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Since Cumorah: New Voices from the Dust, The Precious Things Return, Part I (Continued II)

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Abstract: This series argues that the changing attitudes of biblical scholars toward basic questions about scripture allow room for claims made by the Book of Mormon. It discusses external evidences, the primitive church, Lehi, Zenos, the olive tree, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The third part discusses the apocrypha.

SINCE CUMORAH

NEW VOICES FROM THE DUST

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THE PRECIOUS THINGS RETURN



In March 1952, near the Wady Qumran, was found this copper scroll in two

pieces. The pure metal was now oxidized and very brittle.

PART 1. (Continued)

The Christian Apocrypha. In our short discussion of the Jewish Apocrypha we have imperceptibly moved into the area of Christian Apocrypha—another example of the ubiquitous overlapping from which we never escape; for the same old question, Is this Jewish or is it Christian? plagues the student of early Christian as much as of early Jewish writings. Lists of Christian apocryphal writings are even more confusing than the Jewish lists, since the latter at least include fourteen indisputably “biblical” Apocrypha (the taxonomists actually employ this oxymoron!), while among the Christian titles, nothing is certain.

In 1638 when Charles I of England received the great Alexandrian Codex of the New Testament as a present from the patriarch of Con-

stantinople, there came bound in the book with the canonical texts and obviously considered as scripture by the people who used the codex, two writings designated as letters of Clement to the Corinthians. These letters, though frequently quoted by early church writers, were at the time entirely unknown to Western scholars, the church having completely lost track of them.

These were the first of a special class of writings to which the Catholic theologian Cotelier in the seventeenth century gave the name of “Apostolic Fathers,” it being assumed that the authors had known the Apostles or at least their disciples. The title is not a satisfactory one, and the problem of classifying the Apostolic Fathers has been a difficult one, as they were “written, transmitted, interpolated, disregarded,

recovered, and analyzed for theological and polemical purposes from the second century to the twentieth, and it seems unlikely that any impartial observer exists who can comprehend them apart from this history of debate.”¹⁴³ The so-called Apostolic Fathers recognized today as being both ancient and orthodox are:

I Clement, Letter to the Corinthians, written c. 95/96 in Rome, of high authority in the early church but virtually unknown in later times.

II Clement’s Letter, not a letter and not by Clement. Written probably by a priest in Corinth, c. 135-140 AD, contains some very old Sayings of Jesus.

Letters of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, c. 110-115. Letters to Seven Churches, written on his way to martyrdom in Rome, are accepted as genuine, an equal number rejected.

Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, Letter to the Philippians. Polycarp died in 155.

Papias of Hierapolis, Sayings of Jesus, written c. 135-150.

The Didache, or Teachings of the Twelve Apostles, discovered at Constantinople in 1872. Written between 100 and 150 AD in Syria, Palestine, or Egypt.

The Shepherd of Hermas, written in Rome c. 140, by the layman Hermas; divided into Visions, Mandates,

and Similitudes for the instruction of the church.¹⁴⁴

As an example of the usual overlapping, an important discourse in the Didache on the doctrine of the Two Ways (i.e., the Way of Light and the Way of Darkness that lie open to all during this lifetime of probation) also turns up slightly altered in an Epistle of Barnabas (classed by some as an Apostolic Father), and it would now appear that both go back to a common pre-Christian teaching frequently referred to in the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹⁴⁵

