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Published approximately every six weeks by THE UNIVERSITY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. The purpose of the Newsletter is to disseminate knowledge of recent archaeological discoveries bearing on the Latter-day Saints scriptures; also of the archaeological activities and viewpoints of the Society and its members. Subscription by membership in the Society: three dollars per year; or Life Membership, fifty dollars. (Membership also includes subscription to other publications of the Society and of the BYU Department of Archaeology.)

72.0 ON NEW-TESTAMENT AND CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. The lecture which follows was delivered on the BYU campus by Dr. Ross T. Christensen, under the title, "An Archaeologist Looks at the New Testament," at the New Testament Conference held on February 27, 1960. The lecture was repeated on April 8 before the Salt Lake Chapter of the UAS and again on June 8 at the 37th Annual BYU Leadership Week and on June 28 and 29 at the 2nd Annual BYU Leadership Week in Salt Lake City (Newsletter, 65. 4, 66. 5, 67. 3).

72.00 The Character of New-Testament Archaeology. Rather than attempt to give a thorough coverage of New Testament archaeology, which is a vast subject indeed for so short a time and of which I can claim no expert knowledge, I shall be content merely to point out a few examples of the sort of thing that can be done in this field. But I shall extend the subject beyond strictly New Testament times so as to include the first several centuries of the Christian era.

Archaeology may be divided into two general categories: (1) prehistoric and (2) historical. Prehistoric archaeology deals with those portions of man's past which are not covered by written documents. Sometimes the period is very ancient (e. g. the stone ages of Europe), sometimes relatively modern (e. g. the last centuries before the European discovery of the Pacific islands). Historical archaeology, on the other hand, has to do with those periods of human history which are recorded by written documents (e. g. classical Mediterranean archaeology).

The objective of historical archaeology is similar to that of prehistoric archaeology; that is, to construct as complete a picture as possible of man's past by a study of the material remains of his workmanship. But the historical branch has an additional responsibility: that of testing, clarifying, and amplifying the written record. New Testament archaeology clearly fits into the historical division of the science.

The New Testament field, incidentally, is one of those branches of archaeology which are strictly non-anthropological in their orientation. It is taught, erroneously I believe, that archaeology is a mere branch of anthropology. Consider the case of New Testament archaeology, which has virtually nothing in common with the field of anthropology. And yet, personally, I take a holistic view of archaeology. Despite their distinctive aspects, all branches of the science, whether historical or prehistoric, are united by a common methodology and a common objective: reconstructing the past. Moreover, archaeology is in essence an auxiliary to history, not a handmaid to anthropology, and all branches of the science should be studied within a single university department (Newsletter 56. 2, 69. 1).

72.01 The Birth Date of Jesus. One might well be surprised at my approaching the study of the New Testament from the point of view of American archaeology. But we have some most interesting evidence from Mesoamerica bearing on the date of the Savior's birth. In the Newsletter of December 9, 1955 (31. 0), in an article entitled "New Discoveries in Mesoamerican Calendar Research," Dr. M. Wells Jakeman tells briefly of the beginning point of an ancient time-count which his research has brought to light for the first time. (See his The Ancient Middle-American Calendar System; its Origin and Development, BYU Publications in Archaeology and Early History, No. 1, Provo, 1947, of which the above Newsletter reference is a popular summary.)

According to the Newsletter, the new time-count began with "... the day 7.18. 0. 0.1 of the Maya era, whose equivalent in the European-Christian calendar is the day April 6, 2 AD. Since there is no special calendrical or astronomical reason for the adoption, by the ancient Mesoamerican calendricists, of this particular day as the epoch of a new chronological count, the reason for this must have been historical. That is, some event of such great political or religious

importance occurred on this day, that the ancient Mesoamericans thereafter considered it the beginning of a new era in their history. (This event may, in fact, have been the mysterious "Dawn" frequently mentioned in the native histories as an early event apparently connected with the religion or history of Quetzalcóatl, the Life God of the ancient Mesoamericans, when, it is stated, 'a new world dawned for them'. . . .) Now it will be recalled that the Book of Mormon indicates that its ancient Nephite calendricists of Mesoamerica (like the early Christians in the Old World) adopted a new time-count whose beginning point was the birth of Christ, the Life God of the Nephites (3 Nephi 2:5-8). That great event is dated in the European-Christian calendar to the early spring of the year 1 AD (or, according to New Testament evidence, a year close to 1 AD); and was apparently revealed by the Lord himself to the Prophet Joseph Smith as having occurred on the day April 6 (Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 20, preface and v. 1)! This remarkable calendrical correspondence presents. . . " new evidence for solving the long-time problem of the actual date of the birth of the Savior.

Scholars of recent years have been gravitating toward a date like 6 BC or 7 BC for the birth of the Savior. It now appears -- if this new evidence means what it seems to mean--that such a date is impossible.

72.02 Discoveries Bearing on the Ministry of Jesus. Archaeology furnishes abundant evidence bearing on the ministry of Jesus. One might mention, for example, the excavations at Capernaum, which have revealed what is probably a second-century-AD Jewish synagogue, very likely built on the spot where stood the synagogue in which Jesus preached (Mark 1:21). Some have believed that the excavated synagogue is the very one in which Jesus preached. This undoubtedly is not correct for the reason that, with the destructions heaped upon the Jews by the Romans as a result of the great rebellions of the first and second centuries AD, virtually every Jewish religious edifice of any kind was razed to the ground. But it appears that it was built on the same spot and with the same ground plan as that in which Jesus preached.

There are a number of other ruins associated with the ministry of Jesus, in Jerusalem and throughout the Holy Land. (For further reading see Jack Finegan, Light from the Ancient Past; Stephen L. Caiger, Archaeology and the New Testament; and J. A. Thompson Archaeology and the New Testament.)

72.03 A Discovery Bearing on the Resurrection. There is a most interesting piece of evidence bearing on the resurrection of Jesus. I refer to the so-called "Nazareth Decree." This stone, a slab of white marble,

was brought from Nazareth to France in the year 1878 and became the private possession of an eccentric antiquarian who would not reveal it to the public. When he died his material went to the Louvre Museum in Paris. It was not until 1903 that the writing on the stone was observed and its significance appreciated.

The New Zealand scholar, E. M. Blaiklock, discusses the stone in Chapter 3 of his little book, Out of the Earth; The Witness of Archaeology to the New Testament, in which the inscription is quoted as follows (p. 33):

"Ordinance of Caesar. It is my pleasure that graves and tombs remain undisturbed in perpetuity. . . . If . . . any man lay information that another has either demolished them, or has in any way extracted the buried or has maliciously transferred them to other places in order to wrong them, or has displaced the sealing or other stones, against such a one I order that a trial be instituted Let it be absolutely forbidden for anyone to disturb them. In the case of contravention I desire that the offender be sentenced to capital punishment on charge of violation of sepulture."

Now why was this particular decree issued and this stone erected at Nazareth and at Nazareth only? Blaiklock shows that it was the Emperor Claudius who issued the decree between 40 and 50 AD, or shortly after the death and resurrection of our Lord. At that time there was probably a good deal of agitation, the Christians claiming that Jesus was resurrected (Acts 4: 2), the non-Christians claiming that the disciples had stolen the body of Jesus from the tomb (Matthew 28: 11-15). Why then did Claudius concern himself with the quarrel? Undoubtedly because his instructions were asked for. In the opinion of Blaiklock the inscription is a "rescript," that is, an imperial message written in response to a letter of inquiry from a provincial governor or other official, in which the emperor indicated his will. The local official at Nazareth then had the message inscribed on stone (it gives evidence of having been translated--not too skillfully--from Latin into Greek) and erected for the warning of the local Christians, who were preaching about the opening of tombs.

This is a most interesting evidence on the currency at that time of the belief in the resurrection.

72.04 The Spread of Early Christianity to the West. The spread of early Christianity to the Mediterranean countries lying to the west of the Holy Land has been extensively studied and amply documented. Important archaeological studies have been made of the journeys of Paul, for example. Some of the very places that he visited at Corinth are known. In that city an inscribed lintel stating that the edifice to which it belonged was a Jewish synagogue, has been discovered,

undoubtedly recording the place where Paul preached (Acts 18:4). The very theatre where the riot took place in Ephesus (Acts 19:29) has been discovered. A number of other places connected with his missionary journeys have been identified, even as far away as in Rome.

Much has been said during the past ten years concerning the bones of Peter. During the 1940's there were conducted beneath the altar of St. Peter's in Rome excavations going down to bedrock. Directly beneath the altar, far down at the bottom of the excavation, the bones of an old man of powerful physique were found. Many Catholics believe they are the bones of the chief apostle. (We should observe that they were not found articulated, that is, not in their proper physical relationship one to another. A careful archaeologist would call this a "secondary burial," and would understand the evidence to mean that the bones were not found as left by the dead person but that, after the disappearance of the flesh, they had been gathered up by someone else and reburied here.)

Associated with the find were a number of coins, the latest of which indicates a date for this secondary burial of as late as 325 AD. One might, therefore, be excused for having doubts as to whether they are Peter's bones. After all, if he ever went to Rome and was executed there--which I understand has not been firmly established--his corpse would have been placed out on the banks of the Tiber River for the vultures to do their work, and then, perhaps (and perhaps not), his bones gathered up by some pious person for burial. There is a serious question whether the bones of Peter under such circumstances could have been identified at all.

It seems clear enough that this spot is the ancient traditional place for the burial of Peter, but whether the bones found there are actually his is another matter. Incidentally, the original Christian constructions there date only from the time of Constantine and the Edict of Milan (313 AD). You may remember the emperor's building program at that time. (Cf. Newsletter, 63.3; The Biblical Archaeologist, February 1949, December, 1953, and February, 1954.)

We could also mention the catacombs of Rome, Naples, and other places in Italy, Palestine, and Egypt, some of which have been investigated at great length. These were a type of burial well-known before the Christians came onto the scene (Cf. Newsletter, 71.11). The Christians merely adapted them for their own purposes. They not only buried their dead but also fashioned their chapels in them, where they met in secret during periods of persecution.

72.05 The Spread of Early Christianity to the East. It may be more interesting still to trace the

spread of Christianity eastward. A fascinating discovery of a Christian chapel at Dura-Europos was made in the 1920's. Its excavation was a joint enterprise of Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions. Dura-Europos is within the boundaries of modern Syria and on the west bank of the Euphrates River. It was for a long time a fortress city on the eastern frontier of the Roman Empire. In fact the name "Dura" means in Akkadian 'fortress'. It was apparently founded by the Hellenistic followers of Alexander the Great, and remained a Graeco-Roman city until about 250 AD, when the Sasanian Persians put an end to that part of the Empire. They destroyed the city, and it was never again occupied.

Among the discoveries at Dura-Europos are a Jewish synagogue, a Mithraic temple (Mithraeum), and a Christian chapel. The Christian chapel is merely a private home, in which a partition or two have been knocked out so as to enlarge the space. As is indicated in the New Testament (Phil. 2), the first meetings in a new city were sometimes held in private homes. Sometimes even today, such homes are later remodeled for meetings of somewhat larger groups. The chapel at Dura-Europos was a remodeled private residence. On the walls are various paintings, not too skillfully done, and some writings in Greek, some of which are clear indications of Christianity. There are also some scenes from the Old Testament. There is one painting of the Good Shepherd; it shows Jesus carrying a large sheep on his shoulders. There is another painting that seems to portray the three Marys.

There is a baptismal font, so small, however, that one would have to kneel in order to be baptized in it. But it is definitely a font; its plaster lining is of the same material as that with which the Roman baths were lined, indicating that it was used to contain water.

But on to the East. I should like to make several remarks on the missionary travels of St. Thomas. (In his original lecture Dr. Christensen introduced at this point the paper on the Gospel of Thomas by Curt Seemann of Hamburg, Germany, which appears as the following article in the present Newsletter, and with the author's permission quoted extensively from it. Since Mr. Seemann's paper is given in full below (72.1) this quotation is omitted here--Ed.)

An important source on the labors of this apostle is an old book called the Acts of Thomas, which is believed to have been written at Odessa about 200 AD. There is an ancient tradition which it refers to, that he preached the Gospel in Parthia. A good portion of the Parthian empire was a part of what we now call India. There is in southern India to this day a group of about 150,000 Christians who call themselves "Chris-

tians of St. Thomas." They do not owe their origin to any Roman Catholic effort nor to any of the other usual branches of Christianity. They may be connected with the early movement called "Nestorian." According to their local tradition, Thomas spent about the last 20 years of his life preaching the Gospel in southern India and finally died as a martyr.

One of the tales recounted in the Acts of Thomas is that King Gondophores gave Thomas a large sum of money, taking him to be a carpenter, and told him to build for him a palace, whereupon the apostle distributed the money to the poor. When he was called into accounting, he told the king that what he was doing was building him a palace in heaven. Then the brother of the king, Gad or Guddah, died and saw the palace that was being built. He was thereafter restored to life, whereupon he told the king concerning his experience. Then he (Gad) became a convert and the king also, with a good many others.

As a student of the New World, I am reminded that some of the early Spanish conquerors believed that the apostle Thomas had preached in the Americas (William H. Prescott, History of the Conquest of Mexico, pp. 39, 262, 695; cf. UAS Bulletin, No. 4, p. 1). They observed a number of Christian customs, as they supposed: sacrament, baptism, penance, confession, and a variety of other things. Some even identified Thomas with the ancient Fair God, Quetzalcóatl, but that is another matter.

Why did the Spanish conquerors think that it was Thomas who had preached? Why not Bartholomew, Andrew, Peter, Paul, or someone else? The evident reason is that the first conquerors believed that they were in India and were familiar with the old tradition that Thomas had preached the Gospel in that country.

I should now like to comment briefly on the spread of Nestorian Christianity to the east, which as you may recall had its rise with the patriarch of Constantinople, who was considered a heretic. It is now clear that the Nestorian branch of Christianity once spread across Asia as far as China and that at one time during about the eighth century AD there must have been several hundred thousand Christians in that far-off land.

Nearly a thousand years later, in 1625, a Jesuit missionary by the name of Father Trigault was excavating for the foundation of a building near the city of Sian-Fu in the Shensi province of interior China. Imagine his astonishment when his workmen unearthed a large stone some eight or ten feet high all covered with inscriptions. This is now known as the Nestorian Monument. It records in Chinese (also some Syriac) the beginning of a Christian movement in China in 635 AD. The monument itself was erected in 781 AD.

The inscription reads in part (as translated in A. C. Moule, Christians in China Before the Year 1550, pp. 34-39, and quoted in Jack Finegan, The Archaeology of World Religions, pp. 373-374):

"A monument of the diffusion through the Middle Kingdom of the Brilliant Teaching of Ta-ch'in." (Ta-ch'in was a Chinese name for the Near East. This Brilliant Teaching, sometimes translated as Illustrious Gospel or Luminous Way, is of course Christianity.)

"Behold! The unchanging and perfect repose, before the first and without beginning. . . after the last and wonderfully living; he who holds the mysterious source of life and creates, who in his original majesty imparts his mysterious nature to all the sages; is this not the mysterious Person of our Three in One, the true Lord without beginning, A-lo-he [Finegan believes that A-lo-he is probably a Chinese transliteration of the Syriac for God. The Hebrew is Elohim] . . . He made and perfected all things; he fashioned and established the first man. He gave him special goodness and just temperament, he commanded him to have dominion over the ocean of creatures. It came to pass that So-tan [Finegan gives Satan], propagating falsehood, borrowed the adornment of the pure spirit. He insinuated [the idea of] equal greatness [with God] . . . into the original good.

"Upon this the divided person of our Three in One, the brilliant and reverend Mi-shih-he [which Finegan says is Messiah], veiling and hiding his true majesty, came to earth in the likeness of man. An angel proclaimed the good news; a virgin gave birth to the sage in Ta-ch'in. A bright star told of good fortune; Persians saw its glory and came to offer gifts. He brought to completion the letter of the ancient law. . . He disclosed life and abolished death. . . His mighty works thus finished, he ascended at midday to the spiritual sphere.

". . . The water and the spirit of religious baptism wash away vain glory and cleanse one pure and white. . .

"The true and eternal way is wonderful and hard to name; its merits and use are manifest and splendid, forcing us to call it the brilliant teaching. . ."

So much for the Nestorian Monument. Any Christian, especially a Latter-day Saint, will see numerous parallels between its doctrine and his own.

I should like to express my conviction as to the great extent of the early apostolic effort. We ordinarily hear only of the spread of Christianity to the west. We do not realize, because the writings are not preserved or at least have not been discovered, that it must have spread out in all directions, east, west, north, and south. As well as the early Christian

movements alluded to above. there are the Coptic church of Egypt with its diffusion to far-off Ethiopia, the pre-Roman Celtic church of the British Isles that is said to have sent missionaries as far away as Switzerland, and many other proselyting efforts. One is reminded of the prophecy in the Book of Mormon, 2 Nephi 29: 11-14, that tells of sacred writings of nations throughout the world recorded in response to Divine command. May we not someday have many scriptures to read and study, instead of just the present four Standard Works?

72.06 Prospects for the Future. It may be appropriate to bring this discussion to a close with quotations from articles by two of the foremost interpreters of biblical archaeology at the present time (Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Manuscripts of the Dead Sea Caves," The Biblical Archaeologist, February, 1954, pp. 16-17; G. Ernest Wright, "Biblical Archaeology Today," ibid., February, 1947, p. 24). These give an idea of the enthusiasm with which those who are working in this field view the future. Some uninformed persons believe that most of the discoveries have already been made. Actually, we may only be on the threshold of the greatest discoveries.

Dr. Cross writes:

"Everyday life at work on the scrolls comes very close to sustained stimulation and continuous excitement. There are intervals of cleaning and jig-saw puzzle solving, of course; there is also exciting work going on elsewhere in the Museum and in Jordan which distracts, intrigues, and provides a change of pace: a new hoard of Nabataean coins is discovered; Père de Vaux marches into the workrooms with an inscribed jar from his excavations at Kirbet Qumran; Abbé Milik locates a bronze arrowhead inscribed in archaic Hebrew characters, leading to the recovery of a hoard of bronze weapons, several inscribed; time is taken out to climb up to a tomb in the Kidron Valley to study and take squeezes of an important inscription bearing on the palaeographic study of the scrolls; new inscribed ossuaries are acquired by the Department of Antiquities. Discoveries tread on the heels of discoveries. The antique riches of this land seem limitless."

Dr. Wright says:

"...Biblical archaeology, far from being a stale subject which has reached the state of diminishing returns, has barely outgrown its adolescence. Its revolutionary contributions and implications are only now being clarified, and no one can predict just how disturbing it may become in the future!

72.1 THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS. By Curt H. Seemmann, Hamburg, Germany, a general officer of the UAS.

In 1945 thirteen volumes or fragments of volumes, written in Coptic on papyrus, were found near Nag Hamadi in Upper Egypt. Most of the works they contain were entirely unknown before this discovery. These writings probably constituted the library of the early heretical sect called the Gnostics.

Among them is the "Gospel according to Thomas" (hereafter called Thomas), a work containing 114 sayings claimed to have been spoken by Jesus. It is not a Gospel in the technical sense of the term, since its sayings have been put together without any connecting narrative.

Some scholars now believe that of the three Synoptic Gospels (Matthew, Mark, and Luke) Mark is the earliest and that Matthew and Luke based their writings on Mark. Matthew and Luke used a collection of sayings of Jesus which have been termed "Q" (from the German word "Quelle," meaning source), excerpts from which they incorporated in their gospels.

The importance of Thomas lies in the fact that it provides an independent and very ancient witness to the Gospel story. It is believed that the work in its final state dates from 140 AD, having been based on earlier sources. Many of the sayings in Thomas are identical with sayings found in the Synoptic Gospels, but there is not a single one among the 114 which agrees with them word for word. Recently, Professor Gilles Quispel of the University of Utrecht, Netherlands, delivered a lecture on the results of his research on the Gospel according to Thomas. Professor Quispel is a member of the international team working on the critical edition of this Gospel. Some of his results are incorporated in the following remarks.

It is important to note that Thomas was probably translated from Aramaic, not from Greek. Papias, living in the second century AD, recorded that "Matthew arranged (or composed) the logia (oracles) in the Hebrew language". By "Hebrew language" he must have meant Aramaic, for this was the popular language in Palestine at the time of Jesus. Some scholars claim that "Q" is a Greek translation of this Aramaic document.

When we hear that a collection of sayings of Jesus has been found, and one that has been translated from the original Aramaic at that, our first reaction is to ask whether this is the document "Q." In this case it is not, since "Q" seems to have been written in Greek. On the other hand, as will be shown, "Q" was not a source for Thomas either.

There are more than 20 sayings in Thomas that contain the same material as "Q." But none of these agrees literally with the text of "Q" so far as this can be reconstructed. Sometimes, they offer a more original version, being superior to "Q," and in other

cases they are less original, being given in an expanded and more developed form. For instance:

"Logion 47: Jesus said: It is impossible for a man to mount two horses and to stretch two bows, and it is impossible for a servant to serve two masters, otherwise he will honor the one and offend the other. . . ." (cf. Matthew 6:24, and Luke 16:13.)

The words "honor" and "offend" are correct translations of Aramaic words whose literal meaning is "to love" and "to hate," but in a figurative sense they also mean "to favor" and "to disregard." The Greek translator of "Q" has preserved both meanings. Had the collector of Thomas had "Q" before him, he probably would have reproduced both meaning also. Thus we suspect that he translated his version from the original Aramaic document on which "Q" is also based.

Until Thomas, the sole original witness to the Parable of the Sower has been Mark, since it is likely that Matthew and Luke used his version in the composition of their Gospels. Thomas is an independent witness, for his version is not based on Mark, but an independent translation of the Aramaic original from which both seem to be derived.

"Logion 9: Jesus said: See, the sower went out, he filled his hand, he threw. Some seeds fell on the road; the birds came, they gathered them. Others fell on the rock and did not strike root in the earth and did not produce ears. And others fell on the good earth; and it brought forth good fruit; it bore sixty per measure and one hundred twenty per measure." (Cf. Matthew 13:3-9, Mark 4:3-9, Luke 8:5-8.)

The Synoptic Gospels say that the seed fell "by the wayside". Luke says that "it was trodden down" (8:5). But how can the seeds be trodden down when people walk on the road (the path leading by or through the field)? Thomas here gives what seems to be a more correct translation of the Aramaic preposition "al" which can mean either "by" or "on ." Incidentally, where this parable is quoted in Jewish Christian writings, we read the words "on the road" not "by the wayside ."

Of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen, Thomas gives a better version also:

"Logion 65: He said: A good man had a vineyard. He gave it to husbandmen so that they should work it and that he would receive its fruit from them. He sent his servant so that the husbandmen would give him the fruit of the vineyard. They seized the servant, they beat him; a little longer and they would have killed him. The servant came, he told it to his master. His master said: Perhaps they did not recognize him. He sent another servant; the husbandmen beat him as well. Then the owner sent his son. Since those husbandmen knew that he was the heir of the vineyard, they seized him, they killed him. Whoever has ears let him hear."

(Cf. Matthew 21:33 - 41, Mark 12:1 - 9, Luke 20: 9 - 16.)

In Mark many servants are sent, some of whom are killed. Mark lacks the simple climax of the Thomas version. His version probably originated in Gentile Christian circles, for he explains this parable as referring to the impending doom of the Jewish nation in its war with the Romans, as well as to the call of the Gentiles: The Lord "will come and destroy the husbandmen, and will give the vineyard unto others" (i. e. the Gentiles). These elements are missing in Thomas.

There are other cases in which versions of Jesus' sayings found in Thomas are parallel to the Synoptic gospels, but seemingly somewhat different in point of view. At times the material in Thomas seems to be better transmitted than that of the Synoptic Gospels, while in other places the Synoptic material is clearly more original than that of Thomas, principally because the latter has been expanded and transformed to suit the views of those who held to traditions different from those of the Synoptic writers.

Quispel comes to the conclusion that about half of the sayings in Thomas were preserved and transmitted by Jewish Christians, for some of them show a very close relationship to Jewish Christian tradition, to the extent of being found in almost the same wording in Jewish Christian literature. Some of these sayings of Jesus are colored to such an extent that they are hardly recognizable. Quispel holds that these sayings in Thomas, having been transmitted by Judaic Christianity, were taken from the apocryphal Gospel according to the Hebrews (originally written in Aramaic by 100 AD), which is preserved in a few fragments only.

The Jewish Christians held James, the brother of Jesus, in high esteem. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, James is the highest authority other than Jesus himself.

"Logion 12: The disciples said to Jesus: We know that thou wilt go away from us. Who is it who shall be great over us? Jesus said to them: Wherever you have come, you will go to James the righteous for whose sake heaven and earth came into being."

There is clearly a connection between those two Gospels, or at least between the traditions contained in them. The view here expressed probably arose after the death of Jesus.

The remainder of the sayings in Thomas are of quite a different character. Here the influence of Greek culture and Greek thinking is clearly seen. One even finds Platonic ideas in them. Some kind of liberal-minded Judaic Christianity seems to be taking the place of orthodox Judaic Christianity.

There are several doublets in Thomas; that is, the same saying is given in two different forms. It is significant to note that the author of the more liberal-minded version of these doublets must have known the orthodox version. He has altered it in such a manner that a person of Greek background could understand it. One of these is a saying which clearly betrays Aramaic origin and for this reason must have been transmitted by Jewish Christians.

"Logion 55: Jesus said: Whoever does not hate his father and his mother will not be able to be a disciple to Me, and whoever does not hate his brethren and his sisters and does not take up his cross in My way will not be worthy of Me." (Cf. Matthew 10:37-38, Luke 14:26-27.)

This version is interesting in that, quite different from Matthew and Luke, it does not say that a disciple of Jesus must hate his wife and his children. It does say, however, that one must, if necessary, break with the family out of which one has come, but not with the family one himself has founded. This is the original import of the saying.

In the same Gospel according to Thomas we find an amplification of this saying, a version which is predicated on the Jewish Christian version but introduces views foreign to the original. Here is mentioned the Divine Mother one should love.

"Logion 101: Jesus said: Whoever does not hate his father and his mother in My way will not be able to be a disciple to Me. And whoever does not love his father and his mother in My way will not be able to be a disciple to me, for My mother (gave me the death), but My true Mother gave me the life." (Cf. Matthew 10:37, Luke 14:26.)

