

THE *INFANCY GOSPEL OF THOMAS* FROM AN UNPUBLISHED SYRIAC MANUSCRIPT: INTRODUCTION, TEXT, TRANSLATION, AND NOTES¹

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ABSTRACT:

The Syriac Infancy Gospel of Thomas (IGT) has been published from three manuscripts, two of which hail from the 5th or 6th centuries. Unfortunately, all three sources lack large sections of the text. In 1914, Paul Peeters discussed a fourth Ms (Vat. Syr. 159 from the 17th century) preserving the entire text, but until now, that Ms has not been published. This article presents a diplomatic edition of Peeters' Ms, comparing its readings with those previously published and with another unpublished Ms very similar to the one used by Peeters. Also included are a comprehensive overview of other Syriac sources for IGT and a discussion of Peeters' theory of Syriac composition for IGT.

¹ A version of this paper was presented at the 2008 Réunion de l'Association pour l'étude de la littérature apocryphe chrétienne (AELAC). My thanks to those who offered suggestions for improvement, as well as to F. Stanley Jones, Slavomír Čéplö, and Lucas van Rompay for their feedback on the Syriac text and its translation. I would also like to thank the anonymous peer reviewers who provided helpful feedback.

Almost 100 years ago, the great Bollandist Paul Peeters revealed the existence of a manuscript from the Vatican (*Vat. Syr.* 159; dated 1622/23; =P) containing the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (IGT) in Syriac as an appendix to a Garshûni version of the *Arabic Infancy Gospel* (*Arab. Gos. Inf.*).² This manuscript was used by Peeters to establish a theory of composition and transmission for the larger corpus of infancy gospels, including *Arab. Gos. Inf.* and the *Armenian Infancy Gospel* (*Arm. Gos. Inf.*). As for IGT, Peeters stated his belief that the gospel was composed in Syriac, but offered no proof for his assertion. He did, however, provide a French translation of several chapters from the new Ms (ch. 5-8) and revealed that it was more complete than another Syriac manuscript (W) published 50 years earlier. Until now, no-one has returned to this tantalizing find—a surprising oversight given that several scholars over the years have entertained Peeters' theory of Syriac composition for IGT.

Though both Peeters' overarching theory of composition for the infancy gospels and the related theory of Syriac composition for IGT are no longer sustainable,³ the Syriac tradition remains important for the study of IGT. And, as Peeters stated long ago, P is indeed an excellent witness to this tradition, in some ways surpassing the worth of all previously published Syriac Mss, and perhaps even all other witnesses to the infancy gospel.

THE WIDER MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF IGT

IGT is best known to readers in the Greek form of the text made popular by Constantin von Tischendorf. He provided an edition using four previously published Mss: Dresden *A* 187,⁴ Bologna *Univ.* 2702,⁵ Paris *A. F. gr.* 239 (2908/2279),⁶ and Vienna *Phil. gr.*

² In *Évangiles apocryphes*, vol. 2, Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme 18, ed. Charles Michel and Paul Peeters (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard & Fils, 1914), see particularly p. 291-311.

³ See the discussion in Tony Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium Thomae graece*, CCSA 17 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 174-88.

⁴ Published previously by Ioannis Caroli Thilo, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, vol. 1, (Leipzig: Vogel, 1832), lxxiii-xci (introduction), 277-315 (text with Latin translation and notes).

⁵ Published previously in a diplomatic edition by Giovanni Luigi Mingarelli, "De Apocrypho Thomae Evangelio . . . epistola," in *Nuova Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici e filologici*, vol. 12, ed. A. Calogiera (Venice 1764), 73-155.

162 (144)⁷—none of which are earlier than the fifteenth century.⁸ This form of the text, dubbed Greek A (Ga), runs nineteen chapters, culminating in the story of Jesus in the Temple from Luke 2:41-52. Ga has become the *textus receptus* in IGT scholarship, regularly appearing in collections of Christian Apocrypha both in Greek and in modern translation. Tischendorf also published a shorter form of the text, Greek B (Gb), from a single Ms he found on his famous visit to St. Catherine's monastery (*Cod. Sinaiticus gr. 453*, 14/15th cent.).⁹ In 1927, a third Greek recension, Greek D (Gd), was published from a fifteenth-century Ms (*Cod. Ath. gr. 355*) by Armand Delatte.¹⁰ This version features a prologue of several episodes of the Holy Family's journey in Egypt. A fourth and final Greek recension, Greek S (Gs), was edited from a single eleventh-century Ms (*Cod. Sabaiticus 259*) for my 2001 dissertation and subsequent 2010 critical edition.¹¹ Gs is similar in style and

⁶ Published previously first, in part, by Richard Simon, *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du Nouveau Testament* (1695; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1973) and in full by Jean Baptiste Cotelier, *SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Antwerp: Huguetanorum sumtibus, 1698), 345-46.

⁷ The title and extracts from chs. 1 and 2 were published in the catalogue by Peter Lambeck, *Commentariorum de augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi liber septimus* (Vienna: Typis M. Cosmerovii, 1675), 270-73. The IGT section of the Ms has since been lost.

⁸ Constantin von Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed. (1st ed. 1853; Leipzig: Mendelsohn, 1876), 140-57. All four Mss were employed three decades earlier in Thilo's edition but Tischendorf's particular arrangement of the Mss achieved a wider audience.

⁹ Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 158-63. Greek B first saw publication in Tischendorf's account of his Mt. Sinai expedition, "Rechenschaft über meine handschriftlichen Studien auf meiner wissenschaftlichen Reise von 1840 bis 1844," in *Jahrbücher der Literatur* 114 (Vienna: Carl Gerold Anzeigeblatt, 1846), 51-53.

¹⁰ "Évangile de l'enfance de Jacques: Manuscrit No. 355 de la Bibliothèque Nationale," in *Anecdota Atheniensia*, vol. 1, *Textes grecs inédits relatifs à l'histoire des religions*, ed. Armand Delatte (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1927), 264-71.

¹¹ Tony Chartrand-Burke, "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas: The Text, its Origins, and its Transmission" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2001), 101-16 and Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 302-37. Gs was published subsequently in Andries G. van Aarde, "Die Griekse manuskrip van die Kindheidsewangelie van Tomas in Kodeks Sinaïtikos (Gr 453) vertaal in

vocabulary to Ga but lacks several chapters (17 and 18, and ch. 10 is found between 16 and 19). The dissertation and critical edition also drew upon new Mss of each of the other three recensions, improving the texts considerably over previous editions.¹²

IGT is extant as well in a number of other languages.¹³ Tischendorf, again, published three Latin witnesses to the text: an early translation from a fifth-century fragmentary palimpsest (*Vindobonensis* 563; =LV),¹⁴ a more recent translation related to Gd (*Vat. lat.* 4578, 14th cent.; =LT),¹⁵ and two Mss of an expanded version of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* that incorporates the same Latin IGT found in the palimpsest (=LM).¹⁶ This older Latin tradition also lies behind a version in Irish verse dated to around 700 CE.¹⁷ Then there is a fragmentary Georgian manuscript (=Geo),¹⁸ a group of Ethiopic Mss (=Eth),¹⁹ and the Slavonic

Afrikaans" (*Hervormde Teologiese Studies / HTS Theological Studies* 61 [2005], 491-516, and in Reidar Aasgaard, *The Childhood of Jesus: Decoding the Apocryphal Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2009), 219-42.

¹² Descriptions of all the IGT Mss can be found in Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 127-44, and Tony Chartrand-Burke, "The Greek Manuscript Tradition of the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*" (*Apocrypha* 14 [2004], 129-51).

¹³ For a comprehensive discussion of these witnesses see Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*, 144-71.

¹⁴ Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, xlv-xlvi. Additional lines of the palimpsest were deciphered by Guy Philippart and presented in "Fragments palimpsestes latins du Vindobonensis 563 (V^e siècle?): Évangile selon S. Matthieu, Évangile de Nicodème, Évangile de l'Enfance selon Thomas" (*AnBoll* 90 [1972], 391-411).

¹⁵ Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 164-80.

¹⁶ Ibid., 93-112. The LM tradition is examined also in Sever J. Voicu, "La tradition latine des *Paidika*," *Bulletin de l'AEIAC* 14 (2004): 13-21.

¹⁷ Published from a single manuscript (Dublin, National Library of Ireland, *MS G 50*) by James Carney, "Two Old Irish Poems" (*Eriu* 18 [1958], 1-43) and more recently by Máire Herbert and Martin McNamara, "A Versified Narrative of the Childhood Deeds of the Lord Jesus," in *Apocrypha Hiberniae*, t. 1: *Evangelia infantiae*, vol. 1, ed. Martin McNamara et al., CCSA 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 443-83.

¹⁸ Tblisi, *Cod. A 95* copied around the end of the tenth century. The text was published simultaneously in Georgian and Russian early in the twentieth century but was given wider exposure in a Latin translation by

tradition (=Slav), which originated from a tenth- or eleventh-century translation of Ga.²⁰ Finally, we have the Syriac translation, one of the earliest and, some would say, the most important of the versions of IGT.

THE SYRIAC TRADITION

The Syriac IGT comes in three forms: as a separate and distinct text (designated Sa), as book four of a six-book *Life of Mary* collection in West Syriac script (Sw), and incorporated in several manuscripts of another *Life of Mary* collection in East Syriac script (Se).

Recension Sa

The first Sa Ms came to scholars' attention in 1865 with William Wright's publication of a sixth-century Ms from the British Library in London (*Add. 14484*; =W).²¹ The Ms contains several texts related to Mary of Nazareth, beginning with the *Protevangelium Jacobi*

Gérard Garitte, "Le fragment géorgien de l'Évangile de Thomas" (*RHE* 51 [1956], 513-15).

¹⁹ Found in at least 25 manuscripts of the *Ta'āmra 'Iyasūs* (*Miracles of Jesus*), a large biographical work compiled from various canonical and noncanonical sources. Sylvain Grébaut, "Les miracles de Jésus: Texte éthiopien publié et traduit" (*PO* 12.4 [1919], 625-42) used three of the Mss for his edition of the IGT section of the *Miracles*.

²⁰ The Slavonic tradition comprises six medieval manuscripts in Middle Bulgarian, Serbian, Croatian, and Russian, and ten in Ukrainian from the eighteenth/nineteenth century. For more on the Slavonic tradition see the two major studies by Aurelio de Santos Otero, *Das kirchenslavische Evangelium des Thomas*, PTS 6 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1967) and Thomas Rosén, *The Slavonic Translation of the Apocryphal Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Slavica Upsaliensia 39 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1997).

²¹ William Wright, *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament* (London: Williams & Norgate 1865), ٦٠٤ (Syriac text), 6-11 (English translation). For another overview of the publishing history of the Syriac IGT (much of it similar to Burke, *De infantia Iesu euangelium*), see Cornelia B. Horn and Robert R. Phenix, "Apocryphal Gospels in Syriac and Related Texts Offering Traditions about Jesus," in *Jesus in apokryphen Evangelienüberlieferungen*, WUNT 254, ed. Jörg Frey and Jens Schröter (Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 537-44.

(*Prot. Jas.*), then IGT, and finishing with the *Assumption of the Virgin* (*Assum. Vir.*). The Ms represents an early effort to combine texts to create a comprehensive *Life of Mary*; however, in W the texts are still separate and distinct, whereas in the other IGT recensions they are woven together in a single narrative (see further below). The version of IGT found in W is somewhat shorter than the Greek *textus receptus*: chs. 1, 10, 17 and 18 are missing, and many of the extant chapters are shorter, except for ch. 6 which contains material absent from Tischendorf's Ga Mss but has parallels in some of the newly-published Ga Mss, as well as Gd, Gs, LT, Slav, and the early versions. The shorter form of the text that we find in Wright's Ms matches also the form of the early Latin, Ethiopic, and Georgian versions. Lucas van Rompay concluded from this that the early versions are closer in form to the original text than the Greek and related traditions (LT and Slav).²² Gs, for its part, was shown by Sever Voicu to be an intermediate text, standing between the early versions and the later Greek and related traditions.²³

A second Sa manuscript directly related to W came to light in 1911. In a brief notice in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, Hugo Duensing mentioned a new MS originating from Mt. Sinai that he personally donated to the Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek (*Syr. 10*; 5/6th cent.; =G).²⁴ The Ms was subsequently used by Arnold Meyer in his translation of IGT for the second edition of Edgar Hennecke's *Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* in 1924.²⁵ Meyer's

²² "De ethiopische versie van het Kindsheidsevangelië volgens Thomas de Israëlïet," in *Enfant dans les civilisations orientales*, ed. A. Théodoridès, P. Naster, and J. Riesel (Leuven: Editions Peeters, 1980), 119-32.

²³ "Notes sur l'histoire du texte de l'*Histoire de l'enfance de Jésus*" (*Apocrypha* 2 [1991]: 119-32).

²⁴ "Mitteilungen 58" (*TLZ* 36 [1911], 637). Sever Voicu, in his discussions of IGT, uses the siglum S^t, named for a collation of the Ms made for him by Frederic Rilliet.

²⁵ "Kindheitserzählung des Thomas," in *Neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, ed. Edgar Hennecke, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1924), 93-94. Meyer credited A. Rahlfs with providing him with a description of the contents of G. This admission led Wilhelm Baars and Jan Heldermann to suppose Meyer was neither fully aware of the contents of the Ms nor that he used it for his translation ("Neue Materialien zum Text und zur Interpretation des Kindheitsevangeliums des Pseudo-Thomas" [*OrChr* 77 (1993), 193 n. 10]; perhaps echoing an earlier comment by Stephen Gero,

translation occasionally features two columns: one based on Ga and the other on both W and G. The full extent of G was not revealed at the time, but readers would have seen from Meyer's text that it includes material from chs. 6-8 missing in W. G finally saw publication in a two-part 1993/1994 article by Wilhelm Baars and Jan Heldermaann.²⁶ The two offered a codicological analysis of the Ms and a collation against Wright's edition of W. G is a valuable source for the tradition, for it does contain material missing in W; however, it also suffers from some omissions of its own, most notably the absence of chs. 14, 15 and much of ch. 7. Additional pages of the Göttingen Ms were discovered recently among new finds at St. Catharine's Monastery; alas, the new pages belong not to IGT but to the text of *Prot. Jas.* that precedes it.²⁷

The Vatican Ms (P) discussed by Peeters also belongs to the Sa recension. In the second of two volumes of *Christian Apocrypha* published in 1914, Paul Peeters drew on several childhood texts—including *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, *Arm. Inf. Gos.*, and *Vat. Syr. 159*—to propose an expansive Syro-Arabian theory of origin for the infancy gospel traditions. According to the theory, all of the childhood stories found in these texts derive from a larger collection of legends assembled in Syriac in the fifth century.²⁸ In the Vatican Ms, IGT appears not as part of a collection of Life of Mary texts as in W and G, but as an appendix to *Arab. Gos. Inf.* Though Peeters did not produce an edition of the new Ms, he did mention at the time that he believed P to be a superior witness to IGT than the

"The Infancy Gospel of Thomas: A Study of the Textual and Literary Problems" [*NovT* 13 (1971), 51 n. 6]). A comparison of Meyer's 1904 translation with the translation of 1924 makes it clear that this is not the case.

²⁶ Baars and Heldermaann, "Neue Materielen."

²⁷ For photographs of *Sinai SP 78* see Sebastian P. Brock, *Catalogue of the Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catharine, Mount Sinai* (Athens: Fondation du Sinaï, 1995), 73-74; for photographs of *Sinai M26N* see Philothée du Sinaï, *Nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Sinaï* (Monastère Sainte Catharine, Archevêché du Sinaï, Pharan et Raïtho) (Athens: Fondation du Sinaï, 2008), 363-65. The identification of the new pages as belonging to G was made by Alain Desreumaux, "Deux anciens manuscrits syriaques d'oeuvres apocryphes dans le nouveau fonds de Sainte-Catharine du Sinaï: La *Vie de la Vierge* et Les *Actes d'André et Mathias*" (*Apocrypha* 20 [2009], 115-36).

²⁸ *Évangiles apocryphes*, xvii-xx.

previously published Mss (W and Budge's *Life of Mary* Ms A, see below), principally because it included material from chapters 6-8 and 15 missing in W. He admitted that readers would find his assessment difficult to believe given the date of the Ms (17th cent.).²⁹ It is unfortunate that Peeters did not provide the text of his new Syriac Ms; he did, however, provide an excerpt of chs. 5-8, translated into French with notes on variant readings from W, the Greek and Latin Mss, and an edition of four Slavonic Mss. Another Syriac IGT Ms, until now unpublished, contains a text very similar to P. Mingana, *Syr. 105* of the nineteenth-century is virtually a twin of the text from Peeters' Ms but here appears without *Arab. Gos. Inf.*

Recension Se

A number of chapters from the Syriac IGT are incorporated in three manuscripts of an East Syriac *Life of Mary* narrative. This *Life of Mary* (=CANT 94; BHO 643-645) was published in 1899 by Ernest A. W. Budge³⁰ based on two manuscripts: an unnamed Ms from Alqoš (13/14th cent.)³¹ and Royal Asiatic Society, *Syr. 1* (dated 1569). Only the Alqoš Ms contains the IGT material, though two unpublished Mss (Mingana *Syr. 502* and Mingana *Syr. 122*) also

²⁹ *Ibid.*, xvi.

³⁰ *The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ*, 2 vols. (London: Luzac & Co., 1899), vol. 2, 71-82 (IGT material in English), vol 1, 67-76 (in Syriac). Budge also reprinted the Syriac text of W for comparison (vol. 1, 217-22).

³¹ The whereabouts of this Ms, commissioned by Budge himself, is unknown. Émil de Strycker (*La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques*, Subsidia Hagiographica 33 [Bruxelles: Société des Bollandistes, 1961], 372; repeated by Simon Claude Mimouni, "Vies de la Vierge. État de la question" [*Apocrypha* 5 (1994)], 241 n. 133) suspected it might be the same as Notre-Dame de Sémances 98, though this Ms, which also is either lost or destroyed, is dated to 1680 and does not contain the other texts listed in Budge's Ms (two Syriac grammars, one by Elias, Metropolitan of Nisibis and the other by John bar-Zô'bhî). Alain Desreumaux ("Les apocryphes syriaques sur Jésus et sa famille," in *Les apocryphes syriaques*, Études syriaques 2, ed. M. Debie, A. Desreumaux, C. Jullien, and F. Jullien [Paris: Geuthner, 2005], 56) suggests Notre-Dame de Sémances 97, dated to 1689/1690 and apparently unavailable to scholars; however, this Ms also lacks the two grammars. For more on these Mss see further below.

include the stories. Along with *Prot. Jas.* and *Assum. Vir.* the text features the childhood tales set in Egypt found also in *Arab. Gos. Inf.* It is quite likely, therefore, that the East Syriac *Life of Mary* is *Arab. Gos. Inf.*'s long-suspected Syriac source.

The East Syriac *Life of Mary* has been little studied since Budge's initial work on the text. Certainly it is important for the transmission of the Syriac IGT, but detailed discussion of its contents and its precise relationship to other Syriac IGT recensions is beyond the scope of the present study. However, it is important to clarify for future investigation the available sources for the text. In his 1994 survey of Life of Mary traditions, Simon Claude Mimouni presents lists of unpublished manuscripts of both the East and West Syriac Mary compilations.³² The lists contain a number of errors, with some Mss described incorrectly and some placed in the wrong categories. As it turns out, the following Mss are of the eastern form (those marked with * were not known to Mimouni; those marked with † have yet to be evaluated because they are lost or merely unavailable for study):

- Berlin, *OrOct 1130* (1814/1815)³³
- Cambridge, *Add. 2020* (1697)
- Cambridge, *Or 1341* (1863), a copy of Urmia 43 (see below)
- Columbia University, Butler Library X893.4 B47 (18th cent.)³⁴
- Harvard, Houghton Library, *Syr. 168* (18th cent.)³⁵
- London, *Brit. Libr. Or 4526* (1726-1727)³⁶
- Mingana *Syr. 122* (1670)*
- Mingana *Syr. 502* (1836)*
- Mingana *Syr. 524* (ca. 1550) (fragmentary)*
- Notre-Dame de Sémances 97 (1689/90) †

³² Mimouni, "Vies de la Vierge," 239-42. Several of the Mss from Mimouni's lists were mentioned earlier by Anton Baumstark in *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluss der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Webers Verlag, 1922), 69-70 n. 12, 70 n. 1, 99 n. 4. Baumstark was uncertain also about the precise contents of the unpublished Mss.

³³ Mimouni and Geerard (CANT) identify this Ms as "Jacobite," i.e., West Syriac.

³⁴ Mimouni identifies this Ms as West Syriac.

³⁵ Mimouni identifies this Ms as West Syriac.

³⁶ Mimouni and Geerard (CANT) identify this Ms as West Syriac.

Notre-Dame de Sémances 98 (1680) †
 Séert 82 (16th cent.) †
 Teheran, Issayi 18 (1741/42 based on a model from
 1243/1244)³⁷
 Union Theological Seminary, *Syr.* 32 (18th cent.)*
 Urmia 38 (1885) †
 Urmia 43 (1813), now housed at Princeton's Speer Library
 (Clemons 346)³⁸
 Urmia 47 (1885) †
 Vatican, *Syr.* 587 (1917)*
 Vatican, *Syr.* 597 (17th cent.)*

The East Syriac IGT has several identifying features. It eliminates several chapters and there are some transpositions in the order of the material. Essentially, its contents, as found in the more expansive Ms Mingana *Syr.* 122, are as follows: 6:1, 2f; 4:1-2; 5:1-2; 6:1-2c; 14:1-3; 15:1-4; 16:1-2; 19:1-2; 6:3-4; 7:1-2; 6:2e; 7:3-4; 6:2e (continued); 11:1-2; 13:1-2; 12:1-2.³⁹

Recension Sw

The West Syriac *Life of Mary* (=CANT 95) is a complex of biographical material that includes *Prot. Jas.*, the *Vision of Theophilus*, IGT, and *Assum. Vir.*, divided into six separate books—IGT is here entitled “The fourth book concerning the childhood and upbringing of our Lord Jesus Christ.” In 1929, Alphonse Mingana knew of four Mss of this compilation (Mingana *Syr.* 5, 48, 39, and

³⁷ For a full description see Alain Desreumaux, “Un manuscrit syriaque de Téhéran contenant des apocryphes” (*Apocrypha* 5 [1994]), 137-64.

³⁸ Mimouni lists Urmia 43 as East Syriac but the Princeton Ms as West Syriac. Baumstark mentions Urmia 43 twice in his book, both under IGT (*Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 69-70 n. 12) and under Budge's *Life of Mary* (*ibid.*, 70 n. 1), but in the latter case he says “eine Verbindung nur mit dem Thomasevangelium liegt vielleicht in Urm 43 vor.” A. E. Goodman, “The Jenks Collection of Syriac Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge” (*JRAS* [1939]), 598-99 describes the Ms and says it is of the same recension as the Budge text; this identification is confirmed by my own investigation.

³⁹ Budge's Alqoṣ Ms and the third of the Se Mss, Mingana *Syr.* 502, lack 4:2; 5:1-2; 6:1-2; and 19:1-2.

114, the latter two in Garshûni).⁴⁰ Unfortunately, Mingana chose to publish only the *Vision* material and few scholars have returned to the collection to examine it in more detail. Simon Mimouni, again, listed all of the Mss known to him, though with some infelicities. Charles Naffah corrected some of these in his detailed discussion of the available sources and attempted also to trace a transmission history of all the Life of Mary materials (Sa, Se, and Sw).⁴¹ My own investigations have supplemented and clarified Mimouni's and Naffah's work, resulting in the following list of West Syriac *Life of Mary* Mss (again, those marked with * were not known to Mimouni; those marked with † have yet to be evaluated because they are lost or merely unavailable for study):

Cambridge, *Add. 2001* (1481)
 Charfet, *Fonds Rahmani 42* (1495) * †
 Charfet, *Fonds Rahmani 60* (19th cent.) (book five only) * †
 Diyarbakir 99 (between 1728 and 1731) †⁴²
 Harvard, Houghton Library, *Syr. 35* (16/17th cent.)

⁴⁰ "The Vision of Theophilus, Or the Book of the Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt" (*BJRL* 13 [1929]), 383-474; reprinted in *id.*, *Woodbrooke Studies* fascicle 5 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1931). Complete details of the Mss are provided in *id.*, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., 1933). Mingana discovered another Ms of the text in his collection (no. 560) subsequent to the publication of his article. Prior to Mingana's edition the work had been made known by way of a summary presentation in François Nau, "La version syriaque de la vision de Théophile sur le séjour de la Vierge en Egypte" (*ROC* 15 [1910]), 125-32. The *Vision of Theophilus* also exists as an independent text. See CANT 56 and *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* 2628 for references to various versions. See also Simon Claude Mimouni, "Genèse et évolution des traditions anciennes sur le sort final de Marie. Étude de la tradition littéraire copte" (*Marianum* 42 [1991]), 126-29, and the discussion in Stephen Gero, "Apocryphal Gospels. A Survey of Textual and Literary Problems," in *ANRW* II.25.2, ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (New York: De Gruyter, 1988), 3983-84.

⁴¹ Charles Naffah, "Les 'histoires' syriaques de la Vierge: traditions apocryphes anciennes et récentes" (*Apocrypha* 20 [2009]), 137-88.

⁴² Mimouni lists this Ms as East Syriac, but the catalogue (Addai Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékirkir" [*JA* 10th series 10 (1907)], 402-3) identifies the script as West Syriac.

- Harvard, Houghton Library, *Syr.* 36 (16/17th cent.) (contains only books five and six)
 Harvard, Houghton Library, *Syr.* 39 (1857)
 Harvard, Houghton Library, *Syr.* 59 (1857)*
 Harvard, Houghton Library, *Syr.* 82 (17/18th cent.)
 Harvard, Houghton Library, *Syr.* 129 (17th cent.)*
 Mardin 80 (1728-1731) †⁴³
 Mardin, Dayr Al-Zafaran 393 (20th cent.)
 Mingana *Syr.* 5 (1479)⁴⁴
 Mingana *Syr.* 48 (1906, but copied in part from a manuscript of 1757)
 Mingana *Syr.* 184 (1637)* (contains only the end of book six)
 Mingana *Syr.* 560 (1491)*
 Paris, *Bib. nat.* 377 (1854/1855)*
 Vatican, *Borgia Syr.* 128 (1720) (does not contain book four)
 Vatican, *Syr.* 537 (16th cent.)*
 And four Garshûni Mss: Charfet, *Fonds Rahmani* 48 (15/16th cent.) * †, Mingana *Syr.* 39 (from 1773), the more recent *Syr.* 114, and Vatican, *Syr.* 561 (1683; fragmentary).*

The Sw recension is characterized by a number of omissions. All Mss examined thus far lack ch. 2:5; end prematurely in 6:2d; lack “for thus was his name” in 9:3, sections of 11:2, 13:1, 13:2, and 16:1 (the latter four are found in Mingana *Syr.* 48; their presence in this Ms alone suggests some corruption between *Syr.* 48 and the branch behind P and M); a sentence is missing in 19:1, and part of a sentence in 19:2 (the latter preserved only in three Mss, perhaps again due to corruption). The tradition also features a number of unique readings, the more prominent of which are: the son of Hannān the scribe disturbs Jesus’ pools “when he saw his mercy” (3:1); those cursed in 5:1 shall not see “life” rather than “their torment”; “Levite” replaces “Pharisee” in the list of offices in 6:2c; the raised Zeno defends the wrongly-accused Jesus by saying, “rather so-and-so threw me down” (9:3); and Jesus’ cloak in 11:2 is

⁴³ Again, Mimouni lists this Ms as East Syriac, but the catalogue (Addai Scher, “Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque de l’évêché chaldéen de Mardin” [*Revue des Bibliothèques* 18 (1908)], 86) identifies the script as West Syriac.

⁴⁴ Mimouni erroneously gives a date of 1790 (1479=“1790 of the Greeks”). Geerard (CANT p. 73) makes the same error.

identified as “his *sticharion*” (the liturgical vestments in eastern churches). Some readings in Sw result from error: for example, “teach him to bless” (4:2) is rendered “teach him to be humble,” the verb for “I shall lay aside” (6:2b) is misspelled, and the restoration of those whom Jesus cursed (“And those who had fallen under the curse lived and rose up”) in 8:2 becomes a command by Jesus (“And let those who had fallen under the curse rise”).

Additional Sources for the Syriac IGT

Mention should be made also of two Arabic translations related to the Syriac tradition. The first is *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (CANT 58; BHO 619). This gospel has been known since its publication by Henry Sike in 1697.⁴⁵ For his edition, Sike used a Ms now held at the Bodleian Library (*Oxon. Bodl. Or. 350*).⁴⁶ This is the only version of the text so far to have been translated into English, though quite some time ago.⁴⁷ Even Peeters’ French translation follows Sike’s Ms, as he was unable to obtain a copy of Vat. Syr. 159 before his translation went to press.⁴⁸ A third Ms (Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, *codex orientalis 387 [32]*; dated to 1299) was examined and translated into Italian by Mario E. Provera in 1973.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Henry Sike, *Evangelium Infantiae; vel, Liber Apocryphus de Infantia Salvatoris; ex manuscripto edidit, ac Latina versione et notis illustravit Henricus Sike* (Utrecht: Halman, 1697).

⁴⁶ Charles Genequand, “Vie de Jésus en Arabe,” in *Écrits Apocryphes Chrétiens*, vol. 1, ed. François Bovon and Pierre Geoltrain (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 209.

⁴⁷ Alexander Walker, *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1870) (= *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, vol. 16, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Vol. 16), 100-24; and Benjamin Harris Cowper, *The Apocryphal Gospels and Other Documents Relating to the History of Christ*, 4th ed., 1867 (reprint: London: Frederic Norgate, 1874), 170-216. Both translations were made from the Latin translation of Sike’s text in Tishendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 181-209.

⁴⁸ Peeters, *Évangiles Apocryphes*, lvi.

⁴⁹ *Il Vangelo arabo dell’infanzia secondo il Ms. Laurenziano orientale (n. 387)* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1973). See also the discussion and French translation of the new Ms by Genequand (“Vie de Jésus en Arabe,” 201-38). A number of other manuscripts are known, but these have not been edited or evaluated. See George Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen Arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica

According to Charles Genequand, the three published *Arab. Gos. Inf.* Mss represent three independent translations of the East Syriac *Life of Mary*: the Florence manuscript, which follows the Syriac text most closely but does not include IGT, Peeters' Ms with IGT appended, and Sike's Ms with a different version of IGT (it has additional chapters and differences in sequence) fully incorporated into the text.⁵⁰ The three East Syriac *Life of Mary* Mss that include the IGT stories seem to reflect another independent effort to combine the tales with the Marian apocrypha.

The second Arabic text is a separate translation of IGT alone. Sergio Noja presented an edition of the text from a Ms from Milan (Biblioteca Ambrosiana, *G 11 sup*), first in a French translation in 1990, then in an edition of the Arabic original in 1991.⁵¹ In form it follows the shorter recension of the early versions, but lacks sections from chapters 6 and 7 and the entire chapters 12, 15 and 19. It also includes two additional stories: Jesus and the Dyer and a tale similar to Jesus Turns Children into Swine (both of which are found in the East Syriac *Life of Mary* and *Arab. Gos. Inf.* as well as other infancy story collections).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RECENSIONS

It is undeniable that P (along with M) represents, now, the best source published thus far for the Syriac tradition of IGT. It contains the chapters and parts of chapters missing in W and G, and, as illustrated by the significant agreement between the four Mss, does not appear to have undergone much alteration over the centuries, despite the fact that W and G antedate P and M by a millennium. Some questions remain, however, about P and M's relationship to W and G and to other branches of the Syriac IGT tradition.

Vaticana, 1944), 225-27 for a description of some unpublished Mss with portions in Syriac and Garshūni.

⁵⁰ Genequand, "Vie de Jésus en Arabe," 208.

⁵¹ "L'Évangile arabe apocryphe de Thomas, de la 'Biblioteca Ambrosiana' de Milan (*G 11 sup*)," in *Biblische und Judistische Studien. Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi*, Judentum und Umwelt 29, ed. Angelo Vivian (Paris: Peter Lang, 1990), 681-90; *id.*, "À propos du texte arabe d'un évangile apocryphe de Thomas de la Ambrosiana de Milan," in *YAD-NAMA: in memoria di Alessandro Bausani*, vol. 1, ed. Biancamana Scarcia Amoretti and Lucia Rostagno (Rome: Bardi Editore, 1991), 335-41.

Alain Desreumaux and Charles Naffah have argued that the Syriac IGT never existed as a separate text from the Life of Mary compilations. Naffah's developmental theory holds that the Life of Mary compilation as it stands in the early Mss (W and G) grew to become the six-book West Syriac collection on the one hand and the lengthy East Syriac collection on the other.⁵² Desreumaux has spoken out in support of Naffah's position. He argues that the compiling of texts observable in G and W, as well as in a fragmentary palimpsest edited by Agnes Smith Lewis (the latter featuring only *Prot. Jas.* and *Assum. Vir.*),⁵³ indicates that, "en syriaque ces différent épisodes n'existent jamais à l'état séparé, mais sont toujours des chapitres d'une *Histoire* suivie de la *Vierge*, de sa naissance à sa mort."⁵⁴ However, P and M—the former with IGT appended to *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, the latter featuring IGT alone—cast doubt on such a theory. Desreumaux accounts for these Mss as texts that have "broken off" from the Life of Mary tradition. But there is reason to believe that P and M are evidence for Syriac IGT circulating independently as a distinct text up until the nineteenth century.

First, P and M cannot be excerpts from the two later compilations. The West Syriac *Life of Mary* collection features *Prot. Jas.*, IGT, the *Vision of Theophilus*, and *Assum. Vir.* divided into roughly six books (some Mss divide *Assum. Vir.* into "book six" and an epilogue). Each of the texts has its own title and a number—IGT, for example, is named "book four." Two of the witnesses for the West Syriac *Life of Mary* feature only IGT: Houghton Library, *Syr. 59* and the closely-related Paris, *Bib. nat. 377*. But these two have indeed "broken off" from the *Life of Mary* tradition as their titles retain the identification of the text as "book four" of a collection and they share the omissions and unique readings characteristic of the Sw recension (noted above). Sw also lacks most of P and M's idiosyncratic readings (including the much-expanded ch. 9, and the readings listed in the appendix under "Significant readings shared by P and M" and "Corruptions in P

⁵² Naffah, "Les 'histoires' syriaques de la Vierge," 140-59.

⁵³ *Apocrypha Syriaca. The Protevangelium Jacobi and Transitus Mariae with Texts from the Septuagint, the Corân, the Pesbitta, and from a Syriac Hymn in a Syro-Arabic Palimpsest of the fifth and other centuries* (Studia Sinaitica No. XI) (London: C. J. Clay, 1902).

⁵⁴ Desreumaux, "Deux anciens manuscrits syriaques," 119.

and M”), and it contains many of the readings from W and G lacking in P and M (see “Significant readings in W and G absent in P and M”). There is significant agreement also in those readings from P and M that may be more original than their parallels in W and G, indicating that Sw can be helpful in adjudicating between readings in the Sa recension.

As for the East Syriac *Life of Mary*, the evidence suggests that IGT was added late to that compilation. The best witness to *Arab. Gos. Inf.* (Provera’s Florence Ms) is a translation of a version of the East Syriac *Life of Mary* that did not contain IGT; and the majority of the East Syriac *Life of Mary* Mss also lack IGT, suggesting that its presence in the three remaining Mss may be a later addition to the tradition. In addition, the form of IGT included in Sike’s *Arab. Gos. Inf.* is much different from that found in Se; so too is the Arabic IGT.

Se (from Mingana, <i>Syr. 122</i>)	Sike’s <i>Arab. Gos. Inf.</i>	Arabic IGT
IGT ch. 6:1, 2f	IGT ch. 16 = Sike 43	IGT 2
ch. 4	ch. 9 = Sike 44	ch. 3
ch. 5	ch. 11 = Sike 45	ch. 4
ch. 6:1-2c	ch. 2-3 = Sike 46	ch. 5
ch. 14	ch. 4 = Sike 47	ch. 6:1, 2, 2a, 2f
ch. 15	ch. 6:1, 2f-4	ch.7:1, 4
ch. 16	7:2-3 = Sike 48	ch. 9
ch. 19:1-2	ch. 14 = Sike 49	Jesus turns children
ch. 6:3-4	ch. 19 = Sike 50-53	into animals
ch. 7:1-2		ch. 11
ch. 6:2e(a)		ch. 13
ch. 7:3-4		ch. 14
ch. 6:2e(b)		ch. 16
ch. 11		Jesus and the Dyer
ch. 13		
ch. 12		

Clearly, P and M cannot have “broken off” from the East Syriac *Life of Mary* nor from its West Syriac counterpart. Nor could they have developed out of the branch of the tradition found in W and G, for these two Mss lack many sections of the text found in P

and M. The two Mss could only have become detached from the Syriac Life of Mary tradition if they derive from a branch distinct from any of the witnesses that are currently extant. The evidence instead shows that there have been a number of independent attempts to join the Syriac IGT to Marian apocrypha. The Smith-Lewis palimpsest features only *Prot. Jas.* and *Assum. Vir.* To this collection was added IGT to give us W and G. In the East Syriac milieu new stories of the infant Jesus were combined with *Prot. Jas.* and *Assum. Vir.* to form the East Syriac *Life of Mary*; at a later stage IGT was added to create the three Se Mss, while elsewhere a number of chapters from IGT were translated into Arabic and added to *Arab. Gos. Inf.* to form Sike's Ms. In the West Syriac milieu *Prot. Jas.*, the *Vision of Theophilus*, IGT, and *Assum. Vir.* were combined to form the West Syriac *Life of Mary*. Throughout all of this activity, IGT circulated independently, drawn upon by all of the participants and available in the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries in two Mss: P and M. Despite the differences between the various forms of Syriac IGT, the commonalities in language indicate that they are all witnesses to a single translation of the text from Greek made in or prior to the fifth century.

A SYRIAC ORIGIN FOR IGT?

The introduction to Peeters' volume of infancy gospels details his theory of Syro-Arabian origin for the various infancy gospel traditions—namely, *Arab. Gos. Inf.*, *Arm. Gos. Inf.*, and IGT. According to the theory, all of the childhood stories found in these texts derive from a larger collection of legends assembled in Syriac in the fifth century. The IGT material, he claimed, became detached from the collection and was then translated into Greek to form Ga and Gb (the only Greek forms known to Peeters at the time), and into Latin to form LV, LM, and LT. Unfortunately, Peeters did not offer any proof for his assertion of Syriac composition for IGT; he declared only that an inverse relationship from Greek to Syriac would not work.⁵⁵ He did, however, draw attention to variant readings from one particular Ms of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* (Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 1652; =Tischendorf's D Ms) which he attributes to mistranslations from Syriac. But, even if found sufficiently compelling, these readings are at best proof of

⁵⁵ *Évangiles apocryphes*, xvii-xx.

transmission of *Ps.-Matt.*'s IGT material from Syriac to Latin, but not Syriac composition of IGT.

Peeters was not the first scholar to argue that IGT was composed in Syriac. Even before the publication of the first Syriac Ms, Michel Nicolas argued for Syrian origin of the text. His *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes* outlines Nicolas' belief that all the infancy gospels were written by Syrian Jewish-Christians.⁵⁶ As proof he cited IGT's attribution to Thomas⁵⁷ and the low quality of its Greek which, he claimed, owes itself to slavish translation from Syriac.⁵⁸ In 1867 Benjamin Harris Cowper included a translation of Wright's recently published Ms (W) as an appendix in his *Apocryphal Gospels* collection.⁵⁹ Cowper believed the Syriac tradition to be important due to its antiquity and its agreements with LV. He suggested, as a result, that IGT may have been composed in Syriac.⁶⁰ A Syrian origin was postulated next by Jean Variot in his comprehensive 1878 study *Les évangiles apocryphes*.⁶¹ Using the evidence from W, Variot built on Nicolas' theory, adding his opinion that W demonstrates signs of an earlier tradition—it has fewer errors than the Greek and shows a concern for the law (see ch. 6:2b below).⁶²

Peeters' contribution to this argument attracted criticism from subsequent scholars. In an early review of Peeters' volume, Montague Rhodes James wrote, "I do not see that he dismisses the idea that the parent of all the extant texts of Thomas was in Greek. This must be regarded as practically certain, in view of knowledge of it shewn by Hippolytus and perhaps by Irenaeus."⁶³ Aurelio de Santos Otero credited Peeters' lack of confidence in a Greek

⁵⁶ *Études sur les évangiles apocryphes* (Paris: Michel Lévy Frères, 1866), 290-4.

⁵⁷ Nicolas, *Études*, 199.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 331.

⁵⁹ *The Apocryphal Gospels and Other Documents Relating to the History of Christ*, 4th ed., 1867 (reprint: London: Frederic Norgate, 1874), 448-56.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 128, cf. lxxii.

⁶¹ *Les évangiles apocryphes: Histoire littéraire, forme primitive, transformations* (Paris: Berche & Tralin, 1878).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 46-7.

⁶³ Review of *Évangiles apocryphes*, vol. 2, by Paul Peeters (*JTS* 16 [1915]), 269. Though note that it is now believed Hippolytus was referring to the *Gospel of Thomas*, not IGT.

original to the state of the available Greek Mss, though de Santos failed to provide convincing examples of readings in the Syriac Mss resulting from corruption of a Greek Vorlage.⁶⁴ Stephen Gero objected to Peeters' refusal to offer evidence for his theory,⁶⁵ and Oscar Cullman merely called Peeters' theory "untenable."⁶⁶ While the majority of scholars still believe IGT's language of origin to be Greek, Peeters' Syro-Arabian theory was entertained by French scholars for some time,⁶⁷ and a Syriac original has been mentioned at least as a possibility by English, American, and German scholars.⁶⁸

More direct challenges to Peeters' Syriac-composition theory have been offered by Sever Voicu and in my work on the text. In his expansive 1998 study of IGT,⁶⁹ Voicu lists three indications in the text of Greek, not Syriac, composition⁷⁰: 1. the letter speculation section in ch. 6:4 features a number of neologisms which may be formed naturally in Greek but not in Semitic

⁶⁴ *Das kirchenslavische*, 148-51.

⁶⁵ "The Infancy Gospel of Thomas," 48 n. 1.

⁶⁶ "The Infancy Story of Thomas," in *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1: *Gospels and Related Writings*, rev. ed., ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher, trans. R. McL. Wilson (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1991), 439.

⁶⁷ See Émile Amann, "Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament," in *DBSup* vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey & Ané, 1928), 485-6; Pierre Saintyves, "De la nature des évangiles apocryphes et de leur valeur hagiographique" (*RHR* 106 [1932]), 436; Christian Bigaré, "L'achèvement des Écritures," in *Introduction à la Bible*, vol. 5, eds. Pierre Grelot and Christian Bigaré (Tournai: Desclée, 1977), 195. Also, Charles H. Henkey, "Bible, Apocrypha of the New Testament," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), 405 mentions Peeters' work as a counter theory to second-century composition.

⁶⁸ See James Keith Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 69; Gerhard Schneider, *Apokryphe Kindheitsevangelien* (New York: Herder, 1995), 38-39; Montague Rhodes James, "The Gospel of Thomas" (*JTS* 30 [1928]), 51-4. Despite his earlier assessment of the theory of Syriac composition, James hoped the recovery of additional lines from LV would determine whether or not Peeters was correct. Additional lines have since been deciphered but they have made no impact on the discussion.

⁶⁹ "Verso il testo primitivo dei Παιδικὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ 'Racconti dell'infanzia del Signore Gesù'" (*Apocrypha* 9 [1998]), 7-95.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 53-55.

one would expect, but performing his own translation of a Greek version of IGT.

Now that the full text of Peeter's Ms is available, it is worthwhile to re-visit Peeters' theory of Syriac composition. Alas for Peeters, the full publication of P presents no compelling reason to doubt that IGT was composed in Greek. In my initial work on this issue, the data were drawn only from those sections of Gs that had parallels in the Syriac tradition available at the time—i.e., the verses for which there were no parallel in Ms W were not included in the analysis. The publication of P offers a more complete version of the text (i.e., the addition of all of chs. 6-8, 14, and 15); but, the inclusion of the new material would change the outcome of the investigation only in minor, statistically-insignificant ways. However, more depth can be added to the comparison of Syriac IGT 19 with Old Syriac Luke 2:41-52. Included for comparison also are readings from the *Diatessaron*, which should be considered a possible source for the Syriac IGT. Unfortunately, very little of the *Diatessaron*'s story of Jesus in the Temple is extant in Syriac. Ephrem's *Commentary on the Gospel of the Mixed*, preserved in Syriac and Armenian,⁷⁶ includes only portions of Luke 2:48 (in 2,7 and 3,16), 49 (3,16), and 51 (5,2). Other sources for the *Diatessaron* exist, but only the Arabic and Persian are likely to be syntactically close to the Syriac and even these translations are believed to have been vulgarized. Complicating the issue also is the fact that Old Syriac Luke contains Diatessaronic readings.⁷⁷ Unless and until a complete Syriac edition of the *Diatessaron* is discovered, it is impossible to determine whether or not the Syriac IGT could have used the harmony. For now we must rely on the readings available to us in Syriac.

First, several readings in P (and sometimes M) absent in W have parallels in Old Syriac Luke: ܡܫܬܚܬܐ 19,8 (om. WG); ܡܫܬܚܬܐ 19,9 (ܬ W, G not extant); ܡܫܬܚܬܐ 19,12 (PMG: ܡܫܬܚܬܐ W) ; ܡܫܬܚܬܐ 19,12-13 (om. MWG); ܡܫܬܚܬܐ 19,21 (om. W; G

⁷⁶ For the Syriac text see Louis Leloir, *Saint Éphrem, Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709). Folios Additionnels*, CBM 8(b) (Leuven: Peeters, 1990).

⁷⁷ For details on the interrelationships of the *Diatessaron* witnesses see William L. Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron: Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship*, VGSup 25 (Leiden et al.: E. J. Brill, 1994).

Secondly, comparison between the IGT Mss and the various forms of Syriac Luke show that agreements can be found not only with the Old Syriac text but at times with the Peshitta and/or the Harklean version against the Old Syriac, particularly in sentence structure. See, for example, Luke 2:43 (noting the similarities between W, G, and Harklean Luke):

Finally, despite P and M's greater agreements with the Syriac versions of Luke, there remain still a number of readings unique to the IGT Mss:

19,4 ܐܕܒܐ (“remained”; IGT, though note ܐܕܒܐ in P) vs. ܐܕܒܐ (“tarried”; SyrLuke v. 43)

19,6 ܠܬܠܡܢܐ (ܠܬܠܡܢܐ PM) ܠܬܠܡܢܐ (“halting-place”; IGT) vs. ܠܬܠܡܢܐ ܘܢܐ ܠܬܠܡܢܐ (“resting-place”; Old Syr and Peshitta) and ܠܬܠܡܢܐ ܠܬܠܡܢܐ (“journey”; Harklean)

19,6-7 ܠܬܠܡܢܐ ܕܬܠܡܢܐ ܕܬܠܡܢܐ (“among their kinsfolk”; IGT and Harklean!) vs. ܠܬܠܡܢܐ ܕܬܠܡܢܐ ܕܬܠܡܢܐ ܕܬܠܡܢܐ (“among the people of their company and among their relatives”; Old Syr) and ܠܬܠܡܢܐ ܕܬܠܡܢܐ (“among their relatives”; Peshitta)

19,9 ܠܬܠܡܢܐ (“astonished”; IGT) vs. ܠܬܠܡܢܐ (“amazed”; SyrLuke v.47 though ܠܬܠܡܢܐ appears in the next sentence)

19,15 ܠܬܠܡܢܐ (IGT) vs. ܠܬܠܡܢܐ (SyrLuke v. 49; *Diatessaron* 3,16) both variants of “to be”

19,21 the element ܐܠܬܠܡܢܐ is common to all four Mss but lacking in all versions of SyrLuke v. 52

The evidence indicates that Syriac IGT does not directly incorporate Syriac Luke in any known form. There is much variation in the IGT Mss, though it does appear that greater harmonization with Syriac Luke (perhaps in the Peshitta form) occurs in the later Mss (P and M). Similar phenomena are observable in the Greek IGT Mss; they too do not agree with any particular family of Greek Luke Mss and show various degrees of harmonization with the canonical text. Nevertheless, the departures from Old Syriac Luke, particularly in the earliest Mss (W and G), suggest that the creator of Syriac IGT is either freely composing his text without a version of Syriac Luke before him (or without a known version of Syriac Luke before him), or he is translating a Greek form of IGT 19 and, by extension, his entire text is a translation from Greek. Nevertheless, the best evidence for IGT’s language of composition remains the results obtained from applying the methodology for determining when a Greek text is a translation from a Semitic original. And that methodology indeed indicates that IGT was composed in Greek.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

The diplomatic edition of Ms P that follows features an apparatus containing variant readings from W and G—the two Ms that most closely resemble P and that remain our earliest witnesses to the

tradition—and another unpublished Ms (M) that is very similar to P. Budge's Ms A is not included as it should be examined first in relation to the unpublished Se Mss. Diacritics and vowels are not retained in the edition, nor for other Mss in the apparatus, unless they can affect meaning. The original punctuation also has not been retained, nor have abbreviations. No attempt has been made to emend P where it appears to be deficient; however, some corrections have been incorporated into the English translation (placed between < >) where the text is otherwise incoherent, and some words (placed between []) have been added for clarification. These are all acknowledged in the accompanying notes. Suggested emendations, false readings, etc. made by previous editors (Wright, Peeters, and Baars) are provided in the apparatus and notes. Chapter and verse numberings derive from the standard usage for Ga.

Sigla

P	Vatican <i>Syr. 159</i>
M	Mingana <i>Syr. 105</i>
W	London, British Library, <i>Add. 14484</i>
G	Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, <i>Syr. 10</i>
Wright	Edition of W by W. Wright
Baars	Collation of G by W. Baars
Peeters	Suggested emendations of P by P. Peeters
Se	Readings from IGT in the East Syriac <i>Life of Mary</i> tradition (offered in the English translation for comparison)
Sw	Readings from IGT in the unpublished West Syriac <i>Life of Mary</i> tradition (offered in the English translation for comparison)

Appendix: Description of the Manuscripts

P Vatican *Syr. 159*, paper, 31.1 × 21.5 cm., 470 fol., 2 col., 1622/1623⁷⁸: fol. 237^r-239^v.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 69-70 n. 12, following Assemani, dates the Ms to 1628/32. Peeters (*Évangiles apocryphes*, xiv) reveals that the section of the Ms containing the infancy material (fol. 231^v-239^v) was transcribed in 1622/1623 (see fol. 231^v, 275^v).

As Peeters reports, the IGT material here is found in Syriac appended, without a new title, to a version of *Arab. Gos. Inf.* in Garshûni. *Arab. Gos. Inf.* begins on fol. 231^v with the title of IGT (in Syriac) but the text of IGT does not begin until fol. 237^r. Two scribal notes (fol. 231^v, 275^v) pinpoint the composition of this section of the Ms to the convent of Mar Cyriacus or of Abu Galeb, near Gargar.⁸⁰ Two other non-canonical texts are contained in the Ms: *Apoc. Paul* (fol. 197f.), and the *Book of Clement* (aka *Apocalypse of Peter*, aka the *Book of the Rolls*) (fol. 228f.). The Ms also contains works by Ephrem and the canonical epistles of James and 1 Timothy. The copyist of IGT commonly abbreviates the third person singular possessive and a few other words, and vowels are employed on rare occasions; neither of these phenomena are signaled in the edition. The Ms has two curious marginalia on fol. 238^v: ܠܠܗܝܢ (from ܠܠܗܝܢ?=his wrapping) near ch. 11 (perhaps a reference to Jesus' hood, ܠܠܗܝܢ, in the story), and ܠܠܗܝܢ ܠܠܗܝܢ ܠܠܗܝܢ (every kor [is] two measures and every measure [is] two loads) near ch. 12.

IGT is complete in the Ms; however, there are a few sections that are blacked out: three cases of what appear to be erasures of dittography (5,6; 6,49 and 9,5), and two lines of text in 7,15-16, the contents of which, fortunately, can be reconstructed from Ms M. There appears to be a case of homoeoteleuton in 19,7-8 and a number of clearly corrupt (signaled in the apparatus by “err.”) and idiosyncratic readings:

Deficiencies in P not present in other Mss (where readings are extant):

- 2,3 ܠܠܗܝܢ ܠܠܗܝܢ P: ܠܠܗܝܢ ܠܠܗܝܢ W
 ܠܠܗܝܢ ܠܠܗܝܢ G ܠܠܗܝܢ ܠܠܗܝܢ
 ܠܠܗܝܢ M
 2,12 ܠܠܗܝܢ ܠܠܗܝܢ P: ܠܠܗܝܢ ܠܠܗܝܢ M ܠܠܗܝܢ
 WG
 2,12 ܠܠܗܝܢ P: ܠܠܗܝܢ MWG

⁷⁹ Stefano Evodio Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codicum Manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 3, *Reliquos Codices Chaldaicos sive Syriacos* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1926), 307-19. The pages originally were numbered 104^r-106^v.

⁸⁰ See Peeters, *Évangiles apocryphes*, xiv.

- 2,14 אֶחָדָם P : אֶחָדָם W אֶחָדָם G (M not extant)
 3,2 רָם P: רָם M om. WG
 4,3 רָם P: רָם MWG
 5,5 post אֶחָדָם add. אֶחָדָם MWG
 5,7 אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם MG אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם W
 6,6 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם MG (W not extant) אֶחָדָם prop.
 Peeters
 6,29 post אֶחָדָם add. אֶחָדָם MW (G not extant)
 6,48 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם M אֶחָדָם legit Peeters (et prop. אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם) (W and G not extant)
 6,49 אֶחָדָם P: pro אֶחָדָם (MWG not extant)
 7,2 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם M אֶחָדָם prop. Peeters אֶחָדָם
 אֶחָדָם G אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם W
 7,3 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם M (W and G not extant)
 7,16 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם MG (W not extant)
 8,2 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם MWG
 9,1 post אֶחָדָם add. אֶחָדָם MWG
 9,4 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם M אֶחָדָם WG
 9,5 אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם M
 אֶחָדָם WG
 9,9 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם M (W and G not extant)
 9,10 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם M אֶחָדָם WG
 13,8 אֶחָדָם PM: אֶחָדָם M om. WG
 14,2 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם M אֶחָדָם W (G not extant)
 15,5 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם M (W and G not extant)
 19,4-5 אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם
 אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם W אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם
 אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם G (M not extant)
 19,17 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם MG אֶחָדָם W
 19,20 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם MW (G not extant)

Significant readings unique to P:

- 4,7 אֶחָדָם P: om. MWG
 5,5 אֶחָדָם P: om. MWG
 5,5 אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם MWG
 6,2 אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם P: om. MW (G not extant)
 6,8 אֶחָדָם אֶחָדָם P: אֶחָדָם W אֶחָדָם G om. M

- There are also a number of corrupt and significant unique readings shared by P and M:

2,8 **ጠገራ** PM : **ጠገራ** W om. G
4,1 **ጠጠጥ** PM : **ጠጠጥ** WG
4,2 **ጠጠጥ** (pro **ጠጠጥ**?) **ጠ** PM : **ጠጠጥ** WG
5,8 **ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ** PM (err.): **ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ** W (G not extant)
6,14 **ጠጠጥ** PM : **ጠጠጥ** WG
6,18 alt. **ጠ** PM : **ጠ** WG
6,26 **ጠ** PM : **ጠ** W (G not extant)
6,35 **ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ** PM : **ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ** G
ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ prop. Peeters om. W
6,42 **ጠጠጥ** PM : **ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ** W **ጠጠጥ** G prop. Peeters
7,2 **ጠጠጥ** (pro **ጠጠጥ**?) (W and G not extant)
7,17 **ጠጠጥ** PM: **ጠጠጥ** WG
8,2 **ጠጠጥ** PM: **ጠጠጥ** WG
9,3 **ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ** (pro **ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ**) PM: **ጠጠጥ ጠጠጥ** G **ጠጠጥ** W

19,6 **ሥዕዕዕ** PM : **ሥዕ** WG

Significant readings shared by P and M:

2,4 **ሥዕዕ** PM: **ሥዕ** WG

2,15 **ሥዕ** PM: om. WG

3,4 **ሥዕ** PM: **ሥዕ** (G) **ሥዕ**
ሥዕ WG

ሥዕ WG

3,4-5 **ሥዕ** P: **ሥዕ** M **ሥዕ** WG

3,5 **ሥዕ** P: **ሥዕ** M **ሥዕ** W
ሥዕ G

5,1 **ሥዕ** P: **ሥዕ** M
om. WG

6,10 **ሥዕ** PM: **ሥዕ** W
G **ሥዕ** W

6,12-13 **ሥዕ** PM: **ሥዕ** W (G not extant)

6,25 **ሥዕ** PM: om. W (G not extant)

6,39 **ሥዕ** P: **ሥዕ** M **ሥዕ** G **ሥዕ**
ሥዕ W

9,7-13 expanded readings (see the text and translation for details)

11,4 **ሥዕ** PM: **ሥዕ** WG

11,5-6 **ሥዕ** M: **ሥዕ** M
(**ሥዕ** M) **ሥዕ**

ሥዕ PM: om. WG

14,1 **ሥዕ** PM: **ሥዕ** W (G not extant)

16,1 **ሥዕ** PM: **ሥዕ** WG

Significant readings in W and G absent in P and M:

2,2 post **ሥዕ** add. **ሥዕ** W, add. **ሥዕ** G

2,7 post **ሥዕ** add. **ሥዕ** (G) **ሥዕ** WG

3,5 post **ሥዕ** add. **ሥዕ** WG

4,8 post **ሥዕ** add. **ሥዕ** (G) **ሥዕ**
WG

11,4 post **ሥዕ** add. **ሥዕ** WG

19,2 post **ሥዕ** add. **ሥዕ** WG

19,18 post **ሥዕ** add. **ሥዕ** WG

2,12 **ሙሉ** PM (cf. Gs: “with a shout”): om. WG
 5,8 **ኃይል** PM (cf. Gs, Geo and Eth) : om. W (G not extant)
 6,27-28 **እና ሁሉም ጊዜ ይፀናታል** PM (cf. Gs, LM): om.
 WG
 13,5-6 **የሕይወት ጥንቅቄውን በማስተርፋት የሚያስቀመጡትን ሰዎች**
በሕይወት ያለውን ጥንቅቄ P (cf. Gs, LM, Ir): **የሕይወት ጥንቅቄ**
የሕይወት ጥንቅቄ M om. WG
 15,2 **በረከት** PM (cf. Gs, “with flattery”; LM, “to coax him”):
 om. W (G not extant)
 16,6 **የሕይወት ጥንቅቄ** (M) **የሕይወት ጥንቅቄ** PM (cf. Gs, LM,
 Eth): om. WG
 19,8 **ሙሉ** PM (cf. Gs, Eth): om. WG

2,3 **ጠጠር** PM: **ጠጠር** G om. W
2,9 **ጠጠር** PM: **ጠጠር** G **ጠጠር** W
2,9 **ጠጠር** PMG: om. W
2,11 **ጠጠር** PMG: **ጠጠር** W
2,13 **ጠጠር** PM: **ጠጠር** P: **ጠጠር** M **ጠጠር**
ጠጠር G **ጠጠር** W
3,5 **ጠጠር** PMG: **ጠጠር** W
4,7 **ጠጠር** PMG: om. W
4,8 **ጠጠር** PMG: **ጠጠር** W
6,10 **ጠጠር** PMG: om. W
6,35 **ጠጠር** PM: **ጠጠር** G om. W
6,42 **ጠጠር** PMG: om. W
9,5 **ጠጠር** PMG: **ጠጠር** W
9,6 **ጠጠር** PMG: **ጠጠር** W
9,15 **ጠጠር** PMG: om. W

- 16,3 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMG: om. W
 19,12 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMG: ܠܡܥܠܐ W
 19,17 ܠܡܥܠܐ PG: ܠܡܥܠܐ M om. W
 19,22 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMG: om. W

Agreements between PM and W against G:

- 3,5 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMW: ܠܡܥܠܐ G
 4,6 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMW: ܠܡܥܠܐ G
 5,3 ܠܡ PMW: ܠܡ G
 6,43 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMW: ܠܡܥܠܐ G
 9,1 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMW: ܠܡܥܠܐ G
 11,2 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMW: ܠܡܥܠܐ G
 12,1 ܠܡܥܠܐ PW: ܠܡܥܠܐ M ܠܡܥܠܐ G
 12,3 ܠܡܥܠܐ PMW: ܠܡܥܠܐ G

P is clearly related to M. Both Mss present essentially the same text. However, the evidence does not indicate that one Ms is a copy of the other—M is the later Ms but it cannot be a copy of P; both must derive from a common exemplar. Though at some remove in time from W and G, P and M add much to our knowledge of the Syriac tradition, particularly because they present us with a complete text of IGT without the lengthy lacunae found in the earlier Mss. Even so, it is clear that the Syriac tradition as we know it from all four Mss suffers from three deficiencies: 5:2 ends with “and not to curse” in the early versions and later witnesses; the “even more” Jesus promises to say in 6:2d is absent (see n. 73 below), and ܠܡܥܠܐ in 7,2 (which is corrupt also in Sw).

M Mingana *Syr.* 105, paper, 315 × 212 mm., 263 fol., 2 col., 1832/1833: fol. 27^v-29^v.⁸¹

This unpublished Ms contains the four gospels in the Harklean version with commentary (fol. 41^r-208^v) along with an assortment of treatises. The Ms is important for providing correct readings for material missing or corrupt in P (including the blacked out material in 7,15-16, and a missing sentence in 19,7-8). Of course, the Ms is not perfect; it suffers from some errors of its own, including large omissions due to haplography (2,13-14; 5,2-3; 6,49-51; 12,3 and 19,4-5), and a number of smaller omissions, errors, and corruptions

⁸¹ Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection*, col. 254-61.

(see below). Three corrections have been made, presumably by the copyist, at 6,38; 7,5; and 15,9, and there is occasional use of vowels and abbreviations (principally for the third person singular possessive).

Deficiencies in M not present in P (minor omissions, spelling errors, and corruptions):

- 2,2 ܠܬܝ PWG: om. M
- 2,12 ܡܚܦ P: ܡܚܦܐ G coni. Wright ܡܚܦܐ (uide adnot.) W
om. M
- 3,5 ܫܡܥܥܝܬܐ P: ܫܡܥܥܝܬܐ M ܫܡܥܥܝܬܐ WG
- 4,4 ,ܡܳܕܳܢܳܬܳܐ PWG: ,ܡܳܕܳܢܳܬܳܐ M
- 4,8 ܝܚܪܝܐ PWG: ܝܚܪܝܐ M
- 5,6 ܐܡܡܝܬܐ PG: ܐܡܡܝܬܐ M ܠܡܝܬܐ W
- 6,8 ܠܦܬܐ ܠܐܬܐ P: ܠܐܬܐ W ܠܐܬܐ G om. M
- 12 ܠܡܳܕܳܬܳܐ ܫܳܢ PW: om. M (G not extant)
- 6,41 ܝܬܐ PWG: ܬܐ M
- 6,55 ܡܠܝܬܐ P: ܡܠܝܬܐ M (W and G not extant)
- 6,55 ܡܠܝܬܐ P: ܡܠܝܬܐ M (W and G not extant)
- 7,6 ܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ P: ܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ (W and G not extant)
- 7,15-16 (apparatus) ܠܐ ܝܬܐ M (pro ܠܡܝܬܐ ?) (P illeg.,
W and G not extant)
- 7,18 ܠ PWG: ܠܐ M
- 9, 11 ܡܠܝܬܐ ܠܐ P: ܡܠܝܬܐ ܠܐ M ܡܠܝܬܐ ܠܐ W
ܡܠܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ G
- 13,3 ܡܠܝܬܐ P: ܡܠܝܬܐ M ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ W ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ
ܡܠܝܬܐ G
- 14,2 ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ P: ܡܠܝܬܐ M
ܡܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ W (G not extant)
- 15,1 ܡܠܝܬܐ PW: om. M (G not extant)
- 19,3 ܡܠܝܬܐ PWG: ܡܠܝܬܐ M
- 19,11 ܠܝܬܐ P: ܠܝܬܐ M ܠܝܬܐ W (G not extant)

W London, British Library, *Add. 14484*, vellum, 10.5 × 8.5 inches, 36 fol., 2 col., 6th cent.: fol. 14^v-18^v.⁸²

First published by William Wright in 1865, IGT is found here as part of a complex of Mary-related texts, beginning with *Prot. Jas.* at ch. 27 (fol. 12^r-14^v) and ending with *Assum. Vir.* (fol. 18^v-47^r). Ms G features the same arrangement of texts. IGT is incomplete in the Ms: it lacks several entire verses (6:3-4, 7:1-3, 8:2, and 15:3-4), parts of verses are missing, likely due to haplography (6,5-6.18.27-28.31-34.35), and several minor omissions are observable (6,10.37; 11,6-7; 15,2). There are a few notable scribal errors: the copyist himself has signaled a spoonerism with corrector's dots in 2,12 (ﻛﻮﻓﻮ); there are three corruptions in 2,11, 2,13, and 5,3; and Joseph is written instead of Jesus in 6,9. Note also the numerous agreements between G and PM, at least some of which point to inferior readings in W.

G Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, *Syr. 10*, parchment, 26.5 × 21.5 cm, 37 fol., 2 col., 6th cent.: fol. 1^v-4^v.⁸³

The details of G cannot be found in any of the Göttingen catalogues; fortunately, Baars and Heldermaun have supplied the information. The Ms is said to have come from the Sinai, likely from St. Catherine's Monastery,⁸⁴ the same location as a few Greek witnesses to IGT. As noted above, Alain Desreumaux recently demonstrated that several of the newly discovered fragmentary Mss from St. Catherine's (M26N and SP 78) belong to this Ms. The Göttingen pages of IGT suffer from some minor damage: in the title; 2,1.7; 6,37; and fol. 2^r has a small hole in the right hand column made before writing. G appeared in previous scholarship in Baars' collation (some errors of which are signaled in the apparatus in 2,2; 6,9.15.39; 7,18; 9,15; 11,2.4; 12,3; 16,5; 19,3) and in another collation made for Sever Voicu by Frederic Rilliet (who mistakenly reported that the Ms contained ch. 15).⁸⁵

⁸² William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838* (London: British Museum, 1870), 98-9.

⁸³ Baars and Heldermaun, "Neue Materiellen," 194-7.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 192 n. 8.

⁸⁵ See Voicu, "Verso," 89-90.

Significant readings unique to G:

- 3,2 ስቃር PM: ስቃር W ስቃር G
3,5 ስቃር PMW: ስቃር G
4,6 ስቃር PMW: ስቃር G
5,3 ስቃር PMW: ስቃር G
7,2 ስቃር P: ስቃር M ስቃር prop. Peeters ስቃር
ስቃር G ስቃር ስቃር ስቃር W
7,16 ስቃር ስቃር ስቃር P: ስቃር ስቃር
ስቃር ስቃር M ስቃር ስቃር
ስቃር G (W not extant)
9,3 ስቃር (pro ስቃር) PM: ስቃር G ስቃር W
9,11 ante ስቃር add. ስቃር G
19,2 ስቃር PM: ስቃር W ስቃር G om. W
19,3 ስቃር PM: ስቃር W ስቃር G

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TEXT AND TRANSLATION

A story about the childhood and upbringing of the Lord Jesus Christ and about the wonders which he performed in that time.¹

2² 1 Now when the boy Jesus Christ was five years old, he was playing at the ford of streams of water. And he was catching the waters³ and directing them in channels and establishing them into pools.⁴ He was making the waters become clear and bright.⁵

2 Taking soft clay from the wet ground, he molded⁶ twelve birds. It was the Sabbath and many children were with him.

3 But one of the Jews had seen him⁷ making these things and went to his father Joseph⁸ and incited <him>⁹ against Jesus, and said to him¹⁰: “On the Sabbath he molded clay and fashioned clay birds,¹¹ something that is not lawful on the Sabbath.”

