

"BEARERS OF *HEAVY* BURDENS" A SIGNIFICANT TEXTUAL VARIANT *

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In the Syriac version of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Mt 11:28 is cited explicitly¹ four times (see table on p. 2).

All four citations are identical; all four have the significant textual variant ܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ ܥܘܠܘܢ "bearers of *heavy* burdens."

The equivalent of this *lectio varia* is nowhere attested in either the *Greek* or the *Latin* text traditions, neither in the gospel manuscripts nor in the patristic citations.²

* Abbreviations employed in this article, which are not spelled out on the back cover of this journal, indicate the following series: *BO* = *Biblica et Orientalia*; *BPM* = *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensis*; *CBM* = *Chester Beatty Monographs*; *CBU* = *Contributions of Baltic University*; *CCL* = *Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina*; *CSCO* = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*; *HS* = *Horae Semiticae*; *PETSE* = *Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile*; *PO* = *Patrologia Orientalis*; *PS* = *Patrologia Syriaca*; *SBT* = *Studies in Biblical Theology*; *SNT* = *Supplements to Novum Testamentum*; *TU* = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*.

¹ That these are *explicit* citations is clear from the formulae with which they are introduced. Citations 1, 3, and 4 are introduced by the formula ܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ "and he said" the subject of which is ܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ "our Savior" (5:7), ܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ "our Lord" (103:28), and ܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ "our Savior" (110:27), respectively; while citation 2 is introduced by the longer formula ܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ ܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ "and again in the Gospel he said," the subject of which is ܘܗܘܢ ܘܥܠܘܢ "the Lord" (41:10).

These references indicate page and line in Paulus de Lagarde, *Didascalia Apostolorum Syriace* (Leipzig, 1854; reprint Osnabrück, 1967).

² See among others S. C. E. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece secundum Textum Westcotto-Hortianum: Evangelium secundum Matthaeum* (Oxford, 1940), *ad loc.*; Adolf Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in alllateinischer Überlieferung, I: Matthäus-Evangelium* (Berlin, 1938), p. 69; and I. Wordsworth and H. I. White, *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi Latine, secundum editionem Sancti Hieronymi* (Oxford, 1889-1898), I, 84.

<p>I Didasc I.6.10</p>	<p>2 Didasc II.34.7</p>	<p>3 Didasc VI.12.11</p>	<p>4 Didasc³ VI.17.6</p>
<p> , h, al o h طلعہ لرتہ معقلہ حہقلہ <u>مقتاہ</u> رنہ ر سبجہ </p>	<p> , h, al o h طلعہ لرتہ معقلہ حہقلہ <u>مقتاہ</u> رنہ ر سبجہ </p> <p> ہجہ نیا ر نلا خلعہ ہبلعہ جنہ رنہ ر بک مخصی ر بک طلعہ ہا عجبہ نسا لفقہہ نیا ر نیا حصہ م مہطہ ملکہ م </p>	<p> , h, al o h طلعہ لرتہ معقلہ حہقلہ <u>مقتاہ</u> رنہ ر سبجہ </p> <p> ہجہ نیا ر نلا خلعہ ہبلعہ جنہ رنہ ر بک مخصی ر بک طلعہ ہا عجبہ نسا لفقہہ نیا ر نیا حصہ م مہطہ ملکہ م </p>	<p> , h, al o h طلعہ لرتہ معقلہ حہقلہ <u>مقتاہ</u> رنہ ر سبجہ </p>

For notes 3 and 4 see p. 3.

In view of this, one might be inclined to dismiss it as an *ad hoc* variant introduced by the author of the Syriac *Didascalia*⁵ were it not for the fact that it is widely attested in the Syriac and Armenian text traditions.

³ These references are given according to the widely used system of F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905; reprint Turin, 1964); see I, 16.7 f., 118.21 ff., 330.10 ff., and 356.14 f. For the Syriac text see Lagarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 5.9 f., 41.15 ff., 103.28 ff., and 110.26 f., or Margaret D. Gibson, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac* (HS, I; London, 1903), pp. 8.22 f., 85.14 ff., 186.17 ff., and 197.5 f., respectively.