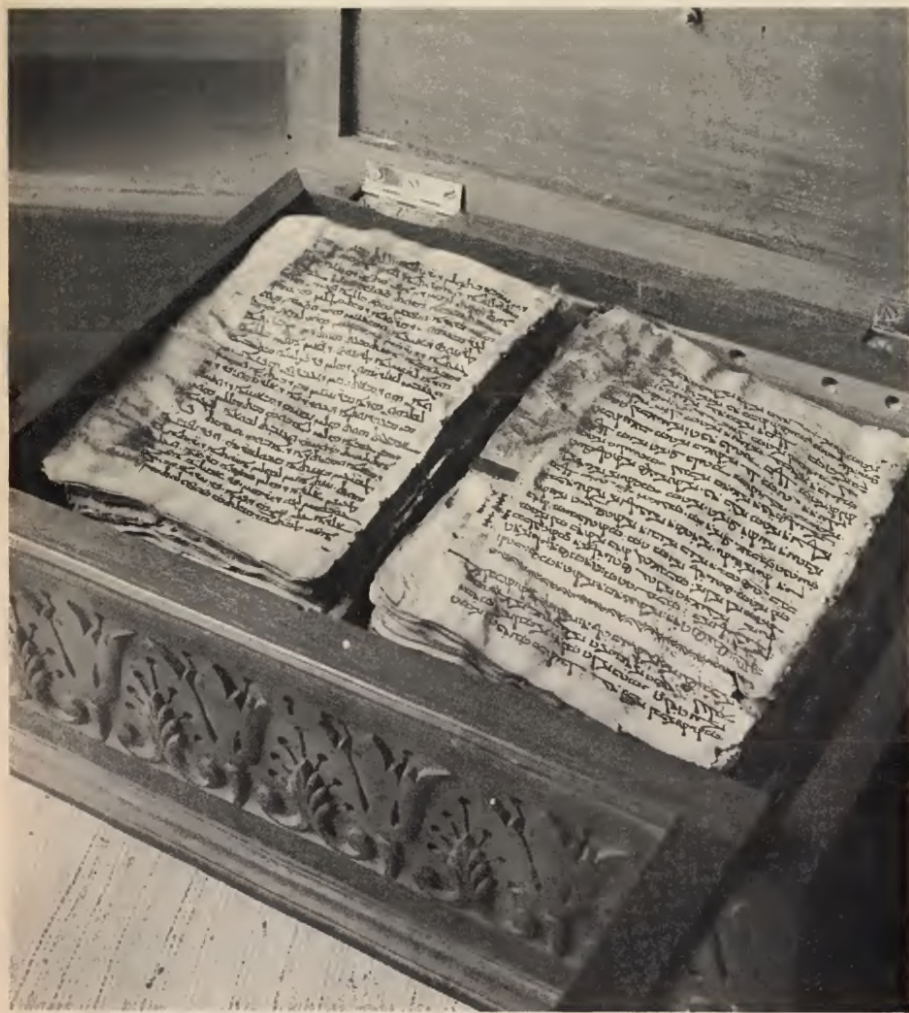
All the Apostolic Fathers are related, in fact, and although orthodox and Christian, show many affinities with the Dead Sea Scrolls and quote yet other apocryphal works. This leads to the usual problems of classification: Some would still reject the Pastor of Hermas, and for that matter parts of the New Testament as unorthodox,¹⁴⁶ and while Hennecke lists a hundred authentic Christian Apocrypha, J. Perier insists that "the canonical apocryphal literature of the primitive church is contained almost

entirely" in but seven works: "The Didache, the Didaschalia, the Apostolic Constitutions, the Greek Canons (i.e., rules for the Church, 84 or 85 of them), the Apostolic Canons (27 or 30 of them), the Canons of Hippolytus, and the 127 Canons of the Apostles, which Perier himself edited."¹⁴⁷ To all of these we refer below.

The sands of Egypt have yielded up papyrus fragments of unidentified gospels, sayings of Jesus, apocryphal gospels (of the Nazarenes, Ebionites, Hebrews, and Egyptians), conversations of Jesus with his disciples after the resurrection, at least 40 "Gnostic" gospels, infancy gospels telling of the childhood of Jesus, and some important collections of non-canonical stories about Jesus.¹⁴⁸ Again, none of this material can be lightly dismissed, for it all overlaps and much of it goes back to very early times. The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, for example, found in 1913, is mentioned by Origen as authentic scripture in the church of his day, and in his own opinion older than the Gospel of Luke,¹⁴⁹ and has close ties, for example, with all seven of the important works mentioned by Perier above.

If we were merely to begin to point out the relationships between the hundreds of Apocrypha, nearly all of them first brought to light since *Cumorah*, we should soon find ourselves at sea. But it is no longer a shoreless sea, for thanks to many recent studies, dim and distant but imposing islands have begun to take shape through the mists.

The most impressive of these is that corpus of writings known as the Pseudo-Clementines. The *Patrologia Graeca* attributes to Clement of Rome besides the two epistles, letters to the Virgin and to James the Elder, twenty homilies, a work on the acts of Peter, liturgical writings, and the famous Clementine Recognitions, a novel which was "a favor-



One of the oldest Bible manuscripts in existence—in the Sinai Monastery. Professor Martin Sprengling of the University of Chicago has traced our alphabet to its source and declares it is of Semitic origin and not of Phoenician.

ite piece of 'Sunday afternoon literature' in the church of the second century.¹⁵⁰ Since this Clement is supposed to have been the Bishop of Rome, the important Apostolic Constitutions are also attributed to him as well as certain decretals and episcopal letters, and even the so-called Cave of Treasures—the Pseudo-Ephraim or Book of Rolls.¹⁵¹ Forty years ago the celebrated Eduard Schwartz declared that the Clementine writings "have no significance whatever for the study of early Judaism and Christianity."¹⁵² But today, thanks

principles after the resurrection. (The Ethiopian version was labeled, "The Testament in Galilee of Our Lord Jesus Christ.")¹⁵³ These works in turn are very close to another collection called the Didascalia, purported teachings of the Lord to the Apostles after the resurrection. Parts of this are identical with the eighth book of the Apostolic Constitutions, but also very close to the canons of the Epistle of Peter attributed to Clement, above, and various other apostolic canons, including the "127 Canons of the Apostles" first pub-

to believe them. It was only when the Risen Christ himself took them in hand and for a period of forty days gave them instructions in "the things of the kingdom" that they were ready to go forth as missionaries to all the world. That post-resurrectional instruction made all the difference in the world to the Apostles yet we find few words of that priceless instruction in the Bible! It is therefore most significant when the great *majority* of the earliest Christian writings to come into our hands announce that they are purveying those very lost teachings of Jesus which we miss so much—the words of the Lord to his disciples after the resurrection. And in this area a particular collection of recently discovered documents is the most valuable.

Qumran's Egyptian Twin. We refer to the Nag Hammadi library, a find whose importance is rivaled only by that of the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹⁵⁷ It is a most remarkable coincidence that in the same year in which the Arabs of Palestine started bringing to the markets mysterious writings from what turned out to be the oldest *Jewish* library yet known, the Arabs of Egypt, far up the Nile, started bringing in equally mysterious writings from what proved to be the oldest *Christian* library yet known. They were found on the site of an ancient religious community between sixty and seventy miles north of Luxor, and consisted of thirteen leather-bound volumes (books, not scrolls) representing forty-four different writings comprising "about a thousand large leaves, nearly eight hundred of them in good condition."¹⁵⁸ Although the library itself dates from the fourth century, "a number of these texts are from the second century," one important writing, for example, coming "from a small village-church not yet affected by gnosticism (i.e. by the apostasy) between 125 and 150 AD."¹⁵⁹ As in Palestine also, the com-



The Treasure of the Copper Scroll. The open segments. The language is Hebrew, though strangely spelled and written.

again to the Dead Sea Scrolls, the position of the "Tuebingen School," which saw in the Clementine Recognitions the most valuable first-hand view of the primitive church, has been vindicated.

To trace but a single line, the Apostolic Constitutions, attributed to Clement, show very close affinities with a work discovered in the last year of the nineteenth century and given the title of "The Testament of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ." This work was also attributed by its ancient compiler to Clement, and purports to contain instructions given by the Lord to the Apostles after the resurrection on matters of doctrine and organization.

Both these works in turn are closely related to a writing discovered in 1897, the Epistle of the Apostles or conversations of Jesus with his dis-

lished in 1912, which claims to have been "composed by our Fathers the holy Apostles and published by Clement the disciple of the Apostle Peter."¹⁵⁴

Whatever one may think of these works today, many of them display "complete mastery" of the canonical materials and many are now accepted by most scholars as representing the authentic views of the early Christians,¹⁵⁵ to whom their teachings, especially about the return of the Lord after the resurrection, were "of sovereign importance."¹⁵⁶

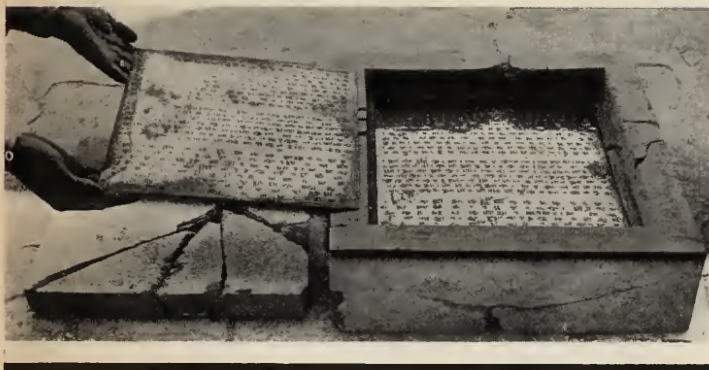
When the Lord first met with the Apostles after the resurrection, he rebuked them for their hardness of heart and slowness to believe; for they had thought it was all over with the crucifixion, and when reliable witnesses reported that Jesus had risen, they stubbornly refused

ing forth of the wonderful treasures was accompanied by all sorts of mystery and intrigue, with knotty problems of ownership presenting a formidable obstacle to publication.¹⁶⁰ Like the Dead Sea Scrolls, these writings have proved both exciting and disturbing by "their highly irregular doctrines."¹⁶¹ These people, though the oldest known Christians, do *not* talk as the Christian world has always thought primitive Christians should talk, any more than the people of Qumran talk like good orthodox Jews. What is more (and

liveth (i.e., the risen Savior) spoke to Judas-Thomas. . . ."¹⁶² Next we learn that the New Testament quotations in this work (which was written down about 140 AD) are "very similar to a collection used by the writer of I Clement."¹⁶³ But we have also noted that the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles is also very close to Clement, and H. J. Schoeps has shown that no writings are closer to the Dead Sea Scrolls than the Pseudo-Clementines!¹⁶⁴ On top of that, Oscar Cullmann finds that this "jumbled mixture of old traditions"

chologist C. J. Jung and contained the Gospel of Truth, the Apocryphon of Names, a second century Apocryphon of John, a treatise on the Three Natures ("a mythical and theological exposition of vast dimensions and great detail"), and a work on the resurrection called the Letter to Rheginos.¹⁶⁷ So far, the Gospels of Thomas and Philip and the Gospel of Truth have been made available in English.¹⁶⁸ To a Latter-day Saint some of the other writings should prove far more interesting.

Along with these Coptic finds



Records of Darius of old Persia, engraved on plates of solid gold and silver are among the recent findings

The Syrian Metropolitan, Athanasius Yeshue Samuel (right) examining his four scrolls with Dr. John C. Trever, director of the Department of the English Bible for the International Council of Religious Education.



this is the big surprise), the earliest Christian writers and the earliest Jewish writers known, living a thousand miles and several hundred years apart, speak very much alike! Not only do both depart radically from the conventional teachings of church and synagogue, but they both depart in exactly the same direction.