¹ M lacks “the Lord.” In P, the title precedes the Garshûni infancy material but it appears directly before the IGT text in M. W and G have “The childhood of the Lord Jesus.” G, having suffered some damage here, appears to add “Christ” (cf. the explicit).

² The Syriac and other early versions lack ch. 1 of the Greek text.

³ W and G have “and was catching and confining the waters.”

⁴ For “establishing them into pools” W has only “and making them enter pools.” M and G have the lengthier “and making them enter in channels and establishing them (G: by them) into pools.”

⁵ W and G have “pure and virtuous.” Both of these words share the same root, suggesting perhaps that the second is a corruption.

⁶ P has “and he molded.”

⁷ W and G add “with the children,” a reading found also in Sw as well as Gs, Geo, Eth, and LV.

⁸ W and G have “told Joseph.”

⁹ P and M have a feminine object here.

¹⁰ G lacks “and incited him against Jesus, and said to him,” perhaps due to scribal error.

¹¹ W simply has “and made birds.”

ከህይወቱ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
ከህይወቱ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት

12 የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
2 5 የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
3 የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
10 የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት

PMWG

Titulus የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
<የሆነው> ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
M

2, 1 የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
<የሆነው> ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
PWG: የሆነው M

2 የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
PWG: የሆነው M et legit Baars post ስህተት add. የሆነው W,
add. ስህተት G

3 የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
PWG: om. M የሆነው PMG: የሆነው W
የሆነው P: የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው
የሆነው M የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው
PM: የሆነው G om. W

4 የሆነው ይህ ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት ስህተት
PG: የሆነው M የሆነው W የሆነው PMG: om. W
PMG: የሆነው W የሆነው PWG: የሆነው M የሆነው PM:
የሆነው WG

5 የሆነው PM: የሆነው W የሆነው G የሆነው PMW: የሆነው G

6 post ስህተት add. የሆነው W, add. የሆነው G

7 የሆነው P: የሆነው M የሆነው WG የሆነው PM: የሆነው
WG post የሆነው add. የሆነው [የሆነው <የሆነው> G] የሆነው WG
የሆነው PM: የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው የሆነው
G የሆነው W የሆነው PMW: የሆነው <የሆነው> G 7-8 የሆነው
PM: የሆነው WG

8 የሆነው — የሆነው : om. G (haplogr.) የሆነው PM (err.): የሆነው W

9 የሆነው PM: የሆነው G የሆነው W post የሆነው add. የሆነው super
lin. M የሆነው PMG: om. W

4 Joseph came and rebuked him, and said to him: “Why are you making these things in this way?”¹² Then Jesus clapped his hands noisily¹³ and made the birds fly away before these things that he said.¹⁴ While they were rising, he said to them¹⁵: “Go, fly, and be¹⁶ mindful of me, living ones.” And these birds went away and flew,¹⁷ twittering.

5 But when that Pharisee saw [it] he was amazed¹⁸ and went and told his friends.

3 1 The son of Hannān the scribe was also with Jesus, and he took a willow¹⁹ branch and broke down the pools and let the waters escape²⁰ that Jesus had gathered together, and dried up their pools.

¹² For “in this way” M, W, and G have “on the Sabbath,” a reading supported by Sw and Gs, Geo, Eth, and LV.

¹³ W and G (along with Sw) omit “noisily.” Gs has “with a shout.”

¹⁴ W has “that they said,” though Wright suspects “that he said” is the correct reading. Gs and Geo have “in front of everyone,” which is similar to Sw’s “before all the people.”

¹⁵ W omits “while they were rising”; G is a partial witness to the reading but is corrupt with: “while they were rising and he said.” M breaks off here and resumes after Jesus’ command to the birds.

¹⁶ P erroneously has the verb in the feminine here.

¹⁷ W and G (along with Sw) omit “and flew.”

¹⁸ W adds “greatly.”

¹⁹ G has the synonym **כסא** whereas P, M, and W have **כסא**.

²⁰ W has “leaked out and broke down and let the waters escape.” G has “leaked and broke down the waters.” The same reading is found in Sw.

13. ከፊት ምን ዓይነት ጥያቄዎች ሊገኙ ይችላሉ?
የሥራ ጥያቄዎች ለሥራ ስራዎች ሊገኙ ይችላሉ፡፡
የሥራ ጥያቄዎች ለሥራ ስራዎች ሊገኙ ይችላሉ፡፡

[illegible]

2 Jesus said to him when he saw what had happened²¹: “Without roots shall be your branches²² and your fruit shall dry up like a branch²³ torn off²⁴ by the wind.”²⁵

3 And that boy withered suddenly.

4 1 Again Jesus was going with his parents,²⁶ and a boy came along running and knocked him to the ground.²⁷ Jesus said to him: “You shall not go on your way.” And suddenly that boy fell down and died. Those²⁸ who saw him cried out and said: “Where was this boy born, that all his words are a deed?”

2 The family of that boy who died approached Joseph his father and were blaming him²⁹ and saying³⁰: “As long as³¹ you have this boy, you cannot dwell with us in the village.”³²

²¹ W has “what he did.”

²² W and G have “shoot.” This agrees better with Gs, the early versions, and Sw.

²³ W adds “of wood.”

²⁴ W and G have “broken.”

²⁵ W and G add “and is no more.” The reading is found also in Sw.

²⁶ W and G have “his father,” which is shared by Gs, the early versions, and Sw.

²⁷ W and G have “struck him with his shoulder” (or perhaps “on his shoulder”), a reading supported by Gs, Geo, LM, Sw, and Se. Perhaps P and M’s reading of “the ground” (𐤊𐤍𐤅) is a corruption of “the arm” (𐤊𐤍).

²⁸ W has “all.”

²⁹ W lacks “and were blaming him.”

³⁰ M, W, and G add “to him.”

³¹ W and G lack “as long as” but the reading is supported in Sw.

³² P and M end the episode here. W and G continue with: “unless you teach him to bless.” This clause is found also in Sw and Se, as well as Gs, Geo, Eth, and LM, though the versions (except Eth) add “and not to curse.”

[illegible][illegible]

5 1 Joseph, having heard these things, approached³³ the boy Jesus and was lecturing him, saying: “Why do you do these things? Why do you say these things?³⁴ The people are suffering and hating you.”³⁵ The boy Jesus said to him: “If the words of my Father were not wise, he would not know [how] to instruct children.” He spoke again: “If these were not children of a sinner,³⁶ they would not be receiving a curse. These shall see³⁷ their torment.” Immediately those who were accusing him were blinded.³⁸

2 Joseph became angry and seized him by his hand³⁹ and pulled it hard.⁴⁰ But [Jesus] answered and said to him: “It is enough that you should be seeking me and finding me; for you have acted ignorantly.”

6 1 A teacher, whose name was Zacchaeus, heard him speaking with

³³ W and G have only “He (G: Joseph) approached” which is reflected in Gs, the early versions, Sw, and Se.

³⁴ M lacks this question, perhaps due to homoeoarcton.

³⁵ G has “us” in agreement with Gs and the early versions. M lacks “suffering.”

³⁶ M, W, and G have “If these were children of the bedchamber,” a reading shared in Sw. For “bedchamber” (ܒܝܬ ܕܡܝܬܐ) Peeters suggests “Gehenna” (ܓܝܗܝܢܐ).

³⁷ M, W, and G have “not see.”

³⁸ In G the episode finishes here, resuming at 6:2.

³⁹ “By his hand” (ܒܝܬ ܕܡܝܬܐ) is a corruption unique to P and M. All other witnesses, including W, have “by his ear” (ܒܝܬ ܕܡܝܬܐ).

⁴⁰ W lacks “hard,” though it is supported by Gs, Geo, Eth, and Sw.

[illegible]

16 חלפני דמי נע. דעצמח מחסר וחי עצמח חי. מחלל חס

5, 1 — P: M om. WG
PM: W G PM: W
G

2 $\text{P} : \text{MWG}$ $\text{PMG} : \text{om. W}$ 2-3 — pr. P : W M (homoeoar.) 2 pr. P : W G post transp. W

3 P: $\frac{W}{G}$ con. Wright M: $\frac{PMW}{WG}$ — $\frac{M}{G}$
 3-4 P: $\frac{W}{G}$ — $\frac{M}{G}$ — $\frac{PMW}{WG}$
 W: $\frac{M}{G}$ — $\frac{PMW}{WG}$ — $\frac{W}{G}$
 G: $\frac{M}{G}$ — $\frac{PMW}{WG}$ — $\frac{W}{G}$

W تحصيل: PMG: 4

5 **PMW:** **G** **PWG:** **M** **P:** om. **MWG**
P: **MWG** **prop.** Peeters

6 ስቃይ PMG: ስቃይ W post ስቃይ add. ስቃይ P (et
expunxit) ስቃይ PMG: ስቃይ W post ስቃይ add. ስቃይ MWG
ጸጋጸጸጸጸ PG: ጸጋጸጸጸጸ M ጸጋጸጸ W

7 ~~ආප්ත~~ ~~කර~~ P (err.): ~~ආප්ත~~ ~~කර~~ MG ~~කර~~ ~~පර~~ W ~~ක~~
PWG: ~~කර~~ M post ~~ක~~ add. ✧ G

5,8—6,2 **ሕገገ** — **ሕገገ** : om. G 8 **ገገ** PMG: **ገገ** W **ገገገ**
ገገገ PM (err.): **ገገገ** **ገገገ** W **ገገ** PW: **ገገ** M **ገገ** PM: om.
W 8-9 **ገገ** **ገገ** om PM: **ገገ** **ገገ** **ገገ** W

9 ㄹ PM: om. W

10 post **חבדה** add. ❖ M

his father and said: "Oh stubborn boy! Why are you saying these things?"⁴¹

2 He said to Joseph⁴²: "How long will you not wish to hand over this boy⁴³ to learn to love children his age, honour old age,⁴⁴ and to be in awe of elders,⁴⁵ in order that the love of children⁴⁶ may be with him and, moreover, that he may teach them?"

2a Joseph said⁴⁷: "Who is able to teach a boy like this? Do you⁴⁸ not think that he deserves to attain⁴⁹ the small cross to come?"⁵⁰

2b The boy⁵¹ answered and said to them⁵²: "Teacher, these words which you have now spoken⁵³—and they will be names of renown⁵⁴—I am a stranger to them; for I am outside of you, yet I dwell among you. Honour of the flesh⁵⁵ I have not. You [live] by the law and by the law you search.⁵⁶

⁴¹ W reads "Oh wicked boy!", agreeing with Sw (though Se has "stubborn"). Both M and W lack the following sentence. The entire first verse is missing in G (see n. 38). Zacchaeus does not speak here at all in Gs and the early versions.

⁴² G reads here: "Zacchaeus the scribe began to say to his father."

⁴³ M adds: "to him."

⁴⁴ W finishes the sentence at this point.

⁴⁵ G lacks this item, likely due to homoeoarcton.

⁴⁶ P has the corrupt reading "love of natural things." To solve the problem, Peeters suggests the emendation "love of men." G and M have "children" which agrees with Gs, the early versions, Sw, and Se.

⁴⁷ W has "answered and said."

⁴⁸ W has "does he."

⁴⁹ W and G have only "deserves," which, written alone, may be better translated "equal to." The word is lacking in M.

⁵⁰ Only P has "to come."

⁵¹ G has "Jesus" and W has the erroneous "Joseph."

⁵² P and M have "to them the teacher," whereas W has the less problematic "to him the teacher"; G lacks all mention of an object.

⁵³ "I have now spoken" is also possible; only W explicitly has "you."

⁵⁴ G has the better reading: "these names which you name," which fits well with Gs, Geo, and LM, as well as Se, but not Sw. W has only "and these names."

⁵⁵ W has "in the flesh."

⁵⁶ G lacks this sentence. W finishes the sentence with "you remain," a reading supported in Se and LM; however, Sw also has "search." The entire sentence in M reads: "You [live] by the law, you search."

[illegible]

For when you were born, I was.⁵⁷ But you think that you are my father.⁵⁸ You shall learn from <me>⁵⁹ that teaching which no one else knows nor is able to teach.⁶⁰ And that cross of which you speak, the one whose it is shall bear it. For when I am greatly exalted I shall lay aside that which is mixed in your race. For you do not know <from>⁶¹ where I was born nor from where I am⁶²; for I alone know you all⁶³ truly—where⁶⁴ you were born, how much time⁶⁵ you have, and how much remains for you here.”⁶⁶

2c When they heard [these words], they were amazed and cried out greatly⁶⁷ and said: “Oh wonderful sight! Oh wonderful sound! Words like these we have never heard anyone speak—neither the priests, nor the Pharisees, nor the scribes.⁶⁸ Where was this one born? And he is not yet fully five years of age⁶⁹ and speaking such words! <One> has never seen the likes of this.”⁷⁰

⁵⁷ G lacks this sentence.

⁵⁸ For “father” Peeters suggests “master.” W has “I think.”

⁵⁹ P and M have “from you (sing).” W and G have “from me.”

⁶⁰ M has “you are not able to teach.”

⁶¹ P has “not.”

⁶² G has “whence you are”; W lacks “where I was born nor from where,” likely due to homoeoarcton.

⁶³ W lacks “you all”; G has simply “you.”

⁶⁴ W and G have “when.”

⁶⁵ G adds “again.”

⁶⁶ G adds “I know.” W has “when you were born and how much time you have to remain here.” G breaks off here (perhaps due to homoeoarcton) and continues at the start of 6:2e.

⁶⁷ W lacks “greatly.”

⁶⁸ W interchanges Pharisees and scribes.

⁶⁹ W lacks “not yet fully.” The intent is to minimize Jesus’ age—he has not yet completed his fifth year. Several of the other witnesses do something similar.

⁷⁰ For “one” P and M have “among us,” thereby rendering the sentence without a subject.

15 15
 20 20
 2c 2c
 25 25

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- PMWG
- 13 PM: W
- 14 PM: W PMWG: prop. Peeters W
- PM (err.): WG PM: om. G om. W
- 15 PMW Baars: G post add. M PG:
- M W
- 16 PM: W G W M
- PW: MG P: om. MWG PWG: M
- PMG: om. W
- 17 PMG: om. W
- 18 PMW: G alt. PM (err.): WG pr. W
- PMG: om. W (homoeoarc.) PM: W
- 19 PM: W W M W
- G PM: G om. W P: M W
- 20 post add. G 20-21 PM:
- W G
- 22-30 om. G (homoeoarc.) PM: om. W 22-
- 23 PM: W
- 23 PM: W PM: W
- 24 PW: M PM: W
- W
- 25 P: M W PM: om. W
- 26 PM (err.): W PW: M

2d Again Jesus answered and said to them: “You wonder about me and do not believe me concerning what I have said to you.⁷¹ I said that I know when you were born⁷²; and I have even more to say to you.”⁷³

2e When they heard [these words], they were silent and no one spoke.⁷⁴ He approached them again and said, laughing: “I laughed at you because you marvel at trifles and are becoming small in your mind.”

2f They did not understand [even] a little.⁷⁵ Zacchaeus the teacher said to the father of Jesus⁷⁶: “Bring him to me⁷⁷ and I will teach him what is proper for him to learn.” He coaxed him⁷⁸ and made him go into <the> school.⁷⁹ Yet, going in, he was silent. But Zacchaeus the scribe was beginning to teach him [starting] from Aleph, and was repeating to him many times and going [through]⁸⁰ all of the alphabet. He said to him that he should answer and speak after him, but he was silent. Then the scribe was angry

⁷¹ W has only: “You wonder at what I have said to you.” The longer reading is supported in Gs and LM, as well as Sw. The omission may be due to homoeoteleuton.

⁷² W lacks “born.”

⁷³ This “even more” is not extant in the Syriac Mss but is supplied in various ways by Gs, Eth, LM, and Geo.

⁷⁴ W and G have: “and were unable to speak.” The verse then ends here in W.

⁷⁵ G has “When they were comforted a little,” which finds support in Gs, Geo, and Sw. The sentence is missing in W. Peeters links this sentence to the previous and reads “and you hardly have understanding.”

⁷⁶ W has only “to Joseph.”

⁷⁷ W lacks “bring him to me” but the reading is supported in other witnesses.

⁷⁸ W lacks “coaxed him” but it finds support in Gs, Eth, and Geo.

⁷⁹ P has “my school.”

⁸⁰ W and G lack “and going [through].” Peeters translates this puzzling phrase as “listing them one by one.”

[illegible]

27 20b PM: om. W 27-28 𐤁 — 𐤁 PM: om. W (homoeotel.)
28 𐤁𐤍𐤏 PM: 𐤁𐤍𐤏 W 𐤁𐤍𐤏 PM: om. W
29 𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 PM: 𐤁𐤍𐤏𐤏𐤏 W post 𐤏𐤏 add. 𐤁
MW
30 𐤁𐤏𐤏 P: 𐤁𐤏𐤏 WM
31 𐤁𐤏 — 𐤏 P: 𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏 M 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏
[𐤁𐤏𐤏 G] 𐤁𐤏𐤏 WG 31-34 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 — 𐤏𐤏: om. W 31
𐤏𐤏 P: 𐤏𐤏 MG
33-34 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏 PM: 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏
G
35 𐤁𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏 PM (err.): 𐤁𐤏 𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 𐤏𐤏 G
𐤁𐤏 𐤁𐤏𐤏𐤏𐤏 prop. Peeters om. W 𐤁𐤏𐤏 PW: 𐤁𐤏𐤏 GM
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36 𐤁, 𐤏𐤏𐤏 PG: 𐤁, 𐤏𐤏𐤏 M om. W 𐤏𐤏 PMG: 𐤏𐤏 W
37 𐤁𐤏𐤏 P: 𐤁𐤏𐤏 MG om. W 𐤁𐤏𐤏 PM: 𐤁𐤏𐤏 W Baars
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𐤁𐤏 PWG: 𐤁 M
38 𐤏𐤏, 𐤏 PMG: 𐤏 W 𐤏𐤏𐤏 PM^{pc}WG: 𐤏𐤏^{Mac}
39 𐤏𐤏 PMW Baars: 𐤏𐤏 G , 𐤏, 𐤏 𐤁 𐤏𐤏 P: , 𐤏 𐤁 𐤏𐤏 M
, 𐤏, 𐤏 𐤁 G , 𐤏 𐤁 𐤏 W 𐤁𐤏𐤏 PMG: 𐤁𐤏𐤏 W
40 𐤁 i P: 𐤁 i MG 𐤏𐤏 𐤁 i W

and struck him with his hand upon his head. The boy said: “The smith’s anvil, when struck repeatedly,⁸¹ may be instructed, yet is unfeeling. Likewise,⁸² I can say those things which are spoken by you like a noisy gong⁸³ or a clanging cymbal. These do not reply with any sound nor do they have the power of knowledge and understanding.”⁸⁴

3 Then Jesus said all the letters from Aleph to Tau⁸⁵ with much wisdom. He answered again and said: “Those who do not know the Aleph, how do they teach the <Beta>?⁸⁶ Hypocrites! Teach what is the Alpha and then⁸⁷ I will believe you concerning the Beta.”

4 Then Jesus began⁸⁸ to enquire concerning the form of each character, and he began with the letters. Concerning the first, for what reason it has many angles and characters, pointed, thick and prostrate and projected and extended; and their summits [are] gathered together and sharp and ornamented and erect and squared and inverted; and transformed and folded over and bent at their sides, and fixed⁸⁹ in a triangle and crowned and clothed in life.⁹⁰

7 1 Then Zacchaeus the scribe, amazed and astonished on account of all these names

⁸¹ W lacks “repeatedly.”

⁸² Peeters suggests to read this word as “I” as in W, G, and Sw.

⁸³ G breaks off here, resuming at 7:1.

⁸⁴ W shortens this exchange, reading “...which are spoken by you, with knowledge and understanding.” The longer reading in P and M is supported in Sw and the early versions. W terminates here, resuming at 7:4.

⁸⁵ The use of the Hebrew letters in the teacher stories is one of the hallmarks of the Syriac tradition, though it is shared with the Old Latin and appears in various ways in some other witnesses. Oddly enough, Jesus switches the conversation here from Hebrew letters to Greek.

⁸⁶ “Beta” is supplied by M. P has “empty,” leading Peeters to emend the reading to “then don’t teach the Beta.”

⁸⁷ M cuts off here and resumes after the following sentence.

⁸⁸ P, the only witness in this part of the verse, has the verb in the plural (“they began”).

⁸⁹ M has “receiving.” Sw and Se also have “fixed.”

⁹⁰ For “crowned and clothed in life” Peeters suggests “rounding and joining each other.” “And clothed in life” does not appear in Sw and Se.

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17. 1. 2017

PMWVG

41 ,mawṣa PM: ,mawṣa WG ,mawṣa PWG: ,mawṣa M P: ,mawṣa
om. MG ,mawṣa PMW: ,mawṣa G

42 **ط** PW: **ط** MG **ṭ** PMG: om. W **ṭ** PMG: **ṭ** W
ل PWG: **ل** M **ṭ** PM (err.): **ṭ** W **ṭ** G prop.
 Peeters

43 W: 43-45 PM: 43-45 G: 43-45 PM: 43-45 W: 43-45
om. G

46-56 ٤٦-٥٦ — ٤٦-٥٦ : om. WG 46 ٤٦ P: ٤٦ M

48 $\text{P (err.): } \text{M } \text{legit Peeters (et prop. } \text{P: } \text{M}$

49 ante **𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍** add. **𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍** (?) et expunxit P 49-51, **𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍** — **𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍** P:
𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍 M (homoeotel.) 49 **𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍** P (err.): pro **𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤍**

51 κ λ P: κ λ M

52 ଇଲ ଦୁଃ P: om. M

M محمد P: M محمد P: 55

56 **مكت** PM: **مكت** prop. Peeters


7, 1 **ⲕⲙⲧⲉ** — **ⲕⲁ**: om. WG post **ⲕⲁⲓⲁⲓⲁ** add. **ⲕ** M

and the greatness of the speech, said <to him>⁹¹: “I have brought this <matter>⁹² on myself.”⁹³

2 “Take him away from me, <I> beg⁹⁴ of you. It is not right for this one to be this [way] on the Earth; truly, this one is worthy of a great cross. He is able to even set fire to fire. And I think that this one was born before the flood of Noah. What womb carried this one? Or what mother reared this one? For I cannot bear this one. I am in a great stupor because of him; and I am out of my mind. Wretched am I to think I had acquired a student; and, although I considered him a student, he was my teacher.

3 “Oh my friends! I cannot bear it. I am fleeing from the village; I cannot look upon him. By a little child I, an old man, am defeated. But what can I, who was defeated, say?⁹⁵ <How, even from the beginning, I did not understand a thing this one was saying.⁹⁶ Have mercy on me! I spoke clearly.⁹⁷ My soul is before my eyes> because of his voice and the example of his words.”⁹⁸

⁹¹ “To him” is an emendation suggested by Peeters. M simply has “he said.” W and G lack much of this first verse. G continues from Zacchaeus’ dialogue in 6:2f with “‘like a brass resounding.’ And at the greatness of his speech. He cried out and said” and then resumes at 7:3. W has “The scribe answered and said” and continues at 7:4.

⁹² “Matter” is an emendation. The Mss (P and M) read , a corruption found also in Sw. The early versions have “shame” or “affliction.”

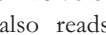

⁹³ Other versions (Gs, Geo, and Eth) begin the sentence with “Woe is me.”

⁹⁴ P lacks the pronoun here, preserving only the participle.

⁹⁵ Two lines in the manuscript have been struck through and are unreadable. The material that follows is provided from M. The complete reading in P is: “Behold! Even from the beginning a thing...my soul is before my eyes.” G reads: “Have mercy on me! I am dying! Clearly, my soul is before my eyes.”

⁹⁶ The Ms (M) has “I say.”

⁹⁷ G, along with Sw, has “I am dying.”

⁹⁸ G has “the order of his voice and the beauty of his words,” which is supported in Sw. M also reads “order” () for “example” (.

[illegible]

PMW/G

[illegible]

4 “This one⁹⁹ is something great—either a god, or an angel; what, I should say I do not know.”

8 1 Then the boy Jesus laughed and he <said>¹⁰⁰: “Let those in whom there is no fruit, produce fruit; and let the <blind>¹⁰¹ see the living fruit, oh Judge!”¹⁰²

2 Those who had fallen under the curse came alive and rose up. No one was daring to anger him again.¹⁰³

9 1 Again, on the day of the Sabbath,¹⁰⁴ the boy Jesus was playing on a roof.¹⁰⁵ One of the children fell and died. When those children¹⁰⁶ saw [what had happened], they ran away and Jesus <stayed behind> alone.¹⁰⁷

2 The family of the dead boy¹⁰⁸ seized him and <they> said¹⁰⁹ to him: “You threw the boy down from the roof and he died.”¹¹⁰ And the boy was <saying>¹¹¹: “I did not throw him down.” They were presumptuously¹¹² accusing him.

⁹⁹ In M and P, the object is linked to the previous verse with ܐܝܢܐ, though the plural (ܐܝܢܐ) would be more appropriate.

¹⁰⁰ P reads “says.”

¹⁰¹ “Blind” is supplied by M, W, and G. Peeters believes this to be the better reading and it receives support from Gs, Eth, and LM. P reads “the uprooters.”

¹⁰² For “oh Judge,” W, G and Sw have “of condemnation.”

¹⁰³ This entire verse is missing in W, thus leaving all of Jesus’ previous victims injured or dead.

¹⁰⁴ Only the Syriac and early Latin (LM and LV) traditions place this event on the Sabbath.

¹⁰⁵ G has “hiding with children on a roof.” While “playing” is the likely reading, other witnesses to the text, including Sw, agree that Jesus was with other children.

¹⁰⁶ M and G have “the other children”; W has “the others.”

¹⁰⁷ P and M have “forced alone,” a corruption of ܐܝܢܐܐܠܐ. W has “remained alone,” G “was found alone.”

¹⁰⁸ P erroneously uses the feminine participle.

¹⁰⁹ P erroneously has the singular (“he said”).

¹¹⁰ W and G have only “You threw the boy down.”

¹¹¹ P seems to lack the participle here. M, W, and G have “Jesus said.”

¹¹² W and G lack “presumptuously.”

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PMWG

17 𐌹𐌸 PM (err.): 𐌹𐌸 WG 𐌹𐌸 PM: 𐌹𐌸 WG 𐌹𐌸 PG: 𐌹𐌸 MW
pr. 𐌹𐌸 PM: 𐌹𐌸 WG alt. 𐌹𐌸 PM: 𐌹𐌸 W om. G

18 ante 𐌹𐌸 add. 𐌹𐌸 WG 𐌹𐌸 PWG: 𐌹𐌸 M 𐌹𐌸 PMW Baars:
𐌹𐌸 G

8, 1 𐌹𐌸 PMG: 𐌹𐌸 W 𐌹𐌸 P: 𐌹𐌸 MG 𐌹𐌸 W

2 𐌹𐌸 PMG: om. W 𐌹𐌸 P (err.): 𐌹𐌸 MWG 𐌹𐌸 PM
(err.): 𐌹𐌸 WG

3-4 𐌹𐌸 — 𐌹𐌸 : om. W 3 𐌹𐌸 PM: 𐌹𐌸 G 𐌹𐌸
P: 𐌹𐌸 MG 𐌹𐌸 PM: 𐌹𐌸 G

4 post 𐌹𐌸 add. ✧ GM

9, 1 post 𐌹𐌸 add. 𐌹𐌸 MWG 𐌹𐌸 PMW: 𐌹𐌸 G post
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3 𐌹𐌸 (pro 𐌹𐌸) PM: 𐌹𐌸 G 𐌹𐌸 W

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𐌹𐌸 G

5 , 𐌹𐌸 PMG: , 𐌹𐌸 W 𐌹𐌸 PM: om. WG
𐌹𐌸 𐌹𐌸 𐌹𐌸 P (err.): 𐌹𐌸 𐌹𐌸 𐌹𐌸 M 𐌹𐌸
𐌹𐌸 WG post 𐌹𐌸 add. 𐌹𐌸 (?) et expunxit P

6 𐌹𐌸 PMG: 𐌹𐌸 W post 𐌹𐌸 add. 𐌹𐌸 MWG
𐌹𐌸 P: 𐌹𐌸 M om. WG

3 The boy Jesus answered and said to them¹¹³: “Leave now, so that I may go down to the dead boy and I will ask him, and immediately he will declare to us the truth who really threw <him>¹¹⁴ down.” Then the boy Jesus came down. He stood above the corpse of the dead boy, and said in a loud voice¹¹⁵: “Zeno, Zeno”¹¹⁶ (for thus indeed was his name) “did I really throw you from the roof as your family is accusing me?”¹¹⁷ But when that dead boy heard his voice,¹¹⁸ immediately he leaped up and stood. He said before everyone¹¹⁹: “No, my Lord.”

4 All of them were amazed. Even the boy’s parents who were accusing Jesus returned¹²⁰ and were praising God for this wonder that had happened.

11¹²¹ 1 Again, when Jesus was seven years old, his mother sent him to fill¹²² water. And in the press of a great crowd, his pitcher struck [against something] and was broken.

¹¹³ Jesus’ words here are not found in W and G nor any other witnesses.

¹¹⁴ P has a feminine object.

¹¹⁵ W and G have: “Then he came down beside the dead one and said to him.”

¹¹⁶ The boy’s name is corrupt in M.

¹¹⁷ W and G (and all other witnesses) lack “as your family is accusing me.”

¹¹⁸ W and G (and all other witnesses) lack “when that dead boy heard his voice.”

¹¹⁹ W and G (and all other witnesses) lack “before everyone.”

¹²⁰ Again, only P and M identify the family as those who accused him.

¹²¹ The Syriac and other early versions do not contain ch. 10. Gs places the episode between chs. 16 and 19.

¹²² G has “to draw.”

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PMWG

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2 Then Jesus spread out the hood¹²³ which was covering him and he collected the waters that had scattered from his pitcher and poured them in his hood. And carrying (?) and he came home.¹²⁴ Then his mother Mary was astonished and she kept in her heart all these things that she was seeing.¹²⁵

12 1 Once again Jesus was playing. He sowed a plant of wheat,¹²⁶ and through it there was a great harvest.¹²⁷

2 He harvested from them¹²⁸ 100 cors, and¹²⁹ gave them to the people of the village.

13 1 Jesus was eight years old. Joseph was a carpenter and was making nothing other than ploughs and yokes. A man ordered from him a bed of six cubits. One plank¹³⁰ did not have the (proper) length on one side, for it was shorter than the other.

¹²³ W and G have “cloak.” Several Sw Mss also have “hood.”

¹²⁴ W and G shorten the two sentences to read: “he collected and brought (Wright adds: [home]) that water.” The longer reading is found also in the Sw Ms Mingana *Syr. 48*. P and M’s “carrying” (ܡܠܝܬܝܡ) lacks an object, but it may be simply a corruption of ܡܠܝܬܝܡ, making the original sentence “and the boy came home.”

¹²⁵ W has: “And his mother Mary was astonished at all that she was seeing,” but the longer reading is supported by Gs, the early versions, Sw, and Se.

¹²⁶ The complete sentence in W and G reads, “he sowed one measure of wheat.”

¹²⁷ The latter half of the sentence is unique to P and M.

¹²⁸ “From them” is unique to P.

¹²⁹ M begins the sentence here.

¹³⁰ P, along with W and G, reads ܡܠܬܐ (“side,” fem.) whereas M has ܡܠܬܐ (“plank,” masc.). The reading from P, W, and G is retained (but translated here as plank) because it appears to be original and is reflected in the feminine pronouns that follow.

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M حسہ: ۱۶۴ PWG: حسہ: ۱۶۴ 4

The boy Jesus said to his father: "Take hold of the end of the one shorter than the other."¹³¹

2 Jesus took the length of the wood and pulled and stretched the wood and made it equal to the other. Jesus said to Joseph: "Do henceforth what you wish."

14¹³² 1 When Joseph saw his intelligence, he wished to teach him learning,¹³³ and brought <him>¹³⁴ to a scribe.¹³⁵ That scribe answered¹³⁶ and said to [Jesus]: "Say Aleph." And Jesus said: "Aleph."¹³⁷ Again the scribe added that he should say to him, Beth.

2 Jesus <said>¹³⁸ to him: "Tell me first what Aleph is, and then I will tell you¹³⁹ Beth."¹⁴⁰ That scribe was furious and struck him,¹⁴¹ and immediately he fell down and died.

3 The boy Jesus went back to his family. Joseph called Mary his mother and commanded and said to her: "Do not permit him to go out of the house, so that those who strike him will not die."

¹³¹ W and G lack this exchange but it is supported by Se and several versions (Gs, LM, and the related Irish Ms). Perhaps its absence is due to dittography (as a result of the repetition of "shorter than the other").

¹³² This chapter is not found in G.

¹³³ W has "writing." Gs, LV, and LM have "letters."

¹³⁴ P has a feminine object.

¹³⁵ W has "to the school" (or "to the home of a scribe").

¹³⁶ P inserts here "and also" which is nonsense and is not found in the other Mss. The sentence in M reads: "He said to him," and in W: "The scribe said to him." This is similar to LV and Eth.

¹³⁷ "Aleph" is lacking in M and W.

¹³⁸ P reads "says."

¹³⁹ W adds "about."

¹⁴⁰ Gs and LV reverse the order of the letters. The exchange is missing in Eth.

¹⁴¹ W has "took and struck him."

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8 മ് ഇററ ന്നാ PM: ന്നാ മ് ഇററ W PM: മ് ഇററ W

15¹⁴² **1** But another scribe said to Joseph¹⁴³: “Hand him over to me. I will teach him by flattery.”¹⁴⁴

2 Jesus entered into [the house of] that scribe.¹⁴⁵ He took a scroll and was reading, not what was written, but he opened his mouth and spoke in the spirit,¹⁴⁶ as that scribe wrote on the ground¹⁴⁷ and it sprung up from him.¹⁴⁸ Great crowds, hearing his words, assembled and stood there. Jesus thus opened his mouth and was speaking, so that all who arrived and stood there might be amazed and astonished.

3 When Joseph heard, he ran [and] came because he was afraid¹⁴⁹ lest the scribe also would die. The scribe said to Joseph: “You have delivered to me not a student but a master.”

4 And Joseph took Jesus and led him back to his home.¹⁵⁰

16 **1** Again Joseph sent his son James to cut down sticks.¹⁵¹ Jesus also went with him. While gathering sticks, a deadly¹⁵² viper bit James on his hand.

2 When Jesus came near to him, he did to him nothing

¹⁴² This chapter is absent in G.

¹⁴³ M lacks “to Joseph.”

¹⁴⁴ W lacks “by flattery,” but the reading is supported by Gs, LM, Sw, and Se.

¹⁴⁵ Perhaps **ⲕⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲗ** should read **ⲕⲓⲥⲟⲩ ⲁⲗⲁ** as in W.

¹⁴⁶ W has “not what was written but great miracles” and the chapter ends here.

¹⁴⁷ Sw reads “that scribe fell on the ground,” which is consistent with Gs, Eth, and LM. M has the future form of the verb. Se has “that scribe, when he heard, went down and sat with him on the ground.”

¹⁴⁸ For P’s corrupt ‘it sprung up from him’ M has ‘he beseeched him,’ which is consistent with Sw, Gs, Eth, and LM.

¹⁴⁹ P has the perfect (“he had feared”); M has a participle (“fearing”).

¹⁵⁰ The later Greek Mss (and related versions) add an epilogue in which Jesus restores the teacher from ch. 14 to life.

¹⁵¹ W and G have “to gather sticks,” which is the more likely reading as P and M use the same verb shortly after.

¹⁵² W lacks “deadly.”

more than stretch out his hand and blow on that bite.¹⁵³ And¹⁵⁴ the bite was healed, the viper died, and James lived.¹⁵⁵

19¹⁵⁶ **1** When he¹⁵⁷ was twelve years old, they went to Jerusalem, as was custom for Joseph and Mary, to the festival of Passover. When Passover was completed,¹⁵⁸ they returned to their home. When they had turned to come [home], Jesus remained in Jerusalem. His parents did not know that he stayed behind in Jerusalem,¹⁵⁹ but they thought that he was with their companions.

2 When they came to the <rendez-vous>¹⁶⁰ of that day, they were seeking him among

¹⁵³ P has the verbs in the perfect.

¹⁵⁴ G adds “immediately.”

¹⁵⁵ ‘The viper died, and James lived’ is lacking in W and G, though it is supported by Sw, Se, and Gs, LM, and in part by Eth (“As for the serpent, it died immediately”).

¹⁵⁶ The Syriac and other early versions (including Gs) do not contain chs. 17 and 18.

¹⁵⁷ W and G have “Jesus.”

¹⁵⁸ W and G have “when they had completed Passover.”

¹⁵⁹ W and G have “neither Joseph nor his mother Mary knew (it).” M lacks the entire sentence. P’s reading here, not found in Gs or Eth, may derive from a misreading of “nor Mary” with the similar looking “in Jerusalem.” The misreading may also have led to the transformation of “his father” (ܐܒܝܗܝ) to the erroneously spelled “his parents” (ܐܡܝܗܝ) rather than ܐܡܝܗܝܐ.

¹⁶⁰ P and M have the corrupt reading ܠܗܝܝܬܐ (‘to the inner room’).

their kinsfolk and among those who knew them. When they did not <find him, they returned to Jerusalem and were seeking him. After three days>¹⁶¹ they found him in the temple,¹⁶² sitting among the teachers, and listening to them¹⁶³ and questioning them. All those hearing were astonished at him, because he was silencing the elders and the teachers.¹⁶⁴ And¹⁶⁵ he was expounding to them the parables of the prophets and the mysteries and allegories of the law.¹⁶⁶

3 His mother <said>¹⁶⁷ to him: “My son, why have you done this to us? Look, I and your father, with much anxiety, were searching for you.¹⁶⁸ Jesus answered and said to her: “Why were you searching for me? Do you not know that it is fitting for me to be in my father’s house?”¹⁶⁹

4 The scribes and the Pharisees answered and said to Mary: “Are you the mother of this boy? The Lord has blessed you in your fruit,¹⁷⁰ for

¹⁶¹ The missing material is supplied here from M, W, and G. P’s omission is likely due to homoeoteleuton.

¹⁶² “Temple” is not found in W and G but it is present in Gs, Eth, Sw, Se, and Old Syriac Luke.

¹⁶³ G finishes the verse here.

¹⁶⁴ W has only “those teachers.” Gs has “elders,” Eth has “priests.”

¹⁶⁵ W has “for.”

¹⁶⁶ M reads, “the parables and allegories of the prophets and mysteries and examples of the law.”

¹⁶⁷ P reads “says.”

¹⁶⁸ M, W, and G have: “for we were distressed and agitated and searching for you.”

¹⁶⁹ Jesus’ response to his mother is lacking in G, likely due to homoeoarcton.

¹⁷⁰ W has only “The Lord has blessed you.” P, M, and G’s reading is supported by Sw, Gs (“Blessed are you because the Lord God has blessed the fruit of your womb”) and Eth (“For you are blessed in your fruit”).

[illegible][illegible]

glory and¹⁷¹ wisdom such as this in children we have neither seen nor heard.¹⁷²

5 He rose and went with them¹⁷³ and he was listening to them¹⁷⁴ and was obedient to his parents.¹⁷⁵ But <his>¹⁷⁶ mother was preserving all these words in her heart¹⁷⁷ and she was contemplating [them?].¹⁷⁸ Jesus was growing and excelling and advancing in wisdom and stature and grace¹⁷⁹ before God and before men.

Glory to him and his mercy upon us forever and ever, amen.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷¹ W and G have “of.”

¹⁷² W and G add “that anyone has spoken.” This addition is lacking also in Sw.

¹⁷³ W has “with his mother.”

¹⁷⁴ “And he was obedient to them” is lacking in M, W, G, and Sw.

¹⁷⁵ W has “to them.”

¹⁷⁶ P has a feminine pronoun.

¹⁷⁷ W lacks “in her heart,” as does Old Syriac Luke. The reading is supported by Gs, Eth, and Sw. The entire sentence is lacking in G.

¹⁷⁸ This last, troubling clause is found only in P.

¹⁷⁹ This sentence is presented in a variety of ways in the Mss. M lacks “growing,” W has “Jesus was excelling and advancing in wisdom and grace,” and G has “Jesus was excelling and growing in wisdom and stature and grace.”

¹⁸⁰ W and G have instead the title: “Here (ends) the Childhood of our Lord Jesus (G adds: Messiah).” M reads only “Glory to him, amen.”

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ሰቃይታ — P: ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ M ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ W
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 20 ሰቃይታ P (err.): ሰቃይታ MW 20-21 ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ PM: ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ W
 21 ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ P: om. MWG ሰቃይታ — ሰቃይታ P: ሰቃይታ
ሰቃይታ M] ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ MW ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ G
 22 ሰቃይታ PMG: om. W 22-23 ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ P: ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ M
ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ W ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ G
 23 post ሰቃይታ add. [add. ሰቃይታ G] ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ
WG
 25 ሰቃይታ — ሰቃይታ P: ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ ሰቃይታ M om. WG