⁴ In the text itself, Lagarde's edition reads ܠܟܝܢ, but, as Lagarde himself notes in his introduction (*op. cit.*, p. vii), this is a typographical error. It should read ܠܟܝܢܟܝܢ as I have rendered it. Cf. Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 186.17.

⁵ It does not occur in the three citations of Mt 11:28 in the extant fragments of the Latin *Didascalia*:

a) *Didasc* IV. 6 f.

Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis.

b) *Didasc* XXVIII. 23 ff.

Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego repausabo vos. Tollite iugum meum super vos et discite a me, quoniam mansuetus sum et humilis corde, et invenietis requiem animabus vestris: iugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve est.

c) *Didasc* LI. 22 f.

Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos repausabo.

See Edmundus Hauler, *Didascaliae Apostolorum: Fragmenta Veronensia Latina* (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 6.2 f., 41.14 ff., and 72.11 f., respectively. Cf. Eric Tidner, *Didascaliae Apostolorum, Canonum Ecclesiasticorum, Traditiones Apostolicae: Versiones Latinae* (TU, LXXV, Berlin, 1963), pp. 7.6 f., 46.3 ff., and 83.22 f., respectively.

Nor does it occur in the only citation of Mt 11:28 in the Greek *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, the first six books of which are, without doubt, based on the Greek *Didascalia*:

Constit Apost 1, 6.10: δεϋτε προς με παντες οι κοπιωντες και πεφορτισμενοι, κἀγω αναπαύσω υμᾶς.

See Funk, *op. cit.*, pp. 17.6 f.

Since the Latin renderings are clearly *ad hoc* translations of the Matthaean citations as they appeared in the Greek text of the *Didascalia* and not "dubbed in" versions drawn on popular contemporary Latin text traditions (note, e.g., the readings *repausabo*, instead of *reficiam* as in Itala, Vulgate, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine; *quoniam*, instead of *quia* as in Itala, Vulgate, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose; and *mansuetus*, instead of *mitis* as in Itala, Vulgate, Cyprian, Hilary, Ambrose, Augustine, readings which, with the exception of *quoniam*,

In the Syriac text traditions it is attested

a) among the Syriac gospel manuscripts by

Codex Curetonianus (ad loc.): ⁶

seem not to occur elsewhere in the Latin traditions), and since they imply underlying Greek forms identical with that preserved in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, I am persuaded that the variant under consideration did not occur in the Matthaean citations as they appeared in the original Greek text of the *Didascalia*.

For the Itala and Vulgate evidence see Jülicher, *loc. cit.*, and Wordsworth and White, *loc. cit.* For the patristic evidence see Cyprian, *Testimonia ad Quirinum*, I, 13; III, 119 (in Guilelmus Hartel, *S. Thasci Caecili Cypriani Opera Omnia* [CSEL, III; Vienna, 1868; reprint New York, 1962], pt. 1, pp. 48.8 ff.; 183.22 ff.); Hilary, *De Trinitate*, IX.15 (in *Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis Episcopi Opera Omnia juxta editionem Monachorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti e Congregatione S. Mauri* [PO, X; Paris, 1845], col 293; and *Tractatus Mysteriorum*, I, 13, 2 (in Alfredus Feder, *S. Hilarii, Episcopi Pictaviensis Opera* [CSEL, LXV; Vienna, 1916; reprint New York, 1966], pt 4, p. 13.21 ff.); Ambrose, *Expositio Evangelii Lucae*, V, 54; VII, 230 (in Carolus Schenkl, *Sancti Ambrosii Opera* [CSEL, XXXII; Vienna, 1902; reprint New York, 1962], pt. 4, pp. 203.4 f.; 385.7 f.); *Expositio Psalmi CXVIII*, 7, 2; 14, 20; and 14.46 (in M. Petschenig, *Sancti Ambrosii Opera* [CSEL, LXII; Vienna, 1913; reprint New York, 1962], pt. V, pp. 127.20 f.; 310.24 ff.; and 329.15 ff., respectively); *Explanatio Psalmorum* XII, 37.29; 43.78; 45.16; 48.15; 48.1 (in Petschenig, *op. cit.* [CSEL, LXIV; Vienna, 1919; reprint New York, 1962], pt. VI, pp. 158.11 f., 318.2 f.; 341.19 ff.; 370.3 f.; 362.11 ff.); Augustine, *Confessionum* VII, 9, 21 (in Pius Knöll, *Sancti Aureli Augustini: Confessionum* [CSEL, XXXIII; Vienna, 1896; reprint New York, 1962], pp. 155.22 f., 156.3 f., and 168.9 f. respectively); *De Civitate Dei*, IV, 16 (in Emmanuel Hoffmann, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: De Civitate Dei* [CSEL, XL, Vienna, 1899; reprint New York, 1962], p. 183.24 ff.); *In Iohannis Evangelium*, XV, 17, 6; XXV, 18, 7; and XXXIV, 8, 18 (in R. Willems, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini: In Iohannis Evangelium* [CCL, XXXVI; Turnholt, 1954], pp. 156, 258, and 315 respectively; and many more citations of Mt 11:28 f. in the vast corpus of Augustine's writings.

The reading under discussion is also attested in the Ethiopic version, **ገዕ: ገሌፍ: ከ-ልክሙ: ጽዕራገ: ከሱዲ: ጸር: ወእ: አዐርልክሙ ::**

See T. Pell Platt, *The Ethiopic Didascalia; or, the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolic Constitutions* (London, 1843), p. 9.10 f.

⁶ Francis C. Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe: The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels, with the Readings of the Sinai Palimpsest and the early Syriac Patristic Evidence* (Cambridge, 1904), I, 58.

Syr^a does not have this reading; nor do syr^p and syr^h. Nor is it to be found in the Syriac lectionaries (syr^{pal}).

c) among the Syriac translations of Greek patristic writings by

i) *Athanasius (Ad Serapionem, 4.23)*:¹⁰

ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ

ii) *Chrysostom (Homily on the Incarnation, 10)*:¹¹

ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ

There is also a clear allusion to it in the *Liber Graduum* (19.7):¹²

ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ
ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ
ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ

And *Ephraem (?)*¹³ undoubtedly drew on a text of Mt 11:28 which had this reading:

ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ
ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ
ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ

In the *Armenian* traditions it is attested

a) among the Armenian historians by

i) *Agathangelus (History, 221)*:¹⁴

Եկայք առ իս, ամենայն վաստակեալք և աշխատեալք և ոյք ունիք
բեռինս ծանուսն, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

¹⁰ See Robert W. Thomson, *Athanasiana Syriaca*, II (CSCO, 272/syr 118, Louvain, 1967), p. 15. The reading ܘܥܡܠܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ ܕܥܩܪܐ occurs again in a British Museum manuscript (Add. 14650, fol. 222a) attributed to Athanasius. See Vööbus, *Studies*, p. 187.

¹¹ F. Nau, *Documents pour servir a l'Histoire de l'Eglise Nestorienne*, I: *Quatre Homélies de Saint Jean Chrysostome* (PO, XIII; Paris, 1919), p. 156.

¹² See Michael Kmosko, *Liber Graduum* (PS, III; Paris, 1926), col. 465.

¹³ See Petrus Benedictus and Stephanus E. Assemanus, *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia* (Rome, 1743), III, 372; cf. Louis Leloir, *L'Évangile d'Éphrem d'après les œuvres éditées: Recueil des textes* (CSCO, 180/sub 12, Louvain, 1958), p. 24.

¹⁴ *History of Armenia* (Armenian) (Tiflis, 1909), p. 221; cf. Leloir, *Citations du Nouveau Testament dans l'ancienne tradition arménienne: IA, L'Évangile de Matthieu*, I-XII (CSCO, 283/sub 31; Louvain, 1967), p. 163.

ii) *Lazar of Pharb (History, 199)*:¹⁵

Եկայք առ իս, ամենայն աշխատեալք և վաստակեալք, և որք ունիք զբերինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

b) among the Armenian translations of Syriac patristic writings by

i) *Aphraates (Demonstrationes, 13)*:¹⁶

Եկայք առ իս աշխատեալք, և վաստակեալք, և որք ունիք զբերինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցից զձեզ.

ii) *Ephraem (Commentary, 10)*:¹⁷

Եկայք առ իս, ասէ, վաստակեալք և աշխատեալք, և ոյք ունիք բերինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

c) among the Armenian translations of Greek patristic writings by

i) *Cyril of Jerusalem (Catecheses, 2.3)*:¹⁸

Եկայք առ իս ամենայն աշխատեալք, և ոյք ունիք զբերինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

ii) *Severian of Gabala (Homilies, 374)*:¹⁹

Եկայք առ իս ամենեքեան ոյք վաստակեալ էք, և ունիք զբերինս ծանունս, և ես Հանգուցանեմ զձեզ.

Further attestation is to be found in two Armenian gospel manuscripts (mss. 129 and 308) housed in the library of the Mechitarists, Vienna, which read *ծանրաբերինք* and

¹⁵ *History of Armenia* (Armenian) (Tiflis, 1904), p. 199; cf. similar quotes on pp. 180 f.; also Leloir, *Citations*, IA, p. 162.

¹⁶ See N. Antonelli, *Sancti Patris nostri Iacobi, episcopi Nisibeni, sermones cum praefatione, notis et dissertatione de Ascetis* (Rome, 1756), p. 335; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, IA, p. 164. The Syriac text does not have the additional adjective *ܠܘܥܘܠܘܬܐ*. See I. Parisot, *Aphraatis Sapientis Persae Demonstrationes* (PS, I; Paris, 1894), col. 757.

¹⁷ Leloir, *S. Éphrem: Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant. Version arménienne* (CSCO, 137/arm 1), Louvain, 1953), p. 141.

¹⁸ *Catecheses* (Armenian) (Vienna, 1832), p. 2; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, IA, pp. 161 f.

¹⁹ J. B. Aucher, *Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emesensis homiliae* (Venice, 1827), p. 374; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, IA, p. 162.

աշխատեալք և ծանրաբեռնեալք respectively;²⁰ in the Armenian Breviary 388, which reads աշխատեալք և ծանրաբեռնեալք;²¹ and in the Armenian translations of the Greek fathers, *Chrysostom*²² and *Hesychius of Jerusalem*,²³ which employ the "adjectif composé" ծանրաբեռինք in place of the periphrasis և ոյք ունիք զբեռինս ծանունս.²⁴

Such extensive and independent lines of evidence suggest a single written source prior to the earliest of the witnesses, that is, at least as early as the early third, if not the late second, century.

That this source was a gospel harmony is probable. That it was Tatian's *Diatessaron* is possible.

I am persuaded that this particular rendering of Mt 11:28 was probably drawn on a gospel harmony, on the one hand, because of its wide usage in the eastern churches (the *Միջին Ավետարան* "mixed gospel" was rather popular in the eastern Christian communities²⁵) and, on the other hand, because of its meager support in the manuscripts of the *Տեղաբաժան Ավետարան* "separated gospel."²⁶

I am not, however, as confident as some²⁷ are that we can

²⁰ P. Paul Essabalian, *Le diatessaron de Tatien et la première traduction des évangiles arméniens* (Armenian, with a French résumé) (Vienna, 1937), pp. 43, 119.

²¹ S. Lyonnet, *Les origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron* (BO, XIII; Rome, 1950), p. 19.

²² *Concerning the Evangelist Matthew* (Armenian) (Venice, 1826), pp. 577, 579; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, pp. 161, 164. See also *Interpretation of the Prophet Isaiah* (Armenian) (Venice, 1880), p. 453; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, p. 162.

²³ See C. Tcherabian, *Commentary on Job* (Armenian) (Venice, 1913), p. 590; cf. Leloir, *Citations*, 1A, p. 162.

²⁴ See Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁵ Vööbus, *Early Versions of the New Testament: Manuscript Studies* (PETSE, VI; Stockholm 1954), pp. 22-26.

²⁶ It is possible that *Codex Curetonianus* was influenced by Tatian's *Diatessaron*. See Vööbus, *Studies*, pp. 34 ff. But note the cautious remarks of Bruce M. Metzger, *The Text of the New Testament* (2d ed.; Oxford, 1968), pp. 69, 91 f.

²⁷ Vööbus, *Researches*, p. 48, holds that it "certainly originated from Tatian's work"; and Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 206, contends that it

identify the conjectured harmony as Tatian's *Diatessaron*. In the first place, there were probably a good many gospel harmonies, particularly of the synoptic gospels, available to the early church. Bellinzoni has rather forcibly demonstrated that there were in use, before Justin, in whose school Tatian studied, "written gospel harmonies, which served as models for the harmonies used and perhaps composed by Justin,"²⁸ and, no doubt, by Tatian.²⁹ And in the second, it is by no means clear from the extant evidence that this particular reading occurred in Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

While the Armenian version of Ephraem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron*³⁰ clearly employs the reading under discussion,³¹ the Syriac does not;³² and, while the Persian *Diatessaron* reflects this longer reading,³³ the Arabic does not.³⁴

In this connection, it is of interest to note that while Leloir, in his recent studies, based on the early Armenian

is a reading which belonged "hors de doute" to the Old Armenian Gospel text and was "non moins certaine" of Tatianic origin. See also Leloir, *Le Témoignage d'Éphrem sur le Diatessaron* (CSCO, 227/sub 19; Louvain, 1962), p. 146.

²⁸ Arthur Bellinzoni, *The Sayings of Jesus in the Writings of Justin Martyr* (SNT, XVII; Leiden, 1967), pp. 48, 142.

²⁹ Tatian's particular contribution seems to have been his use of the fourth Gospel. See Bellinzoni, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁰ Leloir, *S. Éphrem: Commentaire* (Armenian), p. 141. For the text see p. 7 above.

³¹ Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, is persuaded that the Armenian version represents the original Tatianic rendering more accurately than does the Syriac text.

³² Leloir, *Saint Éphrem: Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, Texte Syriaque* (*Manuscrit Chester Beatty*, 709) (CBM, VIII; Dublin, 1963), p. 50. The text reads:

ⲁϥ ⲙⲁ ⲙⲉⲛⲓ ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲏ ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲏ ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲏ ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲏ ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲏ ⲙⲉⲗⲏⲏ

³³ *Diatessaron* (Persian), III, 3. See Giuseppe Messina, *Diatessaron Persiano* (BO, XIV; Rome, 1951), pp. 196 f. The text reads: Vogliate venire a me, o voi tutti affaticati con pesi gravi e grandi, affinché a voi dia riposo nella mia misericordia (translation by Messina, *loc. cit.*).

³⁴ *Diatessaron* (Arabic), XV, 39 ff. See A.-S. Marmardji, *Diatessaron de Tatién* (Beyrouth, 1935), p. 146 f. The text reads: Venez à moi, vous tous, les fatigués et les porteurs de fardeaux, et je vous donnerai du repos (translation by Marmardji, *loc. cit.*).

writers, is confident that the longer reading (*i.e.* the reading with the adjective "heavy") was employed in Tatian's *Diatessaron*,³⁵ Ortiz de Urbina, in his recent attempt at a reconstruction of the Syriac *Diatessaron*, based on the early Syriac fathers, seems to be similarly confident that it was not.³⁶

The purpose of this essay is to attempt to determine the nature of the reading under discussion, and the motives which inspired it.³⁷

There can be little doubt that this is a conflate reading. I conjecture that it has resulted from the conflation of Lk 11:46 (SYR^S),³⁸ ܐܚܘܢ ܠܗ ܐܘܪܗܘܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܒܘܢ ܘܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܒܘܢ with Mt 11:28 (SYR^S),³⁹ ܐܘܪܗܘܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ.

I also conjecture that this conflation was inspired by apologetical/polemical motives. These sayings were probably brought together first in a *florilegium* of dominical *logia*, the common denominator of which was their expressed opposition to the עול תורה, "yoke of the Torah," a *florilegium* used, no doubt, as some sort of *vade mecum* in the apologetical/polemical preaching and teaching of the early Palestinian church.⁴⁰ In such a context, Lk 11:46 very likely influenced Mt 11:28 and the reading ܐܘܪܗܘܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ resulted.

³⁵ Leloir, *Le Témoignage*, p. 146.

³⁶ Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus Evangelium Syrorum et Exinde Excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani* (BPM, VI; Madrid, 1967), p. 237. Unfortunately, Ortiz de Urbina does not give his reasons for rejecting the longer reading.

³⁷ As far as I have been able to determine, no one has heretofore attempted this.

³⁸ See Agnes Smith Lewis, *The Old Syriac Gospels or Evangelion da-Mepharreshé* (London, 1910), p. 160.

³⁹ See Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁴⁰ Cf. a comparable conjecture, made in another context, by Bellinzoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 106, 140 f. With regard to a group of four *logia* in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (Dial 35.3), he observes that they are "apparently derived from an early Christian *vade mecum* of sayings against heresies, and it is likely that this manual or a similar manual for use against heresies was known to the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions* and perhaps also to Didymus, Lactantius, and the author of the *Didascalía*."

I furthermore conjecture that this conflation came into existence before it was taken up into the harmony on which the fathers who employed it drew.⁴¹

Within the extant witnesses to the *Diatessaron* I am unable to find any evidence to support the view that the reading "bearers of *heavy* burdens" originated with Tatian.⁴² However, within the Matthaean gospel itself, and within the patristic literature which draws ultimately upon it, I do find evidences that lend support to my conjecture.

Already, in its Matthaean form, the complex of *logia*⁴³ that

⁴¹ Leloir, *Le Témoignage*, p. 237 f., recognizes the probability of this reading's antedating Tatian's *Diatessaron*. He concludes, "Bon nombre de ces leçons, soit d'Éphrem-syriaque, soit d'Éphrem-arménien, sont probablement tatianiques, non en ce sens que Tatien en serait le créateur — beaucoup lui sont antérieures, ou ont existé dans des traditions parallèles à Tatien —, mais simplement parce que, reprises et comme cristallisées dans le *Diatessaron* de Tatien, elles ont, à partir de cet ouvrage, exercé forte influence sur les écrits subséquents." Mt 11:28 is included in his list of "leçons."

⁴² Pace Vööbus, *Researches*, p. 48; and Lyonnet, *op. cit.*, p. 206. See n. 27 above.

⁴³ That Mt 11:28-30 is a complex of *logia* is made evident by a comparison of the Matthaean pericope with its parallel in the *Gospel of Thomas* (*Logion* 90):

<i>Mt. 11:28 ff.</i>	<i>Gospel of Thomas, 90</i>
1a) δεῦτε πρός με . . .	1a) ἀληεῖτῆ σαροεῖ'
	2a) θε οσχηριστος πε παναρβ.
	2b) ατω ταμῆτχοεῖς οσρᾶραυ τε
1b) καὶ εὐρήσετε ἀνάπαυσιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν.	1b) ατω τετῆαρε αθαναρπασε ἠητῆ
2a) ὁ γὰρ ζυγός μου χρηστός	
2b) καὶ φορτίον μου ἐλαφρόν ἐστιν.	

That both of these passages are drawn on originally Aramaic traditions is probable. Note especially the incidence of *parallelismus*

make up the pericope Mt 11:28-30 reflects the apologetical/polemical attitude of the western Syrian church⁴⁴ toward the synagogue.

In the first place, Matthew employs the pericope, Mt 11:28 ff., as an introduction to two *typical* instances (*The Plucking of Grain on the Sabbath*, Mt 12:1-8; and the *Healing of the Man with a Withered Hand on the Sabbath*, Mt 12:9-14) of the *χρηστότης* of the *ζυγὸς τοῦ κυρίου*⁴⁵ *membrorum* in both the Greek and Coptic forms (part 2, a and b); the use of *ψυχῆ* for the reflexive pronoun in the Greek text (part 1b); and the use of *chiasmus* in the Coptic text (part 2, a and b). On the Aramaisms in the Matthaean pericope see, e.g., Arnold Myer, *Jesu Muttersprache* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 84; and Matthew Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts* (3d ed.; Oxford, 1967), pp. 183 ff. On the Aramaic background of the *logia* of the *Gospel of Thomas* see, e.g., G. Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas and the New Testament," *VCh*, XI (1957), 207; "Some Remarks on the Gospel of Thomas," *NTS*, V (1959), 277, 290; Hugh Montefiore, "A Comparison of the Parables of the Gospel according to Thomas and of the Synoptic Gospels," in H. E. W. Turner and Hugh Montefiore, *Thomas and the Evangelists* (*SBT*, XXXV; London, 1962), p. 78; and Helmut Köster, "ΤΝΩΜΑΙ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΟΙ: the Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity," *HThR*, LVIII (1965), 295 f., although they do not deal specifically with *Logion* 90.

That there were originally two basic Aramaic *logia* is patent; the one, in the form (probably), *אתו לוותי / ותשכחן ניהא לנפשכך*, and the other (possibly), *נעזים נירי הוא / ומובלי קליל היא*.

It is also obvious that these two *logia* were related, the one to the other, prior to the independent developments manifest in the Matthaean and Thomas traditions. It is not easy, however, to determine how they were originally related. Were they connected tandem-like (*logion* 2 following *logion* 1 linked by a simple connective), as in the Matthaean tradition, or sandwich-like (with *logion* 2 intercalated between the two members of *logion* 1), as in the Thomas tradition?

It is not possible to decide this question with any degree of finality. I am inclined to think, however, that the Matthaean order represents the primary development. On the one hand, it seems to reflect a stage in which several related *logia* were simply strung together catena-like (cf. the *logia* of Q). On the other hand, the Thomas arrangement appears to be more contrived, and thus likely represents a secondary development.

For the Coptic text with English translation see A. Guillaumont, *et al.*, *The Gospel according to Thomas* (Leiden, 1959), pp. 46 f.

⁴⁴ See Köster, *op. cit.*, pp. 287 ff.

⁴⁵ Cf. Did 6.2 where the *διδαχὴ κυρίου* (1.1 to 6.1) is referred to as

as compared with the τὸ δυσβάστακτον φορτίον⁴⁶ of the ζυγὸς τοῦ νόμου (= עול תורה) required by the Rabbis,⁴⁷ and thereby reveals his apologetical/polemical understanding of the *logia* of which it is composed;⁴⁸ and in the second, when one compares the Matthaean passage with its parallel in the *Gospel of Thomas*,⁴⁹ and at the same time takes into consideration the “pre-history” of the *logia* involved,⁵⁰ it becomes evident that whereas the Thomas tradition has retained the heavy accent on the term ΔΣΑΝΑΘΡΑΚΙΣ (sic!)

the ζυγὸς τοῦ κυρίου; Barn 2.6 which speaks of the “new” νόμος τοῦ κυρίου which is “without” the ζυγὸς ἀνάγκης (see F. X. Funk and Karl Bihlmeyer, *Die Apostolischen Väter* [Tübingen, 1956], pp. 5 and 11 respectively); and Justin Martyr, Dial. 53.1 (see J. C. T. Otto, *Iustini Philosophi et Martyris Opera* [“Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi,” II; 3d ed.; Wiesbaden, 1877; reprint, 1969], bk I, pt II, p. 178).

⁴⁶ Cf. Lk 11:46.

⁴⁷ Cf. the *logion* of R. Nehunjah ben ha-Kanah (*Pirke Aboth*, 3.6):
 כל המקבל עליו עול תורה מעבירין ממני עול מלות ועול דרך ארץ.
 See R. T. Herford, *The Ethics of the Talmud: Sayings of the Fathers* (New York, 1962), pp. 69 ff.

⁴⁸ See also Alan H. M'Neile, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London, 1915; reprint, 1957), pp. 166 f.

⁴⁹ See n. 43 above.

⁵⁰ There can be little doubt that the *logia* of Mt 11:28 ff. are rooted in the Wisdom traditions of Judaism. Note, for instance, the remarkable parallelism between Sir 51.23 ff., and Mt 11:28 ff.:

Sir 51.23 ff.

Mt 11:28 ff.

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) ἐγγίσατε πρὸς με | δεῦτε πρὸς με . . . |
| b) τὸν τραχηλὸν ὑμῶν
ὑπόθετε ὑπὸ ζυγόν | ἄρατε τὸν ζυγόν μου
ἐφ' ὑμᾶς |
| c) καὶ ἐπιδεξάσθω
ἡ ψυχὴ ὑμῶν
παιδείαν | καὶ μάθετε
ἀπ' ἐμοῦ . . . |
| d) καὶ εὖρον ἑμαυτῶ
πολλήν ἀνάπαυσιν. | καὶ εὐρήσετε
ἀνάπαυσιν
ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑμῶν. |

Cf. Sir 24.19 ff., Prov 1:20 ff., and 8:1 ff., and see Rudolf Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (5th ed.; Göttingen, 1961), pp. 171 f.; Köster, *Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern* (TU, LXV; Berlin, 1967), pp. 106 f.; and Francis W. Beare, *The Earliest Records of Jesus* (Oxford, 1962), p. 89.

“rest,” the Matthaean tradition has shifted it to the term ζυγός,⁵¹ thereby again revealing the Matthaean apologetical/polemical understanding of the *logia* concerned.

This apologetical/polemical attitude in which the ζυγός τοῦ κυρίου is consciously opposed to the ζυγός τοῦ νόμου continued to have an influential impact on some sectors of the Aramaic-speaking church, in the East as well as the West, and upon the gospel traditions which they transmitted.

The *Liber Graduum*, for instance, in an obvious allusion to Mt 11:28 ff., with measured phrases, deliberately sets the ܚܘܬܐ ܠܘܬܐܢܐ, the “light burdens,” of the ܚܘܬܐ ܘܢܘܘܥܐ, the “new covenant,” to which the Christian is “subject,” over against the ܚܘܬܐ ܘܚܘܬܐ, “the heavy burdens,” of the ܚܘܬܐ ܘܚܘܬܐ, the “old covenant,” from which he has been “liberated.”⁵²

Similarly, the *Didascalia*, after carefully distinguishing between the ܚܘܬܐ ܘܚܘܬܐ, the “first law,” which consists of the “ten words and judgments,”⁵³ and which is “in accord with the gospel,” and the ܚܘܬܐ ܘܚܘܬܐ the “second law,” which contains the ܚܘܬܐ ܘܚܘܬܐ, the “bonds which may not be loosed of heavy burdens,” from which the “Savior” has set the Christian free,⁵⁴ through baptism,⁵⁵ cites Mt 11:28 with the comment, ܚܘܬܐ ܘܚܘܬܐ.

⁵¹ ܕܘܚܘܬܐ is an important term in the *Gospel of Thomas*, as in Gnostic literature generally, and has rather specialized connotations (cf., e.g., *Logion* 60 in which ܕܘܚܘܬܐ serves “to describe that condition in which man, having allowed himself to be illuminated by gnosis, is no longer in the power of, and can no longer be corrupted by, the material world.” So Bertil Gärtner, *The Theology of the Gospel according to Thomas* (New York, 1961), pp. 265 f.). It is no doubt intended to receive special emphasis in *Logion* 90. So also Robert M. Grant and D. Noel Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (London, 1960), pp. 173 f., and R. McL. Wilson, *Studies in the Gospel of Thomas* (London, 1960), pp. 57 f.

⁵² The Syriac text is cited on p. 6 above.

⁵³ Since the “Ten Words” are patently the ܕܘܚܘܬܐ of Ex 20:1 ff., the “Judgments” are most likely the ܕܘܚܘܬܐ of Ex 21:1 ff.

⁵⁴ *Didasc* 4.23 ff.; cf. 41.10 ff.; and 109.27 ff. (Lagarde, *op. cit.*).

⁵⁵ *Didasc* 109.28 f. (Lagarde, *op. cit.*).

