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‘Why don’t you sing, Thomas?’ The manuscript tradition omitting the Hymn of the Bride in *Acta Thomae*

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Abstract

The so-called Hymn of the Bride is found in Chapters 6–7 in the first Act of the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*. The manuscripts containing it show a particular history of the text which does not always coincide with that of the rest of the Act. For instance, family gamma (Γ) often presents a summarized version of the first two Acts, thus heavily shortening the Hymn.

A study of the text is essential to establish a new edition with translation, which is the aim of the project in which this study is embedded. However, analysis of the manuscripts omitting or summarizing the Hymn is also relevant for other goals, such as a proper understanding of the interrelationships between the different manuscripts and of the interest in the text, and its use by early Christian communities and by later readers.

Consequently, in this paper, I will analyse the particularities of such a textual tradition and offer a few conclusions that will, in turn, contribute to the broader analysis of the *Acts of Thomas*.

Keywords: manuscript tradition; textual criticism; Early Christianity; Apocryphal Acts; Acts of Thomas; Hymn

1 Introduction

The *Acts of Thomas* (henceforth *ATH*) is the only apocryphal Act of the Apostles that has survived in its entirety, albeit presenting a complex textual tradition.

As part of a larger project intending to provide a new edition with translation and commentary on *ATH*, this paper focuses on the so-called Hymn of the Bride, sometimes also known as Hymn of the Daughter of Light (henceforth *HBr*), which is found in Chapters 6–7 in the first Act. While the logical approach for this task would be to focus on the manuscripts which transmit the whole Hymn – which I have studied elsewhere¹ – there are certain traditions that only transmit a summarised version or directly omit it, which deserve proper study too. It is also fundamental for our knowledge of the text to address these versions, as well as how the text is reorganised, to either accommodate the new version or the lack of it. This will allow us to achieve three goals: 1) understanding the interrelationships between the different manuscripts, 2) casting light on the interest in the text and its use by early Christian communities and by later readers, and 3) inferring from the present results useful information for the study of the rest of *ATH*.

Already in his edition of the Greek text in 1903, M. Bonnet accounted for two families of textual transmission, Γ and Δ , which differ in the parts of the text they provide.² Here

¹ L. Lesage Gárriga, ‘El Himno de la Novia en *Acta Thomae*. Un nuevo acercamiento al texto griego’ (in press).

² M. Bonnet, *Acta Philippi et Acta Thomae* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1903 (1959²)).

is not the place to go deeper into this issue, for which I refer to the studies by I. Muñoz Gallarte & A. Narro (2021) and I. Muñoz Gallarte (in press),³ but it is relevant to point out that, in general terms, the manuscript tradition usually transmits the text grouped as follows: the first two Acts (Chapters 1–29) seem to have circulated independently as well as with the whole of the work, resulting in them being transmitted by numerous testimonies; the remaining Acts (30–158, including the famous Hymn of the Pearl) presents another tradition, and so does the final martyrdom of Thomas (159–171), which on account of the popularity that such martyrdoms attracted in Antiquity is also attested separately, in a wide number of manuscripts. Among those consulted by Bonnet, only two transmit the Acts in its complete form – P and U, the latter being the only one, as far as we know, that has preserved the full text including the Hymn of the Pearl in its Greek version.⁴

Within the testimonies of Chapters 1–29, which are the focus of our study, an interesting phenomenon occurs: not all of them grant the same importance to all the parts of the text, which results in summarised versions of the first two Acts. This particular tradition is what Bonnet called family gamma (Γ)⁵, and it represents a key issue when dealing with HBr because the Hymn is one of the parts usually affected by the abbreviation of the text. These, however, are not the only testimonies modifying or suppressing the Hymn: family delta (Δ), which goes back to the archetype according to Bonnet, also presents interesting alternative versions of the Hymn.

More than a century has passed since Bonnet's edition, and in the meantime, new manuscripts have been discovered and transcribed, around 60 in total. It seems, therefore, appropriate to investigate what these abbreviated versions tell us about *ATH* as a literary unit.

2 Manuscripts omitting or summarizing HBr

For this study, I have limited the analysis to the manuscripts used by Bonnet together with the oldest testimonies among the recently discovered texts, all of them copied between the 10th and the 12th centuries CE.

Regarding those included in Bonnet's edition, he indicated that the first two Acts were transmitted by ABCDFGHPQRSTUUVXY.⁶ He categorised G and H as belonging to the family Γ , with a shortened version of HBr, and B as a hybrid between families Γ and Δ . However, among the remaining testimonies we have found, as a matter of fact, that C, S, T, Q, and V do not transmit HBr in complete form either.

The following list provides the basic information of the manuscripts analysed in this study:

- B, Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth BnF), gr. 1468, 11th c.
- C, BnF, gr. 1454, 10th c.
- G, Real Biblioteca del Escorial, Y II 9 / 264, 11th c.

³ I. Muñoz Gallarte & A. Narro, 'The Abridged Version(s) of the So-Called Family Γ of the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas', *The Apostles Peter, Paul, John, Thomas and Philip with their Companions in Late Antiquity* (ed. T. Nicklas, J.E. Spittler, J.N. Bremmer; Leuven: Peeters, 2021) 254–69; I. Muñoz Gallarte, 'New Textual Witnesses for the Greek Apocryphal Acts of Thomas', L. Roig Lanzillotta & I. Muñoz Gallarte (eds.), *New Trends in the Study of the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas. Revisiting the Scholarly Discourse Twenty Years Later* (in press).

⁴ For a detailed palaeographic analysis of U (*Valllicellianus* B 35), see L. Roig Lanzillotta, L., 'Codex Valllicellianus B 35: An Assessment of the only Extant Greek Manuscript of *Acta Thomae*, Including the "Hymn of the Pearl"', in L. Roig Lanzillotta & I. Muñoz Gallarte (eds.), *New Trends in the Study of the Apocryphal Acts of Thomas. Revisiting the Scholarly Discourse Twenty Years Later* (in press).

⁵ Bonnet, *Acta*, XIX.

⁶ Bonnet, in the preface of *Acta*, xvii.

- H, Real Biblioteca del Escorial, Y II 6 / 314, 12th c.
 Q, BnF, gr. 1485, 10th c.
 S, BnF, gr. 1613, 15th c.
 T, BnF, gr. 1540, 11th c.
 V, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (henceforth BAV), gr. 1190, 16th c.
 Z, Saint Petersburg, 906 gr. 94, 12th c.
 7, BAV, 866, 11th–12th c.
 8, BAV, 1608, 12th–13th c.
 11, Bodleian Library, Barocci 180, 12th c.
 12, Bodleian Library, Laud. gr. 68, 10th–11th c.
 36, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 063, 12th c.
 38, Mount Athos, 002 Lambros 2, 11th c.
 40, Mount Athos, 0275 Lambros 4395, 12th c.

3 Analysis

In the following paragraphs, I will detail the main differences and similarities that the above-listed manuscripts present, both among themselves and also in relation to other manuscripts transmitting the whole text of HBr.

Before doing so, however, let us review the context in which the Hymn is included in *Ath*.⁷ After having been sent to India as a slave, Thomas arrives in Andrapolis⁸ and participates as a guest at the wedding of the daughter of the king. In 6.1, while minding his own business he is slapped by a server, a moment in which (6.2–6.3) he predicts the terrible near future of the server, punished by God in this world. In 6.4, Thomas is said to start singing the Hymn, which is found in lines 6.5–7.12. In 8.1, Thomas finishes and the people around look at him.

6.1. The transmission of the first line shows two predominant trends. Several manuscripts show the same text as the non-abbreviated testimonies: C, Q, S, T, V and 8, with small variations mainly due to *errata*, all read τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος εἰς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐρράπισεν αὐτόν (C, for illustration). The other trend, differently, shows a summarised version, omitting the mention of the apostle at the beginning, but referring to him by the pronoun and often omitting other words as well: B, G, H, 7, 11, 12 and 36 (αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος εἰς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπησεν αὐτόν, B for illustration).

38 and 40 seem to distance themselves from both trends, providing a text unique to them: εἰς δὲ τις τῶν οἰνοχόων δι' αὐτοῦ παρερχόμενος. ἰδὼν αὐτόν οὕτω κάτω νεύοντα ἐρράπισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν σιαγόνα τῇ ἰδίῳ χειρὶ. εἰπὼν αὐτῷ ἵνα τί οὕτως καθέζη στυγνάζων. καὶ οὐ προσέχεις τῇ αὐλίτρια ἔμπροσθεν σου αὐλούση ἐπὶ τὸσαύτην ὥραν 38; the same with the variants ἐρράπησεν, προσέχεις, and τωσαύτην 40.

6.2. This line is heavily edited in B, G, H, 7, 11 and 36: all share a modified beginning (ἐμβλέψας δὲ εἰς αὐτόν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· ὁ κύριος B; some without the mention to ὁ ἀπόστολος, like G and H); 11 differs slightly while still remaining part of this trend (προσεμβλέψας οὖν εἰς αὐτόν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν θυμῷ λέγει). G and H also show a modified version at the end (τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι), while B, 7, and 36 transmit the

⁷ See C.H. Cosgrove, 'Singing Thomas: Anatomy of a Symptotic Scene in Acts of Thomas', *Vigiliae Christianae* 69 (2015) 256–75 and M. Marcovich, 'The Wedding Hymn in *Acta Thomae*', *Illinois Classical Studies* 6 (1981) 367–85, for two literary studies of the Hymn.

⁸ This is the name of the city as read in most mss.; some of them provide variants, such as Enadroch. On this tradition, see I. Muñoz Gallarte & A. Narro, 'Some Notes on Andrápolis, the Royal City: Apocryphal Acts of Thomas 3', *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 18 (2021) 225–35.

text from non-abbreviated testimonies (εις τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα), and 11 remains halfway between with the inclusion of the term ἁμαρτήμα (εις τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὸ ἁμαρτήμα).

Differently, C, Q, S, T, V, 8, 12, 38 and 40 transmit the text of the non-abbreviated testimonies (ἐπάρας δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ προσχῶν τῷ τύψαντι αὐτὸν εἶπεν· ὁ θεὸς μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὴν ἀδικίαν ταύτην, C for illustration); with 38 and 40 deviating only with the addition of αὐτῷ τῇ ἐβραϊδί διαλέκτωι at the end of the first sentence, after the verb εἶπεν.

6.3. A shortened version, with several words omitted, is transmitted by B, G, H, 7, 11 and 36, all ever so slightly different (εις δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξῃ θαυμάσια, εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ ἴδω αὐτὴν ὑπὸ κοινὸς συρομένην B; εἰς τὸν δὲ νῦν κόσμον δεῖξει θαυμάσια εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ ἴδω συρομένη (οιομένη) ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ κυνός G; εἰς τὸν δὲ κόσμον δεῖξει θαυμάσια, καὶ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ ἴδω αὐτὴν ὑπὸ κυνός συρομένην H; εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξῃ θαυμάσια, εἰς αἰκίην τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ ἴδω αὐτὴν ὑπὸ κυνός συρομένην 7; εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κόσμον δῖξει θαυμάσιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ θεάσομαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ κυνός συρομένην 11; εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια, εἰς τὴν τύψασάν με χεῖρα ἐκείνην καὶ ἴδω αὐτὴν συρομένην ὑπὸ κυνός 36).

C, Q, S, T, V, 8 and 12 transmit a text fairly similar to the non-abbreviated versions (εις δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια, καὶ θεάσομαι ἤδη τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην C; the same but with the singular κυνός, 12); 38 and 40 as well, with the inclusion of the sintagma εἰς σὲ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ instead of αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια (εις δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξει εἰς σὲ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ, καὶ θεάσομαι τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρομένην).

6.4. We see, again, two main trends in the transmission of this line. G and 8, on the one hand, do not transmit the line at all. Notwithstanding this, most manuscripts transmit a shortened and sometimes reworked version. Some include a reference to the language in which Thomas sings: B, H, S, 7, 12, 36, 38, 40 (καὶ ἤρξατο ψαλλεῖν ἐβραϊστῇ ἐπὶ ὥραν μίαν, B for illustration⁹); 11 shares almost the same version, but without this explanation (ἤρξατο δὲ ψάλλειν καὶ ὅτε τὴν ᾠδὴν ἦσεν). C, Q, and T transmit the same text as the non-abbreviated testimonies (καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψάλλειν καὶ λέγειν τὴν ᾠδὴν ταύτην). And V provides a unique reading (καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα μόνη ἡ ἀυλίστρια συνῆβεν τὸ λεχθὲν· ἐβραῖος γὰρ ἦν· εἶτα ὁ ἀπόστολος ἤρξατο ψάλλειν ἐβραϊστῇ).

6.5–7.12. Only three manuscripts provide us with part of the Hymn, properly. C transmits the first half of 6.4 as usual in the abbreviated versions, but continues with half of the lines 6.5 and 6.6, 6.8 almost complete with some additions, and finishes with 7.12 (ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτός, ἡ θυγάτηρ, ἣ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων ἧς τὰ ἐνδύματα ἔοικεν ἐαρινοῖς ἄνθεσιν, ἔγκειται δὲ αὐτῆς τῇ κεφαλῇ ἄνθεσιν χαρὰν δὲ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτῆς ἐμφαίνει· ἧς τὸ στόμα ἀνέφκται καὶ πρεπόντως, ἣ λειτουργοῦσιν λευχημονοῦντες ἄγγελιοι· δοξάζουσι δὲ σὺν τῷ ζῶντι πνευμάτι, τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς σοφίας).

Q presents a fairly stable version, similar to the one transmitted by Δ, from 6.1 to 6.7, and lacks from 6.8 up to half of passage 27. This important loss, however, is due to missing folia in the manuscript and not to an active intention of shortening the text: (6) ἔγκειται δὲ ταύτης τῇ κεφαλῇ (27) εὐσπλαγχνος.¹⁰

⁹ For ὥραν, see G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961) s.v. ὥρα 1, as hours of prayer, and in combination with ψάλλω, definition 2.

¹⁰ I have added numbers in parentheses to clarify the passage; these, obviously, are not included in the manuscript.

T transmits the usual half of 6.4 and continues with an abbreviated and transformed version of 6.5 before jumping to 8: (6) ἡ κόρη τοῦ φωτός, ἡ θυγάτηρ, ἧ ἔγκειται τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. (8) καὶ ὅτε ὑμνησεν...

8:1. The transmission of the first line after the end of the Hymn is rather varied in our sources. While the content is always alike, the form is never quite the same. Most manuscripts provide a version close to the non-abbreviated testimonies: T and V show 8:1 complete (καὶ ὅτε ὑμνησεν καὶ ἐτέλεσε τὴν ὁδὴν ταύτην, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον καὶ ἠσύχαζον T; the same with ἠσύχαζον at the end V); C, S, 12, meanwhile, all omit the first half of the line but transmit the second half without much alteration (πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον καὶ ἠσύχαζον C; καὶ ὅτε ἐτέλεσεν τὴν εὐχὴν πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον καὶ ἠσύχαζον S; καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον, μὴ εἰδότες ἄπερ ἐλάλη 12). 11 follows the trend with half 8.1 but reworks the ending too (πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέκλεπτον καὶ ἐώρων τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἐνηλαγμένον).

B, 7, and 36 provide a rather similar text (καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντες αὐτῷ ἠτένιζον B; καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντας αὐτῷ ἠτένιζον 7; καὶ ὅτε τοῦ ψαλλεῖν ἐπαύσατο πάντες ἠτένιζον αὐτῷ 36). Others transmit a very innovative version: G (Ὅτε δὲ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ παρόντες, ἠτένιζον αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδόντες ἄπερ ἐλάλει καὶ ἔβλεπον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐνηλαγμένον ἐν ἐτέρᾳ μορφῇ); H (καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παροντεῖ ἠτένιζον εἰς αὐτὸν); 8 (Ἡ δὲ αὐλήτρια πάντα ἤκουσεν μόνη καὶ ἰδιῶ ἤκουεν αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄνθρωπον ὁμοεθνον αὐτῆς ἦν δὲ καὶ τῇ ἡδεῖα ὠραῖος ὁ ἀπόστολος ὑπερ πάντας τοῦς ἐκεῖσε ὄντας), 38 and 40 both share the same line *verbatim* (πάντες δὲ ἤκουον αὐτοῦ ψάλλοντος καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἀτενίζοντες καὶ μὴ νοοῦντες τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόντα 38; the same with λεγόμενα at the end 40).

4 Results

After the survey presented above, we may infer a few plausible conclusions.

From the study of Chapters 6–7 alone, we cannot know where manuscript Z stands, given that it does not transmit Chapters between 4 and 16. The leap, however, occurs within the same folio, which leads us to suppose that the copyist was not interested in transmitting *ATH* as a whole, but rather specific parts and in a peculiar order: 1–3; 17–29; 163–167 (namely the martyrdom); 146; 148; 168–170.

The case of Q is different, which transmits a fairly complete version of the Hymn up to 6.7. The folia missing until mid-27 indicates that Q does not belong to the branch omitting or summarizing HBr, but rather has suffered the inclemency of time and textual loss.

Manuscripts 7 and 36, which had previously been included in family gamma,¹¹ present in the text of the Hymn a mixture of elements from both Γ and Δ. In fact, it shows a text quite close to B – catalogued, as we have seen above, as a hybrid between Γ and Δ – where certain elements from Δ remain stable (e.g., μου ἀφίσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα B; μου ἀφίσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα 7; μου ἀφίσει σοι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα 36) against the tendency of Γ to modify them (μου ἀφίσει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι H); and they also diverge together from readings proper to Γ (καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντες αὐτῷ ἠτένιζον B; καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντας αὐτῷ ἠτένιζον 7; καὶ ὅτε τοῦ ψαλλεῖν ἐπαύσατο πάντες ἠτένιζον αὐτῷ 36, vs. καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παροντεῖ ἠτένιζον εἰς αὐτὸν H).

The cases of 11 and 12 are not dissimilar; while none of them has been attributed to Γ, both begin the Hymn in the same way as this tradition (Αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος)

¹¹ Muñoz Gallarte & A. Narro, 'The Abridged Version(s)', 259.

and jump from 6.4 to 8.1, like all other manuscripts we have analysed from Γ .¹² However, 12 presents a text closer to Δ from 6.2 onwards than 11, whose transmission of 6.2 is the same as Γ (προσεμβλέψας οὖν εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν θυμῷ λέγει 11; ἐπάρας δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ προσχῶν τῷ τύπαντι αὐτῷ εἶπεν 12). These two, to a greater or lesser degree, could be also included in the line of hybrid manuscripts, with B, 7 and 36.

Of these five, it is interesting to notice that 12 is the oldest copy – being dated from the 10th–11th c., while B is dated from the 11th c., 7 from the 11th–12th c., and both 11 and 36 from the 12th c.¹³ Given that it provides the closest version to the manuscripts with the Hymn complete, it is tempting to see in it one of the earliest attempts to shorten or summarize the text. This hypothesis could be proven by a detailed analysis of the whole of *ATH* in 12.

Another interesting tradition, peculiar to only two manuscripts among those studied, is that of 38 and 40. They virtually coincide in most elements: the beginning being different from all the other abbreviated testimonies (εἰς δὲ τις τῶν οἰνοχόων, vs. family Γ , αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος H, and family Δ shortened, τοῦ δὲ ἀποστόλου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος C), adding a long rewriting of 6.1 (δι' αὐτοῦ παρερχόμενος. ἰδὼν αὐτὸν οὕτω κάτω νεύοντα ἐρράπισεν αὐτοῦ τὴν σιαγόνα τῆ ἰδίῳ χειρὶ. εἰπὼν αὐτῷ ἵνα τί οὕτως καθέζη συγνάζων. καὶ οὐ προσέχεις τῆ ἀυλίτρια ἔμπροσθεν σου αὐλούση ἐπὶ τὸσαύτην ὄραν), some additions throughout (εἰς σὲ τὰ θαυμάσια αὐτοῦ), and an original version of 8.1 (πάντες δὲ ἤκουον αὐτοῦ ψάλλοντος καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἀτενίζοντες καὶ μὴ νοοῦντες τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα 38; the same with λεγόμενα 40). It would be interesting to further study more recent manuscripts (from the 13th to the 16th c.) to investigate whether their version of HBr reappears later on.

Finally, we arrive at the uncanny resemblance of V with one of the manuscripts transmitting the whole text of HBr, 24. While V transmits 6.1 to 6.3 without deviating from the tradition of complete versions and later transforms 6.4 and jumps to 8.1, as do most of the abbreviated versions, the transmitted text shares eight common readings with 24, of which four are transmitted only by these two manuscripts (καὶ μὴ ἀνανεύοντος added before εἰς and the omission of τις in 6:1; συγχωρήσει instead of μου ἀφήσει in 6:2; νῦν in lieu of ἦδη before τὴν χεῖρα in 6:3; and ἐβραϊστῆ in substitution of καὶ λέγειν in 6:4).

In fact, from all the manuscripts transmitting the complete HBr that I have been able to check (A, D, F, P, R, U, X, 9, 10, 24, 39, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50, 55, 60), 24 is the only one which included the reading ἐβραϊστῆ. The reference to the Hebrew language used by Thomas, however, is quite frequent in the summarized versions. Granted, with different wordings, it appears in B, H, S, 12, 36, 38, 40.

Given that 24 is dated from the 12th c. and V from the 16th c.,¹⁴ it is a safe assumption to suggest dependence, probably indirect, of V on 24. Again, a larger study on *ATH* would be beneficial to confirm whether the resemblances go beyond HBr or not.

It has been speculated that a possible reason for the lack of the Hymn in a wide range of manuscripts is due to the fact that it was a later addition and that it was not part of *ATH* in its original form.¹⁵ In other words, the Hymn was an independent poem which would

¹² For a clear overview of this family, see Table 1.

¹³ For the dating of these manuscripts we have relied on the online catalogues of the Bodleian Library and Pinakes: https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_6881 and <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/48290/> for 12; <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/4536/> for B; <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/67497/> for 7; <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/47467/> for 11; <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/42187/> for 36 (Consulted on 05/11/2022).

¹⁴ For the dating, see the catalogue Pinakes: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/4536/> for B; and <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/67821/> for V (Consulted on 05/11/2022).

¹⁵ To mention a couple of examples: H.W. Attridge, 'Intertextuality in the Acts of Thomas', *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles in Intertextual Perspectives* (Semeia 80; 1997) 88; and H.J. Klauck, *The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles. An Introduction* (transl. by Brian McNeil; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2008) 142.

have been adapted and integrated into the literary unit of *Ath*. As support for this hypothesis, scholars point to the same argument regarding the Hymn of the Pearl, which, as we have seen above, has only been transmitted in Greek by U, and in Syriac translation. Nonetheless, the textual tradition of the Hymn of the Bride completely differs from that of the Hymn of the Pearl, and so this theory lacks foundation.

The fact that twelve manuscripts with the summarized version transmit the part of 6.4 where Thomas is said to start singing his psalm (ἤρξατο ψάλλειν)¹⁶ points to the fact that, while the Hymn was known, it is cut from the copy being made. It seems a less probable option to assume that the original text had that line without any song or content related to it and that it was so conveniently taken later on to add an external Hymn. As a matter of fact, from almost 150 occurrences where Thomas is said to start talking, singing, or praying there is only one occasion without the words of the Saint following the statement.¹⁷ This too does not play in favour of the latter option.

Consequently, this study has shown that the Hymn of the Bride is, in one form or another, integrated into the body of the narration in most testimonies checked. This allows us to hypothesize that the Hymn truly belongs to the narration and is not a later addition.

Funding statement. This paper has been developed thanks to a stay at the Hardt Foundation and as part of the Research Project 'Edition, Translation and Commentary of *Acta Thomae*', funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities (Research project PID2019-111268GB-I00).

Competing interests. The author declares none.

¹⁶ See s.v. ψάλλω, definition B, especially B.6, in Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*.

¹⁷ For indicative counting I have looked into reporting verbs such as say, speak, utter, sing, pray, and preach in the English translation by J.K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 447–510. Once the occurrences within direct speech (e.g. in 51, 'the God whom I preach') and those introducing the speech of another character were eliminated, there remain 143 occurrences either alone or in combination with each other. The one case where the verb does not introduce direct speech is when the story recounts his deeds and the message of Christ in 59: 'He himself did not cease to preach and to speak to them and to show that this Jesus is the Messiah of whom the Scriptures have spoken that he should be crucified and be raised after three days from the dead.' See also Attridge, 'Intertextuality', 85–124.

Cite this article: Lesage Gárriga L (2023). 'Why don't you sing, Thomas?' The manuscript tradition omitting the Hymn of the Bride in *Acta Thomae*. *New Testament Studies* 69, 355–363. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688523000012>

Table 1. Chart of the Family Γ and Hybrid Mss

	6.1	6.2	6.3	6.4	8.1
B	αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορώντος εἰς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπησεν αὐτόν.	ἐμβλέψας δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· ὁ κύριος μου ