John also; and Jude is the seventh. You have them all. And if there are any beyond these, they are not genuine.

 $= \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{i=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1} \sum_{j=1}^{n-1$

Third Council of Carthage (A.D. 397).

It was also determined that besides the Canonical Scriptures nothing be read in the Church under the title of divine Scriptures. The Canonical Scriptures are these: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua the son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kings, ³ two books of Paraleipomena, ⁴ Job, the Psalter, five books of Solomon, ⁵ the books of the twelve prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, Esther, two books of Esdras, ⁶ two books of the Maccabees. Of the New Testament: four books of the Gospels, one book of the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of the Apostle Paul, one epistle of the same [writer] to the Hebrews, two Epistles of the Apostle Peter, three of John, one of James, one of Jude, one book of the Apocalypse of John. Let this be made known also to our brother and fellow-priest Boniface, or to other bishops of those parts, for the purpose of confirming that Canon. because we have received from our fathers that those books must be read in the Church. Let it also be allowed that the Passions of Martyrs be read when their festivals are kept.

Infancy Gospel of Thomas

The following translation is based on the Greek text printed in Ronald F. Hock's *The Infancy Gospels of James and Thomas*. The text is a slightly modified version of Tischendorf A. Chapters and verses are divided as in the "Scholars Version" translation.

Chapter 1

(1) I, Thomas the Israelite, am reporting to you, all my brothers from the nations, to reveal the childhood and the greatness of our Lord Jesus Christ, what he did in my country after he was born. This is the beginning of it.

Chapter 2

When the boy Jesus was five years old, he was playing in a narrow part of a rushing stream.
 He was gathering the flowing waters into ponds, and immediately they were made clean, and he ordered these things with a single word. (3) And after he made clay, he molded twelve sparrows from it. And it was the Sabbath when he did these things. But there were also many other children playing with him.

(4) Then, a certain Jew saw what Jesus was doing while playing on the Sabbath. Immediately, he departed and reported to Jesus' father, Joseph, "Look, your child is in the stream and he took clay and formed twelve birds and profaned the Sabbath?"

(5) And Joseph went to the area and when he saw him, he shouted, "Why are you doing these things that are not permitted on the Sabbath?"

(6) Jesus, however, clapped his hands and shouted to the sparrows, "Depart, fly, and remember me now that you are alive." And the sparrows departed shrieking.

(7) When the Jews saw this, they were amazed. After they had gone away, they described to their leaders what they had seen Jesus do.

Chapter 3

(1) The son of Annas the scribe was standing there with Jesus. Taking a branch from a willow tree, he dispersed the waters which Jesus had gathered. (2) When Jesus saw what had happened, he became angry and said to him, "You godless, brainless moron, what did the ponds and waters do to you? Watch this now: you are going to dry up like a tree and you will never produce leaves or roots or fruit."

(3) And immediately, this child withered up completely. Then, Jesus departed and returned to Joseph's house. (4) The parents of the one who had been withered up, however, wailed for their young child as they took his remains away. Then, they went to Joseph and accused him, "You are responsible for the child who did this."

Chapter 4

(1) Next, he was going through the village again and a running child bumped his shoulder. Becoming bitter, Jesus said to him, "You will not complete your journey." (2) Immediately, he fell down and died.

(3) Then, some of the people who had seen what had happened said, "Where has this child come from so that his every word is a completed deed?"

(4) And going to Joseph, the parents of the one who had died found fault with him. They said, "Because you have such a child, you are not allowed to live with us in the village, or at least teach him to bless and not curse. For our children are dead!"

Chapter 5

(1) And taking his child aside, he warned him, saying, "Why are you doing these things? These people are suffering and they hate us and cause trouble for us."

(2) Then, Jesus said, "I know that the words I speak are not mine. Nevertheless, I will be silent for your sake, but these people will bear their punishment." And immediately his accusers became blind.

(3) When they saw what he had done, they were extremely afraid and did not know what to do. And they talked about him, saying, "Every word he speaks, good or evil, is an event and becomes a miracle."

(4) When Joseph saw that Jesus had done this, however, he was outraged and took his ear and pulled it extremely hard. (5) Then, the child became angry and said to him, "It is enough for you to seek and not find, but too much for you to act so unwisely. (6) Do you not know that I am not yours? Do not trouble me."

Chapter 6

(1) A teacher named Zacchaeus overheard everything Jesus said to Joseph and marveled, saying to himself, "As just a child, he utters these things." And taking Joseph aside, he said to him, "You have a wise child; he has a good mind, but give him to me that he may learn letters. I will teach him all knowledge so that he will not be rebellious."

(3) Replying, Joseph said to him, "Nobody except God can subordinate this child. Do not consider him to be a small cross, brother."

(4) As Jesus heard Joseph saying this, he laughed and said to Zacchaeus, "Really, teacher, what my father has said to you is true. (5) I am the Lord of this people and am here in your presence and have been born among you and am with you. (6) I know where you are from and how many years there will be in your lives. I am telling you the truth, teacher, when you were born, I existed. And if you want to be a perfect teacher, listen to me and I will teach you wisdom which nobody knows except me and the one who sent me to you. (7) For you are my disciple and I know you, how old you are and how old you will live to be. (8) And when you see the cross my father has described, you will believe that everything I have said to you is true."

(9) Then, the Jews who were present and heard Jesus were amazed and said, "What a strange and remarkable event. The child is only five years old and already he says such things. For we never heard anyone who speaks words like this child does."

(10) Replying to them, Jesus said, "Are you so amazed? Then you should believe more of what I said to you. I really also know when you and your parents were born and I will tell you this remarkable fact: even when the world was created, I and the one who sent me to you existed."

(11) When the Jews heard the child say this, however, it made them angry, even though they were not able to reply to his speech. (12) Then, the child came forward and leaping toward them, he said, "I taunted you! For I know that you are amazed by little things and have minuscule minds."

(13) Since they thought they were being consoled by the child's exhortation, the teacher said to Joseph, "Lead him to the school and I will teach him letters."

(14) So Joseph took him by the hand and led him into the classroom. (15) And the teacher wrote the alphabet for him and began to practice it many times, but the child said nothing and did not answer him for a long time. (16) Becoming outraged, the teacher hit him on the head. After enduring this stoically, the child said to him, "I am teaching you more than being taught by you

because I know the letters you are teaching me and your judgment is great. These things are to you like a copper pitcher or a clashing cymbal which do not offer glory or wisdom through sound. (17) Nobody understands the power of my wisdom." (18) Then, when his rage was finished, he said the alphabet from alpha to omega very quickly.

(19) Looking the teacher in the face, he told him, "Since you do not know the nature of the alpha, how are going to teach me the beta? (20) Hypocrite, if you know, first teach me the alpha then I will believe what you say about the beta." (21) Then, he began to tell the teacher about the first letter. And the teacher was not strong enough to say anything.

(22) Then, while many were listening, he said to Zacchaeus, "Listen, teacher, and observe the structure of the first letter, (23) how it has two standard lines and impresses coming to a point in the middle and remaining there, coming together, lifting up, dancing, having three corners, having two corners, without strokes, of one family, well-balanced, as long as the alpha has equal lines."

Chapter 7

(1) When Zacchaeus heard such great words and allegories of this sort about the first letter from the child, he was at a loss over what his defense and teaching could be. (2) And he said to those present, "Oh me, I am suffering and at a loss and am ashamed of myself because I took this child. (3) So take him, I urge you, brother Joseph. I am not able to bear his stare or his direct speech. (4) This child was not born of the earth; he is even able to subdue fire. Perhaps, he was born before the creation of the world. (5) What womb bore him, what sort of mother brought him up, I know not. (6) Oh me, friends, I am going out of my mind. (7) I deceived myself and am suffering unimaginably. I struggled to have a student and I have found that I have a teacher. (8) Brothers, consider the shame: an experienced leader has been conquered by a child! (9) And I may have to lose heart and die because of this child. For at this very hour, I am not able to look him in the eye. (10) When everyone says that I have been conquered by a child, what can I say? And what more is there to say about the lines of the first letter than what he already told me? I do not know. (11) So I beg you, brother Joseph, take him to your house. Whether I should call him a god or an angel or something else, I do not know."

Chapter 8

(1) While the Jews were advising Zacchaeus, the child had a great laugh and said, "Now, the fruitless bear fruit and the blind see and the deaf in the understanding of the heart hear. (2) I am here from above that I may rescue those below and call them to higher things, just as the one who sent me to you commanded me."

(3) And when the child completed his speech, those who were under his curse were immediately saved, (4) but from then on, nobody dared to make him angry because they did not want to be cursed or crippled.

Chapter 9

(1) And after a few days passed, Jesus was up on a roof of a house. And one of the children playing with him died after falling off the roof. And when the other children saw, they fled and Jesus was left standing alone.

(2) When the parents of the one who had died came, they accused Jesus, "Troublemaker, you threw him down."

(3) But Jesus replied, "I did not throw him down, rather he threw himself down. When he was

not acting carefully, he leaped off the roof and died."

(4) Jesus leaped off the roof and stood by the corpse of the boy and cried out with a loud voice and said, "Zeno," - for that was his name - "rise up, talk to me: did I throw you down?"

(5) And rising up immediately, he said, "No, Lord, you did not throw me down, but you did raise me up."

(6) And when they saw this, they were overwhelmed. The parents of the child glorified God on account of the sign which had happened and they worshipped Jesus.

Chapter 10

(1) A short number of days later, when a certain young man was splitting wood in the neighborhood, his ax fell and cut through the bottom of his foot. As it became bloodless, he was dying.

(2) Then, there was a great clamor and a crowd formed and the child Jesus ran there. And forcing his way through the crowd, he went and seized the young man's wounded foot. Immediately, it was healed.

(3) Then, he said to the young man, "Get up now, chop the wood and remember me."

(4) When the crowd saw what had happened, they worshipped the child, saying, "Truly, the spirit of God dwells in this child."

Chapter 11

(1) When Jesus was six years old, his mother sent him to draw water to carry into the house. But he accidentally let the water go in the crowd, (2) and crashing, the water jar broke. (3) But unfolding the cloak which was thrown around him, he filled it with water and carried it to his mother.

(4) When his mother saw the sign he had done, she kissed him and treasured in her heart the mysterious things she had seen him do.

Chapter 12

(1) Then again, in the season of sowing, the child went with his father to sow grain in their field. And as his father was sowing, the child Jesus also sowed one measure of grain. (2) And after he harvested and threshed it, it produced one hundred measures. (3) And calling all the poor of the village to the threshing floor, he gave them grain freely. And Joseph carried the remaining grain away. (4) Jesus was eight years old when he did this sign.

Chapter 13

(1) Since his father was a carpenter, he was making plows and yokes in that season. (2) An order for a bed was given to him from a rich man, (3) but one of the boards, the one called the crossbeam, was shorter than the other. And since Joseph had no idea what to do, the child Jesus said to his father Joseph, "Put the two pieces of wood down and line up the ends."

(3) And Joseph did just as the child told him. Then, Jesus stood at the other end and grasped the shorter piece of wood and stretching it, he made it equal with the other.

(4) And his father Joseph saw and was amazed and, taking the child, he kissed him, saying, "I am blessed because God gave me this child."

Chapter 14

(1) When Joseph saw the child's willingness and age and that his mind was also ready, he again

wanted him to become accustomed to letters. So, taking him, he gave him to another teacher. (2) The teacher said to Joseph, "First I will teach him Greek, then Hebrew." For the teacher knew about the child's earlier attempt and was afraid. Nonetheless, after writing the alphabet, he instructed the boy for many hours, even though he did not reply to him.

(3) Then, Jesus said to him, "If you are really a teacher and if you know the letters so well, tell me the meaning of the alpha and I will tell you the meaning of the beta."

(4) As he was growing frustrated, the teacher struck him on the head. Then, Jesus became angry and cursed him. Immediately, he fainted and fell on his face.

(5) Then, Jesus turned back to Joseph's house, but Joseph was distressed. He instructed the boy's mother, "Do not let him out the door because the people who anger him will die."

Chapter 15

(1) After some time had passed, again another teacher, a close friend of Joseph, said to him, "Send the child to me in my classroom. Perhaps with flattery, I will be able to teach him the letters."

(2) And Joseph said to him, "If you are sure, brother, take him with you." And while he took him along with much fear and anxiety, the child went along gladly.

(3) And coming boldly into the classroom, he found a book lying on the desk and taking it, he read the letters in it. Opening his mouth, he spoke in the Holy Spirit and taught the law to those standing there.

(4) A large multitude came and stood around, listening to him. And they marveled at the fullness of his teaching and the readiness of his speech, saying, "This is a child saying such things."

(5) When Joseph heard what was going on, he was afraid and ran to the classroom, thinking, "This teacher is not accustomed to him."

(6) The teacher, however, said to Joseph, "Brother, I want you to know that I received the child as a student, but since he is full of grace and wisdom, I am asking you, brother, take him to your house."

(7) When the child heard these things, he immediately smiled at him and said, "Since you have spoken and witnessed correctly, for your sake the one who was wounded will be healed." And at once, the other teacher was healed. Then, Joseph took the child and went back to his house.

Chapter 16

(1) Then, Joseph sent his son James to tie up wood and bring it into his house, but the child Jesus also followed him. And while James was collecting the bushes, a viper bit his hand. (2) And as he lay on the ground dying, Jesus approached and blew on the bite. And immediately, his anguish ceased and the animal broke apart and at once James was healthy.

Chapter 17

(1) After these things happened, an infant in Joseph's neighborhood died and his mother mourned greatly. When Jesus heard that she was extremely sad and was making an uproar, he ran there frantically.

(2) And finding the child dead, he touched his stomach and said, "I say to you, infant, do not die, but live and be with your mother."

(3) Immediately, he was resurrected and laughed. Then, Jesus said to the woman, "Take the child, give him your breast, and remember me."

(4) And when the crowd standing around saw this, they were amazed and said, "Truly, this child

either was God or an angel of God because all his words are completed deeds." And Jesus departed from there playing with other children.

Chapter 18

(1) Another year later, a man building a house died after falling from the full height of it. And after a great commotion began, Jesus stood up and went there. (2) And seeing the dead man lying there, he grabbed his hand and said, "I say to you, man, arise, do your work." And rising up immediately, he worshipped him.

(3) When the crowd saw, they were amazed and said, "This child is a heavenly being. For he has saved many souls from death and has the power to continue saving souls throughout his whole life."

Chapter 19

(1) When he was twelve years old, his parents went to Jerusalem with a caravan for the festival of Passover, as was their custom. (2) And after the Passover, they returned to their home. When they departed, however, the child Jesus returned to Jerusalem, although his parents thought he was in the caravan. (3) After traveling along the road for one day, they sought him among their relatives. When they did not find him, they grieved. And they turned back to the city, searching for him.

(4) And after three days, they found him in the temple, sitting in the middle of the teachers and listening to the law and questioning them. (5) Everyone paid attention to him and was amazed at how this child was questioning the elders and teachers of the people so closely, interpreting the chief points of the law and parables of the prophets. (6) Then, his mother Mary came to him and said, "Why did you do this to us, child? See how we are troubled as we search for you."

(7) And Jesus said to them, "Why are you searching for me? Do you not know that I must be in my father's house?"

(8) Then, the scribes and Pharisees said, "Are you the mother of this child?"

(9) She said, "I am."

(10) And they said to her, "Blessed are you among women because God has blessed the fruit of your womb. For we have never seen or heard such glory or virtue or wisdom."

(11) When Jesus got up, he followed his mother and submitted to his parents. And his mother treasured everything that had happened. (12) And Jesus continued to grow in wisdom and age and grace.

(13) To him be the glory forever and ever, amen.

The Gospel of Thomas Translated by Thomas O. Lambdin

These are the secret sayings which the living Jesus spoke and which Didymos Judas Thomas wrote down. (1) And he said, "Whoever finds the interpretation of these sayings will not experience death."

(2) Jesus said, "Let him who seeks continue seeking until he finds. When he finds, he will become

troubled. When he becomes troubled, he will be astonished, and he will rule over the All."

(3) Jesus said, "If those who lead you say to you, 'See, the kingdom is in the sky,' then the birds of the sky will precede you. If they say to you, 'It is in the sea,' then the fish will precede you. Rather, the kingdom is inside of you, and it is outside of you. When you come to know yourselves, then you will become known, and you will realize that it is you who are the sons of the living father. But if you will not know yourselves, you dwell in poverty and it is you who are that poverty."

(4) Jesus said, "The man old in days will not hesitate to ask a small child seven days old about the place of life, and he will live. For many who are first will become last, and they will become one and the same."(5) Jesus said, "Recognize what is in your sight, and that which is hidden from you will become plain to you . For there is nothing hidden which will not become manifest."

(6) His disciples questioned him and said to him, "Do you want us to fast? How shall we pray? Shall we give alms? What diet shall we observe?"

Jesus said, "Do not tell lies, and do not do what you hate, for all things are plain in the sight of heaven. For nothing hidden will not become manifest, and nothing covered will remain without being uncovered." (7) Jesus said, "Blessed is the lion which becomes man when consumed by man; and cursed is the man whom the lion consumes, and the lion becomes man."

(8) And he said, "The man is like a wise fisherman who cast his net into the sea and drew it up from the sea full of small fish. Among them the wise fisherman found a fine large fish. He threw all the small fish back into the sea and chose the large fish without difficulty. Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear."
(9) Jesus said, "Now the sower went out, took a handful (of seeds), and scattered them. Some fell on the road; the birds came and gathered them up. Others fell on the rock, did not take root in the soil, and did not produce ears. And others fell on thorns; they choked the seed(s) and worms ate them. And others fell on the good soil and it produced good fruit: it bore sixty per measure and a hundred and twenty per measure."

(10) Jesus said, "I have cast fire upon the world, and see, I am guarding it until it blazes."

(11) Jesus said, "This heaven will pass away, and the one above it will pass away. The dead are not alive, and the living will not die. In the days when you consumed what is dead, you made it what is alive. When you come to dwell in the light, what will you do? On the day when you were one you became two. But when you become two, what will you do?"

(12) The disciples said to Jesus, "We know that you will depart from us. Who is to be our leader?" Jesus said to them, "Wherever you are, you are to go to James the righteous, for whose sake heaven and earth came into being."

(13) Jesus said to his disciples, "Compare me to someone and tell me whom I am like."

Simon Peter said to him, "You are like a righteous angel."

Matthew said to him, "You are like a wise philosopher."

Thomas said to him, "Master, my mouth is wholly incapable of saying whom you are like."

Jesus said, "I am not your master. Because you have drunk, you have become intoxicated from the bubbling spring which I have measured out."

And he took him and withdrew and told him three things. When Thomas returned to his companions, they asked him, "What did Jesus say to you?"

Thomas said to them, "If I tell you one of the things which he told me, you will pick up stones and throw them at me; a fire will come out of the stones and burn you up."

(14) Jesus said to them, "If you fast, you will give rise to sin for yourselves; and if you pray, you will be condemned; and if you give alms, you will do harm to your spirits. When you go into any land and walk

about in the districts, if they receive you, eat what they will set before you, and heal the sick among them. For what goes into your mouth will not defile you, but that which issues from your mouth - it is that which will defile you."

(15) Jesus said, "When you see one who was not born of woman, prostrate yourselves on your faces and worship him. That one is your father."

(16) Jesus said, "Men think, perhaps, that it is peace which I have come to cast upon the world. They do not know that it is dissension which I have come to cast upon the earth: fire, sword, and war. For there will be five in a house: three will be against two, and two against three, the father against the son, and the son against the father. And they will stand solitary."

(17) Jesus said, "I shall give you what no eye has seen and what no ear has heard and what no hand has touched and what has never occurred to the human mind."

(18) The disciples said to Jesus, "Tell us how our end will be."

Jesus said, "Have you discovered, then, the beginning, that you look for the end? For where the beginning is, there will the end be. Blessed is he who will take his place in the beginning; he will know the end and will not experience death."

(19) Jesus said, "Blessed is he who came into being before he came into being. If you become my disciples and listen to my words, these stones will minister to you. For there are five trees for you in Paradise which remain undisturbed summer and winter and whose leaves do not fall. Whoever becomes acquainted with them will not experience death."

(20) The disciples said to Jesus, "Tell us what the kingdom of heaven is like."

He said to them, "It is like a mustard seed. It is the smallest of all seeds. But when it falls on tilled soil, it produces a great plant and becomes a shelter for birds of the sky."

(21) Mary said to Jesus, "Whom are your disciples like?"

He said, "They are like children who have settled in a field which is not theirs. When the owners of the field come, they will say, 'Let us have back our field.' They (will) undress in their presence in order to let them have back their field and to give it back to them. Therefore I say, if the owner of a house knows that the thief is coming, he will begin his vigil before he comes and will not let him dig through into his house of his domain to carry away his goods. You, then, be on your guard against the world. Arm yourselves with great strength lest the robbers find a way to come to you, for the difficulty which you expect will (surely) materialize. Let there be among you a man of understanding. When the grain ripened, he came quickly with his sickle in his hand and reaped it. Whoever has ears to hear, let him hear."

(22) Jesus saw infants being suckled. He said to his disciples, "These infants being suckled are like those who enter the kingdom."

They said to him, "Shall we then, as children, enter the kingdom?"

Jesus said to them, "When you make the two one, and when you make the inside like the outside and the outside like the inside, and the above like the below, and when you make the male and the female one and the same, so that the male not be male nor the female female; and when you fashion eyes in the place of an eye, and a hand in place of a hand, and a foot in place of a foot, and a likeness in place of a likeness; then will you enter the kingdom."

(23) Jesus said, "I shall choose you, one out of a thousand, and two out of ten thousand, and they shall stand as a single one."

(24) His disciples said to him, "Show us the place where you are, since it is necessary for us to seek it." He said to them, "Whoever has ears, let him hear. There is light within a man of light, and he lights up the whole world. If he does not shine, he is darkness."

(25) Jesus said, "Love your brother like your soul, guard him like the pupil of your eye."

(26) Jesus said, "You see the mote in your brother's eye, but you do not see the beam in your own eye. When you cast the beam out of your own eye, then you will see clearly to cast the mote from your

brother's eye."

(27) <Jesus said,> "If you do not fast as regards the world, you will not find the kingdom. If you do not

observe the Sabbath as a Sabbath, you will not see the father."

(28) Jesus said, "I took my place in the midst of the world, and I appeared to them in flesh. I found all of them intoxicated; I found none of them thirsty. And my soul became afflicted for the sons of men, because they are blind in their hearts and do not have sight; for empty they came into the world, and empty too they seek to leave the world. But for the moment they are intoxicated. When they shake off their wine, then they will repent."

(29) Jesus said, "If the flesh came into being because of spirit, it is a wonder. But if spirit came into being because of the body, it is a wonder of wonders. Indeed, I am amazed at how this great wealth has made its home in this poverty."

(30) Jesus said, "Where there are three gods, they are gods. Where there are two or one, I am with him."

(31) Jesus said, "No prophet is accepted in his own village; no physician heals those who know him."

(32) Jesus said, "A city being built on a high mountain and fortified cannot fall, nor can it be hidden."

(33) Jesus said, "Preach from your housetops that which you will hear in your ear. For no one lights a lamp and puts it under a bushel, nor does he put it in a hidden place, but rather he sets it on a lampstand so that everyone who enters and leaves will see its light."

(34) Jesus said, "If a blind man leads a blind man, they will both fall into a pit."

(35) Jesus said, "It is not possible for anyone to enter the house of a strong man and take it by force unless he binds his hands; then he will (be able to) ransack his house."

(36) Jesus said, "Do not be concerned from morning until evening and from evening until morning about what you will wear."

(37) His disciples said, "When will you become revealed to us and when shall we see you?"

Jesus said, "When you disrobe without being ashamed and take up your garments and place them under your feet like little children and tread on them, then will you see the son of the living one, and you will not be afraid"

(38) Jesus said, "Many times have you desired to hear these words which I am saying to you, and you have no one else to hear them from. There will be days when you will look for me and will not find me."(39) Jesus said, "The pharisees and the scribes have taken the keys of knowledge (gnosis) and hidden them. They themselves have not entered, nor have they allowed to enter those who wish to. You, however, be as wise as serpents and as innocent as doves."

(40) Jesus said, "A grapevine has been planted outside of the father, but being unsound, it will be pulled up by its roots and destroyed."

(41) Jesus said, "Whoever has something in his hand will receive more, and whoever has nothing will be deprived of even the little he has."

(42) Jesus said, "Become passers-by."

(43) His disciples said to him, "Who are you, that you should say these things to us?"

<Jesus said to them,> "You do not realize who I am from what I say to you, but you have become like the Jews, for they (either) love the tree and hate its fruit (or) love the fruit and hate the tree."

(44) Jesus said, "Whoever blasphemes against the father will be forgiven, and whoever blasphemes against the son will be forgiven, but whoever blasphemes against the holy spirit will not be forgiven either on earth or in heaven."

(45) Jesus said, "Grapes are not harvested from thorns, nor are figs gathered from thistles, for they do not produce fruit. A good man brings forth good from his storehouse; an evil man brings forth evil things from his evil storehouse, which is in his heart, and says evil things. For out of the abundance of the heart he brings forth evil things."

(46) Jesus said, "Among those born of women, from Adam until John the Baptist, there is no one so superior to John the Baptist that his eyes should not be lowered (before him). Yet I have said, whichever one of you comes to be a child will be acquainted with the kingdom and will become superior to John."(47) Jesus said, "It is impossible for a man to mount two horses or to stretch two bows. And it is impossible for a servant to serve two masters; otherwise, he will honor the one and treat the other

contemptuously. No man drinks old wine and immediately desires to drink new wine. And new wine is not put into old wineskins, lest they burst; nor is old wine put into a new wineskin, lest it spoil it. An old patch is not sewn onto a new garment, because a tear would result."

(48) Jesus said, "If two make peace with each other in this one house, they will say to the mountain, 'Move Away,' and it will move away."

(49) Jesus said, "Blessed are the solitary and elect, for you will find the kingdom. For you are from it, and to it you will return."

(50) Jesus said, "If they say to you, 'Where did you come from?', say to them, 'We came from the light, the place where the light came into being on its own accord and established itself and became manifest through their image.' If they say to you, 'Is it you?', say, 'We are its children, we are the elect of the living father.' If they ask you, 'What is the sign of your father in you?', say to them, 'It is movement and repose.'" (51) His disciples said to him, "When will the repose of the dead come about, and when will the new world come?"

He said to them, "What you look forward to has already come, but you do not recognize it."

(52) His disciples said to him, "Twenty-four prophets spoke in Israel, and all of them spoke in you."

He said to them, "You have omitted the one living in your presence and have spoken (only) of the dead." (53) His disciples said to him, "Is circumcision beneficial or not?"

He said to them, "If it were beneficial, their father would beget them already circumcised from their mother. Rather, the true circumcision in spirit has become completely profitable."

(54) Jesus said, "Blessed are the poor, for yours is the kingdom of heaven."

(55) Jesus said, "Whoever does not hate his father and his mother cannot become a disciple to me. And whoever does not hate his brothers and sisters and take up his cross in my way will not be worthy of me."(56) Jesus said, "Whoever has come to understand the world has found (only) a corpse, and whoever has found a corpse is superior to the world."

(57) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the father is like a man who had good seed. His enemy came by night and sowed weeds among the good seed. The man did not allow them to pull up the weeds; he said to them, 'I am afraid that you will go intending to pull up the weeds and pull up the wheat along with them.' For on the day of the harvest the weeds will be plainly visible, and they will be pulled up and burned."

(58) Jesus said, "Blessed is the man who has suffered and found life."

(59) Jesus said, "Take heed of the living one while you are alive, lest you die and seek to see him and be unable to do so."

(60) <They saw> a Samaritan carrying a lamb on his way to Judea. He said to his disciples, "That man is round about the lamb."

They said to him, "So that he may kill it and eat it."

He said to them, "While it is alive, he will not eat it, but only when he has killed it and it has become a corpse."

They said to him, "He cannot do so otherwise."

He said to them, "You too, look for a place for yourself within repose, lest you become a corpse and be eaten."

(61) Jesus said, "Two will rest on a bed: the one will die, and the other will live."

Salome said, "Who are you, man, that you ... have come up on my couch and eaten from my table?" Jesus said to her, "I am he who exists from the undivided. I was given some of the things of my father." <...> "I am your disciple."

<...> "Therefore I say, if he is destroyed, he will be filled with light, but if he is divided, he will be filled with darkness."

(62) Jesus said, "It is to those who are worthy of my mysteries that I tell my mysteries. Do not let your left (hand) know what your right (hand) is doing."

(63) Jesus said, "There was a rich man who had much money. He said, 'I shall put my money to use so that I may sow, reap, plant, and fill my storehouse with produce, with the result that I shall lack nothing.'

Such were his intentions, but that same night he died. Let him who has ears hear."

(64) Jesus said, "A man had received visitors. And when he had prepared the dinner, he sent his servant to invite the guests.

He went to the first one and said to him, 'My master invites you.' He said, 'I have claims against some merchants. They are coming to me this evening. I must go and give them my orders. I ask to be excused from the dinner.'

He went to another and said to him, 'My master has invited you.' He said to him, 'I have just bought a house and am required for the day. I shall not have any spare time.'

He went to another and said to him, 'My master invites you.' He said to him, 'My friend is going to get married, and I am to prepare the banquet. I shall not be able to come. I ask to be excused from the dinner.' He went to another and said to him, 'My master invites you.' He said to him, 'I have just bought a farm, and I am on my way to collect the rent. I shall not be able to come. I ask to be excused.'

The servant returned and said to his master, 'Those whom you invited to the dinner have asked to be excused.' The master said to his servant, 'Go outside to the streets and bring back those whom you happen to meet, so that they may dine.' Businessmen and merchants will not enter the places of my father."

(65) He said, "There was a good man who owned a vineyard. He leased it to tenant farmers so that they might work it and he might collect the produce from them. He sent his servant so that the tenants might give him the produce of the vineyard. They seized his servant and beat him, all but killing him. The servant went back and told his master. The master said, 'Perhaps he did not recognize them.' He sent another servant. The tenants beat this one as well. Then the owner sent his son and said, 'Perhaps they will show respect to my son.' Because the tenants knew that it was he who was the heir to the vineyard, they seized him and killed him. Let him who has ears hear."

(66) Jesus said, "Show me the stone which the builders have rejected. That one is the cornerstone."

(67) Jesus said, "If one who knows the all still feels a personal deficiency, he is completely deficient."(68) Jesus said, "Blessed are you when you are hated and persecuted. Wherever you have been persecuted they will find no place."

(69) Jesus said, "Blessed are they who have been persecuted within themselves. It is they who have truly come to know the father. Blessed are the hungry, for the belly of him who desires will be filled."

(70) Jesus said, "That which you have will save you if you bring it forth from yourselves. That which you do not have within you will kill you if you do not have it within you."

(71) Jesus said, "I shall destroy this house, and no one will be able to build it [...]."

(72) A man said to him, "Tell my brothers to divide my father's possessions with me."

He said to him, "O man, who has made me a divider?"

He turned to his disciples and said to them, "I am not a divider, am I?"

(73) Jesus said, "The harvest is great but the laborers are few. Beseech the Lord, therefore, to send out laborers to the harvest."

(74) He said, "O Lord, there are many around the drinking trough, but there is nothing in the cistern."

(75) Jesus said, "Many are standing at the door, but it is the solitary who will enter the bridal chamber."

(76) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the father is like a merchant who had a consignment of merchandise and who discovered a pearl. That merchant was shrewd. He sold the merchandise and bought the pearl alone for himself. You too, seek his unfailing and enduring treasure where no moth comes near to devour and no worm destroys."

(77) Jesus said, "It is I who am the light which is above them all. It is I who am the all. From me did the all come forth, and unto me did the all extend. Split a piece of wood, and I am there. Lift up the stone, and you will find me there."

(78) Jesus said, "Why have you come out into the desert? To see a reed shaken by the wind? And to see a man clothed in fine garments like your kings and your great men? Upon them are the fine garments, and they are unable to discern the truth."

(79) A woman from the crowd said to him, "Blessed are the womb which bore you and the breasts which

nourished you."

He said to her, "Blessed are those who have heard the word of the father and have truly kept it. For there will be days when you will say, 'Blessed are the womb which has not conceived and the breasts which have not given milk.'"

(80) Jesus said, "He who has recognized the world has found the body, but he who has found the body is superior to the world."

(81) Jesus said, "Let him who has grown rich be king, and let him who possesses power renounce it."

(82) Jesus said, "He who is near me is near the fire, and he who is far from me is far from the kingdom."(83) Jesus said, "The images are manifest to man, but the light in them remains concealed in the image of the light of the father. He will become manifest, but his image will remain concealed by his light."

(84) Jesus said, "When you see your likeness, you rejoice. But when you see your images which came into being before you, and which neither die not become manifest, how much you will have to bear!"

(85) Jesus said, "Adam came into being from a great power and a great wealth, but he did not become worthy of you. For had he been worthy, he would not have experienced death."

(86) Jesus said, "The foxes have their holes and the birds have their nests, but the son of man has no place to lay his head and rest."

(87) Jesus said, "Wretched is the body that is dependent upon a body, and wretched is the soul that is dependent on these two."

(88) Jesus said, "The angels and the prophets will come to you and give to you those things you (already) have. And you too, give them those things which you have, and say to yourselves, 'When will they come and take what is theirs?'"

(89) Jesus said, "Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not realize that he who made the inside is the same one who made the outside?"

(90) Jesus said, "Come unto me, for my yoke is easy and my lordship is mild, and you will find repose for yourselves."

(91) They said to him, "Tell us who you are so that we may believe in you."

He said to them, "You read the face of the sky and of the earth, but you have not recognized the one who is before you, and you do not know how to read this moment."

(92) Jesus said, "Seek and you will find. Yet, what you asked me about in former times and which I did not tell you then, now I do desire to tell, but you do not inquire after it."

(93) <Jesus said,> "Do not give what is holy to dogs, lest they throw them on the dung-heap. Do not throw the pearls to swine, lest they [...] it [...]."

(94) Jesus said, "He who seeks will find, and he who knocks will be let in."

(95) Jesus said, "If you have money, do not lend it at interest, but give it to one from whom you will not get it back."

(96) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the father is like a certain woman. She took a little leaven, concealed it in some dough, and made it into large loaves. Let him who has ears hear."

(97) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the father is like a certain woman who was carrying a jar full of meal. While she was walking on the road, still some distance from home, the handle of the jar broke and the meal emptied out behind her on the road. She did not realize it; she had noticed no accident. When she reached her house, she set the jar down and found it empty."

(98) Jesus said, "The kingdom of the father is like a certain man who wanted to kill a powerful man. In his own house he drew his sword and stuck it into the wall in order to find out whether his hand could carry through. Then he slew the powerful man."

(99) The disciples said to him, "Your brothers and your mother are standing outside."

He said to them, "Those here who do the will of my father are my brothers and my mother. It is they who will enter the kingdom of my father."

(100) They showed Jesus a gold coin and said to him, "Caesar's men demand taxes from us." He said to them, "Give Caesar what belongs to Caesar, give God what belongs to God, and give me what

is mine."

(101) <Jesus said,> "Whoever does not hate his father and his mother as I do cannot become a disciple to me. And whoever does not love his father and his mother as I do cannot become a disciple to me. For my mother [...], but my true mother gave me life."

(102) Jesus said, "Woe to the pharisees, for they are like a dog sleeping in the manger of oxen, for neither does he eat nor does he let the oxen eat."

(103) Jesus said, "Fortunate is the man who knows where the brigands will enter, so that he may get up, muster his domain, and arm himself before they invade."

(104) They said to Jesus, "Come, let us pray today and let us fast."

Jesus said, "What is the sin that I have committed, or wherein have I been defeated? But when the bridegroom leaves the bridal chamber, then let them fast and pray."

(105) Jesus said, "He who knows the father and the mother will be called the son of a harlot."

(106) Jesus said, "When you make the two one, you will become the sons of man, and when you say, 'Mountain, move away,' it will move away."

(107) Jesus said, "The kingdom is like a shepherd who had a hundred sheep. One of them, the largest, went astray. He left the ninety-nine sheep and looked for that one until he found it. When he had gone to such trouble, he said to the sheep, 'I care for you more than the ninety-nine.'"

(108) Jesus said, "He who will drink from my mouth will become like me. I myself shall become he, and the things that are hidden will be revealed to him."

(109) Jesus said, "The kingdom is like a man who had a hidden treasure in his field without knowing it. And after he died, he left it to his son. The son did not know (about the treasure). He inherited the field and sold it. And the one who bought it went plowing and found the treasure. He began to lend money at interest to whomever he wished."

(110) Jesus said, "Whoever finds the world and becomes rich, let him renounce the world."

(111) Jesus said, "The heavens and the earth will be rolled up in your presence. And the one who lives from the living one will not see death." Does not Jesus say, "Whoever finds himself is superior to the world?"

(112) Jesus said, "Woe to the flesh that depends on the soul; woe to the soul that depends on the flesh." (113) His disciples said to him, "When will the kingdom come?"

<Jesus said,> "It will not come by waiting for it. It will not be a matter of saying 'here it is' or 'there it is.' Rather, the kingdom of the father is spread out upon the earth, and men do not see it."

(114) Simon Peter said to him, "Let Mary leave us, for women are not worthy of life."

Jesus said, "I myself shall lead her in order to make her male, so that she too may become a living spirit resembling you males. For every woman who will make herself male will enter the kingdom of heaven." The Gospel

According to Thomas