The author of this last saying must have lived in a region where the influence of Hellenism was great, perhaps in Syria or Egypt where there were Jewish Christian branches of the early church. Quispel holds that sayings like these have been taken from the apocryphal Gospel according to the Egyptians.

Quispel sees in the transmission of the traditions contained in Thomas the development of Gnosticism out of early Christianity. Its origin was in the Judaic branch which spread over Syria and Egypt. The Jewish Christian tradition was then transformed to make it understandable to the Greek people. On this foundation the Gnostics developed their individual system. Thus, according to Quispel, Thomas not only provides an independent tradition of sayings attributed to Jesus, but it also shows the conditions necessary for Gnosticism to make its appearance.

The study of the Gospel according to Thomas is but in its beginning stage; therefore it is not yet possible to draw any hard and fast conclusions. However, we

may rightly inquire as to the meaning this collection of sayings has for us.

The text of this gospel not only provides us with new insights into the history of the early Church, it also is another witness to the text of the canonical Gospels. Textual criticism has as its object that of going back to the actual words of Jesus. The text of Thomas shows that such criticism, as long as it remains sound, is justified and even necessary. The sayings contain, in some instances, better tradition than that found in our gospels. The greater part of them, however, contain views that betray a later development and cannot be considered original. By their deviations from, as well as their similarities to the canonical texts, these sayings confirm the essential reliability of our present gospels.

72.2 ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

By Eldin Ricks, Assistant Professor of Religion at BYU and a general officer of the UAS. This lecture was first delivered at the Society's Twelfth Annual Symposium on the Archaeology of the Scriptures, April 2, 1960.

My last wartime visit to the Cathedral of Saint Janarius and its fourth-century baptismal font in Naples, Italy, was in November 1945. I had seen it many times before and have seen it since, but that particular visit proved especially interesting thanks to the presence of a very cooperative and well-informed priest. On the occasion in question I was accompanied by Kay Kirkham, who was associated with the American Red Cross. We were joined by an interpreter from his office.

We traveled by jeep to the cathedral, which is not far from the heart of Naples. When we got there we requested permission of the custodian to view the ancient baptismal font which, in fact, is inside a very old cathedral attached to the more modern one. The custodian obligingly opened a large door leading into the older structure and ushered us into the baptistery where presently we were joined by a priest. Together we stood beside a well-like basin in the floor, about five and one-half feet wide and three and one-half feet deep, that today is enclosed by a protective rail. The priest identified the pit as a baptismal font built, according to an ancient inscription on the wall, during the reign of Constantine in the year 343 AD.

Visits to other cathedrals and a little research have provided the writer with information concerning many such immersion fonts. The Baptistery of Pisa, near the famous leaning tower, is a good example. A number of times the writer has visited this magnificent dome-shaped baptistery and its octagonal-shaped font. The building was started in 1153, then halted,

and started again in 1278. It was completed the following century.¹ The font is 14 feet in diameter and four feet in depth and is provided with an outlet for drainage. The source of the water is (or formerly was) a subterranean canal. One of the more interesting features of this particular font is cubby holes or tiny compartments in the beveled corners wherein, it is believed, officiating priests used to stand and baptize without getting wet.

In Ravenna, Italy, a baptistery connected with the original basilica houses an immersion font that is believed to have been erected in the fourth century by Orso, archbishop of that city, and restored by his successor in 451. The marble basin is ten feet in diameter and three and a half feet deep. It also has an outlet for drainage purposes.

On various occasions the writer has visited the baptistery of Saint John in Florence and viewed the eight-sided structure, 12 feet across, that marks the spot where an immersion font was constructed in 1371. The original font was surrounded by three steps that allowed for easy access into the water. The font was destroyed by Francesco de' Medici in 1576, to the great disgust of many Florentines, who carried away pieces of its marble and mortar as relics. It is believed, in fact, that the building once housed several such immersion fonts for the baptism of large numbers of people at Easter time. Dante, in his *Inferno*, refers to his breaking down a portion of the wall of one of them in order to save a child from drowning, a rescue action, incidentally, that appears to have brought him much criticism.

"... in Saint John's fair dome of me beloved,
Those [fonts] framed to hold the pure baptismal
[streams],
One of the which I break, some few years past,
To save a whelming infant: and be this
A seal to undeceive whoever doubts
The motive of my deed."²

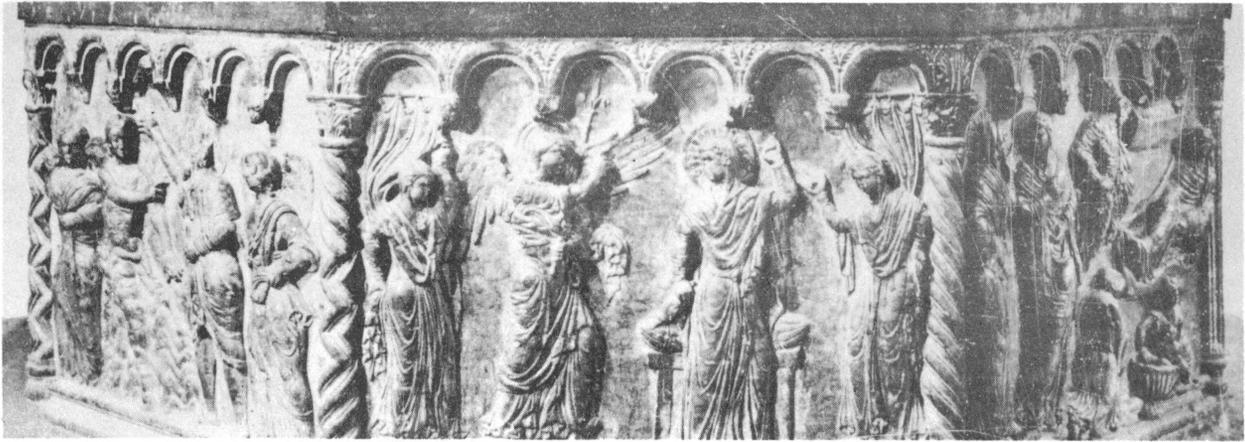
Also in Florence in the Church of Saint Croce is a mural depicting the baptism of the fourth-century Emperor Constantine apparently kneeling in an immersion font. Kneeling seems to have been the posture not infrequently assumed by adult persons being baptized. Whether kneeling or standing, the candidate's head and shoulders were bowed gently forward until the whole body was covered by water.

The Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte in Rome offers another sidelight on the ancient Catholic practice of immersion. This structure was built in the time of Pope Sixtus III sometime before 440 AD. It was evidently built as an adjunct to the Church of St. John that stands only a short distance away. Until

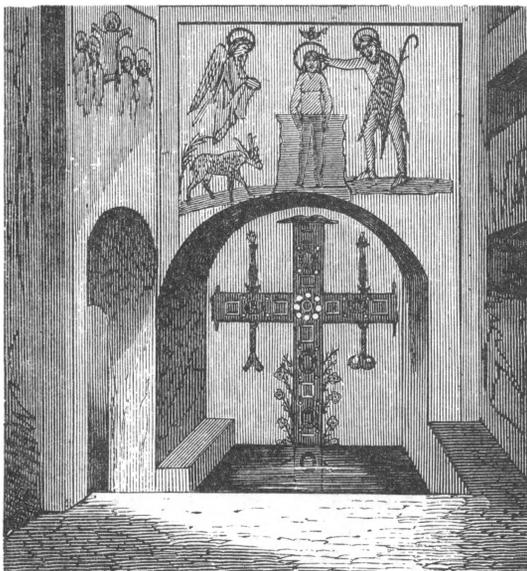
comparatively recent times a great marble font, about 25 feet across and three feet deep, occupied the center of the building. Three steps led to the bottom of the basin, which was provided with an outlet for the escape of water following the baptismal ceremony. The water was channeled to the font from a Roman aqueduct built in the reign of the Emperor Claudius. The writer can attest that anyone interested in early Christian archaeology will be disappointed, however, when he visits the baptistery today; for the original font is no longer intact. The restorationists have done their work and left but a flamboyant outline of its former encasement. Changing church custom has also left its imprint in the form of a small oblong basin in the center of the circle, which nowadays is used for the sprinkling of infants. Ironically, around the entire architrave, supported by eight majestic columns of porphyry, may still be seen the ancient inscription, part of which reads, "Plunge thyself, sinner, in this sacred and purifying flood."

Nor have the catacombs failed to furnish clues to early Christian baptismal practices. In subterranean caves many ancient Christians were obliged to seek refuge during times of persecution. Here they buried their dead in stone crypts hollowed out of solid rock. And here they worshipped and secretly discussed the Savior's sacred words. Here, too, in some instances, they baptized. One of the most interesting of these underground baptisteries is sketched by Cote, in his *The Archaeology of Baptism*. It was discovered in the Catacomb of San Ponziano, Rome. On the wall of the little room enclosing the font, is--or was when it was found--a painting of Jesus standing in water up to his hips evidently in the process of being baptized by John the Baptist, whose hand is on the Savior's head. A dove hovers overhead, and an angel holds the Savior's robe. A hart also stands on the shore gazing at the water. Below this scene is a painted cross, and at the base of the cross is the font, not a painting but an actual basin in the floor fed by an outside stream. The font is four and one-half feet long, three and one-half feet wide, and three and one-half feet deep. According to Cote, it "... was used for administering baptism by immersion from the first to the fourth centuries" (p. 152).

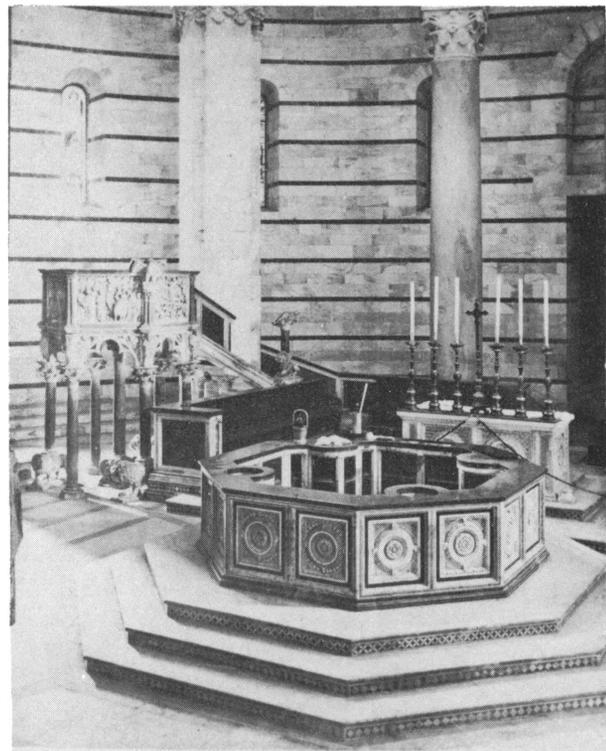
Verona, Italy, presents more of the same kind of evidence. An immense octangular font, 28 feet across and four and one-half feet deep, may still be found in the Baptistery of San Giovanni in Fonte, a name, incidentally, that is used for many baptisteries in Italy. The original building was destroyed by an earthquake in 1116 and built anew in 1136. The font is formed out of a single huge chunk of venetian marble and is highly decorated with a frieze of human figures and Lombard arches.



An immersion font in Verona, Italy, hewn from a single block of marble.



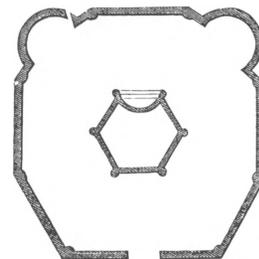
A baptistery in the catacomb of San Ponziano, Rome (after Cote).



The Baptismal font at Pisa .



Portion of a mural in the Church of St. Croce, Florence, Italy depicting the baptism of the emperor Constantine.



Plan of Baptistry, Ravenna, Italy (after Cote).

The testimony of archaeology concerning the ancient practice of immersion is also supported by written sources. One such, a current German Catholic work published in 1953, declares, "The original method of baptism was very simple. As the word (baptizeim) implies and as the realistic interpretation of Paul (Rom. 6:3 ff; Col. 2:12) indicates, it consisted of immersion into the water and emergence therefrom. . . "3

A French Catholic textbook, published in 1925, simply states, "Until the eighth century baptism was always [toujours] administered by the mode of immersion"4

A discussion of literary sources bearing upon this subject, however, goes beyond the limits of this paper. I shall, therefore, close by saying that, as far as I have been able to determine, the weight of evidence, both literary and archaeological, favors the view that for many centuries the common baptismal form employed by Western Catholicism was as, indeed, it still is by Eastern Orthodox Catholicism--total immersion in water.

72.20 Footnotes.

1. The primary source used for the historical details of this paper is Wolfred Nelson Cote, The Archaeology of Baptism. (London: 1876). Illustrations, in the main, are from a private collection of photographs obtained from commercial establishments, after considerable search, by the writer's good friend and World War II colleague, Mark Bauer.

2. Dante Alighieri, Inferno, Canto XIX, lines 18-23, translated by the Rev. Henry Francis Cary. Thompson & Thomas, Chicago, 1901.

3. Joseph Lechner and Ludwig Eisenhofer, Liturgik des Romischen Ritus, p. 265.

4. L'Abbé A. Boulenger, Histoire de l'Eglise, p. 203.

72.3 THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AGAIN. A review by Clark S. Knowlton of Discovery in the Judean Desert, by Geza Vermes, New York: Desclee Company, 1956. 237 pp. \$5.00.

This volume on the Dead Sea Scrolls was written by a learned Roman Catholic French Father who has specialized in the study of theology and in the languages and cultures of the Middle East. As it carries the imprimature of the Roman Catholic Church, it can be assumed to represent an important Roman Catholic position on the meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part composed of six chapters discusses the discovery of the scrolls, the problems of dating the ruins and manuscripts found, the nature and organization of the Qumran Community that produced the scrolls, the question of the origin and identification of the Sons of Zadok and the Teacher of Righteousness as well as other person-

ages and nations mentioned in the manuscripts, and a number of religious teachings found in the Scrolls.

The second part of the book contains a number of translations of such manuscripts as the Habakkuk Commentary, The Manual of Discipline, The Damascus Document, Thanksgiving Hymns, The War of the Sons of Light with the Sons of Darkness, and a fragment from an unknown work. In the appendix there are a number of interesting and supplementary notes, followed by a good selected bibliography of books and journal articles written on the Dead Sea Scrolls up to 1956.

In summary this is a well written, sober, and cautious analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls and their importance in the study of the origin and development of early Christianity.

72.4 SPECIAL EXHIBIT. Reproductions of the three Maya codices and several Aztec and Mixtec codices from the William E. Gates collection, at Brigham Young University, Department of Archaeology, are now on display in the Indian Room, LDS Museum, Temple Square, Salt Lake City.

According to Carl Hugh Jones, Curator, the exhibit will run until January 20, 1961, at Temple Square, after which it will be moved to Room 205 ESC, Brigham Young University, where it may be seen until after Leadership Week in June.

72.5 UAS PAPER ACCOMPANIES THIS NEWSLETTER. "Some Views on Archaeology and Its Role at Brigham Young University" is the title of a UAS publication, which is being mailed to Society members together with the present number of the Newsletter.

Issued as Miscellaneous Papers, No. 19, the publication consists of four brief essays by Dr. Ross T. Christensen, chairman of the BYU Department of Archaeology, reprinted from the UAS Newsletter, Nos. 56, 64, 66, and 69. The Miscellaneous Papers are issued as separate articles and contain "occasional short, generally non-technical contributions in the field of archaeology and early history, and the closely related field of anthropology." (The Society formerly published the Bulletin of the University Archaeological Society. In 1956, after the Bulletin had gone through five issues, the series title was changed to Miscellaneous Papers.)

In "Some Views on Archaeology. . .," Dr. Christensen sets forth "the theoretical foundations of archaeology and the place of this science at Brigham Young University." Extra copies may be obtained by Society members for the price of 10¢ each. The price to non-members is 25¢.