We have noted, for example, that the work called the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, which was discovered in 1912 and which Origen claimed to be older than the Gospel of Luke, belongs to a group of writings reporting the Lord's teachings after the resurrection. And if we turn to the newly found Nag Hammadi texts, we find that the first one ever published (The Gospel of Thomas) begins with the words: "These are the secret teachings which the Lord who was dead and

in the Gospel of Thomas indicates an origin in "the vicinity of Eastern Jordan where the Christian Jews settled after the fall of Jerusalem, in the year 70 AD,"¹⁶⁵ which takes us from the distant reaches of the upper Nile right into the desert communities of the Dead Sea Scrolls, where our two libraries, Jewish and Christian, seem to have a common origin.

In 1956 an Egyptian scholar Pahor Labib, himself a Copt, published a volume of photographs of the newly found texts, including complete photos of the Gospels of Philip and Thomas, the Apocryphon of John, a work called The Apostasis of the Aeons (on the nature of authority), and a work on the creation.¹⁶⁶ A collection of 100 pages was secretly bought by a rich Swiss and taken to Zurich in 1952; it was named the Jung Codex after the famous psy-

should be mentioned some very old and valuable Christian texts in Greek, the Bodmer Papyri. These third century papyri are the oldest copies extant (the original dates from 175-200 AD) and the only exemplars in the original language of an apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians, of which later texts in other languages have long been known. They were found in Egypt and first published in 1958 and 1959.¹⁶⁹ Together with them was discovered the first Greek text of the famous Odes of Solomon, which deserves our attention as a notable link between our Coptic Nag Hammadi text and the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls.

The Odes and Psalms of Solomon were first discovered in 1906 on the site of an ancient Christian commu-

(Continued on page 1126)



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with the wall type can opener which leaves a smooth edge, may be placed upon the shelves. The cans may be opened from the bottom thus making them look more realistic.

Empty cereal boxes, egg, salt, and cottage cheese cartons, soap boxes, and cracker and cookie cartons may be saved—also paper sacks of all sizes.

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Pasteboard buildings—one building, a street, or a whole town may be made from large boxes or cartons.

To make the roof of a house, cut the box about halfway down at each corner. Then cut two sides opposite each other to a point at the top. The other two sides may be folded until they meet at the top of the points, where they may be fastened together with adhesive tape. Doors, windows, and store fronts, etc., may be drawn on the outside of the buildings. Let your imagination run wild—add window boxes, shrubbery, a picket fence, flower beds, a garage, garden furniture, streets, roads, and anything else you may think of. The more the merrier!

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CHRISTMAS IS A LISTENING

BY HELEN FAULKNER

*Christmas is a listening,
Christmas is a plan,
Christmas is a memory
In the heart of man.*

*Memories of Christmas ring
Tones that once were dear,
Plans for Christmas carol friends
Down the living year.*

*Listening to Christmas sing
Voices known and new,
Every heart enfolds its own
— Loved ones, listening, too.*

Since Cumorah

(Continued from page 1035)

nity on the Tigris. They were written in Syriac, and now in Bodmer Papyrus No. XI we have the eleventh of these Odes in Greek on paper at least three centuries older than our Syriac texts. The Psalms of Solomon, written between 80 and 40 BC, are, of course, Jewish, while the usual debate has taken place over the Odes (100-150 AD), which Harris believed were written by one who "while not a Jew, was a member of a community of Christians, who were for the most part of Jewish extraction" and probably lived originally at Pella as Judaeo-Christian refugees from the fall of Jerusalem.¹⁷⁰ This, before the Dead Sea Scrolls were known, brought the Odes and Psalms right into their orbit, and the discussions of the Odes of Solomon of fifty years ago with their talk of the Roman invaders, Jewish sectaries, and flight into the desert read just like the scrolls' discussions of the past decade.

Some scholars long insisted that the Odes and the Psalms were a single composition, while others claimed the former Christian and the latter Jewish, and Harnack insisted that they were both Jewish, though with interpolations that were very close to the Johannine writings.¹⁷¹ This is interesting, because one of the first things noted about the Dead Sea Scrolls was how close they were to John. Battifol saw a particularly close tie-in between the Odes and a Coptic work called the Pistis Sophia, the first part of which "tells how Jesus spent twelve years after the resurrection teaching his disciples the mysteries of the heavenly 'places.'"¹⁷² This in turn is equally close to the newly found Psalms of Thomas (a Syriac work not to be confused with the Gospel of Thomas), which contains a very old didactic hymn on the pre-existence

known as The Pearl.¹⁷³ The discovery came with a distinct jolt that one of the Psalms of Solomon, which had been completely brushed aside in preference for the Odes because of their small literary worth, contained an explicit and direct reference to the Qumran community that produced the Scrolls.¹⁷⁴ And so, far to the east in an old Christian community on the Tigris were discovered a collection of Syrian writings which actually belong in the same cover with the Dead Sea Scrolls of the Judaeian desert and the Nag Hammadi Library of upper Egypt.

The Sayings of Jesus. The most sensational aspect of the newly found Coptic papyri is the presence in them of the many statements attributed to Jesus himself and not found in the Bible. Just as the detection of dimly recalled and vaguely familiar themes and phrases in the new Jewish and Christian texts sent students back to search through long-neglected, apocryphal writings, so the present findings of many sayings of Jesus comes as a reminder that many such sayings have been lying around for many years now, almost completely ignored.¹⁷⁵

Now we must recognize the distinct possibility that some if not many of these sayings may be genuine, and in that case of the greatest importance. These have long been known as the *Logia* (Sayings) or *Agrapha* (Unwritten Things) of Jesus. They are found (a) in the New Testament itself, (b) in variant readings of the New Testament, (c) in many of the church writers down to St. Augustine, and (d) today in the sands of Egypt.¹⁷⁶ As an example of the second type, M. R. James gives the following additions to Mark 16:3, found in some early texts: "In the third hour of the day there came darkness throughout all the globe of the earth; and angels came down from the heavens. . . ."¹⁷⁷

Here is an interesting commentary on the great darkness of the Book of Mormon, as well as significant evi-

dence (whether we accept it as scripture or not) that the early Christians were quite aware that the earth is round. It will be recalled that Origen's argument for the roundness of the earth was that the first Christians taught that God had covenant people on the other side of the world—the antichthonians.¹⁷⁸

The *Logia* or Sayings of Jesus as found in the early Fathers have suffered unmerited neglect through the years, the result of the thesis that our present Bible contains all there is to know. ("A Bible! A Bible! we have got a Bible, and there cannot be any more Bible." 2 Nephi 29:3.) It is unmerited because all the words of Jesus in the Bible can be read in *half an hour*, though Jesus' actual sermons often lasted for many hours: What good Christian would be such a fool as to walk out on the Lord while he was speaking? It is also unwarranted because the purported words of Jesus are found in all the church writers of the early period. If such men insist on quoting sayings which they actually believe were uttered by the Master, what greater folly can there be than refusing to give them serious attention? Yet it was not until another great papyrus find in Egypt at the turn of the century that serious attention was given to the Agrapha.

The collection was the Oxyrhynchus, found in 1885, 125 miles south of Cairo and eighteen miles west of the Nile, and includes among eighteen published volumes of papyri the Behnesa Papyrus known as the "Sayings of Our Lord."¹⁷⁹ Ten of these sayings have been treated with particular respect because they are also quoted by Origen, the first and greatest of Christian theologians.¹⁸⁰ And now from the sands of Nag Hammadi, still farther up the Nile, comes another library with more Sayings of Jesus, most, but not all of them, being found in the Gospel of Thomas, among the 114 *Logia* of which are found one-fifth of the Oxyrhynchus sayings.¹⁸¹

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In 1896 Alfred Resch regarded thirty-six of the more than two hundred Sayings of Jesus which he had collected as genuine.¹⁸² Today, viewing the recently enlarged collection, scholars are prone to accept at least ten of the Sayings as authentic, and another ten as very probably so.¹⁸³ On what grounds do they judge? On external grounds, answering the question, "Is the saying quoted in an early and reliable source?" and on internal grounds, asking, "Is it broadly consonant in style and content with the mind of Jesus as we know it from the canonical gospels?"¹⁸⁴

It is the second point, of course, which has been the franchise of theologians and scholars from the beginning, since it amounts to asking simply, "Is this what I think Jesus would have said?" The question has become rather a hollow one, however, since the whole message of the new discoveries is that there are many things that no scholar left to himself would have thought possible. We must be prepared for surprises and guard against the natural tendency to make every new text say what we think it should. If external evidence shows that Saying like Logion No. 2 in the Gospel of Thomas attributed to Jesus in the ancient papyri from Oxyrhynchus and Nag Hammadi, also turns up in the writings of Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and the lost Gospel of the Hebrews, the scholar who will put it aside because it does not represent his idea of what Jesus would say is being very bold indeed.¹⁸⁵

(To be continued next month)

FOOTNOTES

- ¹⁴³R. M. Grant, in *The Journal of Religion*, 39 (1960), p. 120.
¹⁴⁴Complete texts and discussions (except for the Didache) are supplied in A. R. M. Dressel, *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera* (Leipzig, 1863). For translations, E. Goodspeed, *The Apostolic Fathers, an American Translation* (New York: Harper, 1950).
¹⁴⁵L. W. Barnard, in *Church Quarterly Review*, 1958, p. 229.
¹⁴⁶E. Peterson, in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 8 (1954), p. 70.
¹⁴⁷J. Perier, in *Patrologia Orientalia*, VIII, 553.
¹⁴⁸All these are translated into German in

- E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, Vol. I (1959).
¹⁴⁹E. Revillout, in *Patrologia Orientalia*, II, 123-7.
¹⁵⁰R. M. Grant, *Second Century Christianity* (London: SPCK, 1946), p. 10.
¹⁵¹Stegmüller, *op. cit.*, I, No. 76.
¹⁵²E. Schwartz, in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 31 (1932) pp. 151-199. Standard works on this much-discussed theme are by Rud. Knopf (1899), Hans Waitz (1904 and 1929), C. Schmidt (1905 and 1929), W. Heintze (1913f.), F. Gerke (1931), G. Rehm (1939), O. Cullmann (1954), H. J. Schoeps (1958f.), G. Streckes (1959), W. Ullmann (1960).
¹⁵³L. Guerrier and S. Brebaut (eds.) *Le Testament en Galilee de Notre-Seigneur J.-Christ*, in *Patrologia Orientalia*, IX, 143-236.
¹⁵⁴E. Rahmani (ed.), *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Mainz, 1899). The relationships are discussed at length by C. Schmidt, *Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung*, Vol. VII (1919), of *Texte und Untersuchungen*, pp. 156-9, 162-4, 211-213, 230ff. A more recent study of the same is by H.-J. Schoeps, in *Studia Theologica*, 8 (1955), pp. 41ff. O. Perler, in *Rivista di Archeologia Christiana*, 25 (1949), p. 72, points to the dependency of I Clement on IV Maccabees. A text and discussion of the 127 *Canons of the Apostles* is in the *Patrologia Orientalia*, VIII, 553-710, edited by J. and A. Perier. Quotation is from p. 567.
¹⁵⁵C. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 213f.
¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*, p. 245.
¹⁵⁷These documents are discussed as they appear in the Dutch periodical *Vigiliae Christianae*, 1946ff.
¹⁵⁸W. C. van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings* (SCM Press, 1960, No. 30 of *Studies in Biblical Theology*), p. 8.
¹⁵⁹This was the *Apocryphon of James*; the quotation is from W. C. van Unnik, in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 10 (1956), p. 156.
¹⁶⁰Van Unnik, *Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings*, p. 11.
¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 9.

THE DIFFERENCE

BY MAUREEN CANNON

*How do little boys wake up?
 Fast, as if it really mattered
 Vitally! Small rockets leap
 Up from sleep—the peace is
 shattered!*

*Little girls wake differently,
 Watching, so I think.
 Kitten-like with Kitten-sounds,
 They curl, uncurl. They're pink
 And gentle, sleepy still. The joys
 That little boys are quick to savor
 Instantly, small girls put off,
 Sweetly doing day the favor
 Of awakening, Performing
 Even then, Small both, good
 morning!*

- ¹⁶²A. Guillaumont, H.-Ch. Peuch, G. Quispel, W. Till, and Y. 'abd al Masih, *The Gospel According to Thomas* (New York: Harpers, 1959), p. 3.
¹⁶³W. Frend, in *Antiquity*, 34 (1960), p. 263.
¹⁶⁴H.-J. Schoeps, *Urgemeinde, Judentum, Gnosis* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1956), pp. 69-86.
¹⁶⁵O. Cullmann, in *Hibbert Journal*, 60 (1961), p. 121; cf. by the same writer, in *New Testament Studies*, 5 (1959), p. 166.
¹⁶⁶P. Labib, *Coptic Gnostic Papyri in the Coptic Museum at Old Cairo*, Vol. I (Government Press, Cairo, 1956).
¹⁶⁷See Introduction of N. Malmaine *Evangelium Verithies*, (1956); and in *Vigiliae Christianae*, 9 (1955), pp. 66-102, analyzing the *Apocryphon of John*.
¹⁶⁸Note 162 above. R. M. Wilson, *The Gospel of Philip* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); M. Malinine, et al., *Evangelium Veritatis* (Zürich: Rascher, 1956).
¹⁶⁹M. Testuz (ed.), *Papyrus Bodmer X-XII* (Cologne-Geneve: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959).
¹⁷⁰J. R. Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge University, 1909), pp. 87, 55. The Psalms were known before the Odes and were published by O. V. Gebhardt in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XIII (1895), Heft 2.
¹⁷¹P. Batiffol, in *Revue Biblique*, N.S. 8 (1911), pp. 22-28, discussing various theories. W. Bauer, in *Kleine Texte*, No. 64 (1933), holds that the Odes are very close to Ignatius of Antioch and come from the end of the first century.
¹⁷²G. Horner, *Pistis Sophia* (London: SPCK, 1924), pp. xv-xvi.
¹⁷³A. Adam, *Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied . . . Beiheft 24* (1959) of *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*.
¹⁷⁴This was *Psalm 17* (or *Ode 60* [59]).
¹⁷⁵H. Köster, in *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 48 (1957), p. 221. Collections of *Agrapha* may be found in *Patrologia Orientalia*, IV, 151-182; XIII, 335-431; XIX, 531-624; J. H. Ropes, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, No. XIV (1896), Heft 2 (154 Sayings of Jesus); also in *Kleine Texte*, No. 11; A. Resch, *Agrapha*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N.F. 15 (1906), Heft 3/4 (426 pages). Twelve medieval "Letters from Heaven" are supposed to contain words of Jesus, F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium*, I, No. 148.
¹⁷⁶*Expository Times*, 69 (1958), p. 97; Köster, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
¹⁷⁷M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament* (1925 ed.), p. 33.
¹⁷⁸Origen, *Peri Archon*, II, iii, 6, in *Patrologia Graeca* 11:194.
¹⁷⁹Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Sayings of Our Lord* (London, 1897). See the discussion by P. Batiffol, in *Revue Biblique*, N.S. 6 (1909), pp. 501-515.
¹⁸⁰L. E. Wright, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 65 (1946), pp. 175ff.
¹⁸¹R. Roques, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 157 (1960), p. 195, and G. Garitte, in *Museon*, 73 (1960), pp. 151-172.
¹⁸²H. Koster, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
¹⁸³*Loc. cit.*, and *Expository Times*, 69 (1958), pp. 97-99. J. H. Ropes, J. Jeremias, and W. Kümmel all disagree, but not widely.
¹⁸⁴*Expository Times*, 69 (1958), p. 97.
¹⁸⁵R. Roques, *op. cit.*, p. 197.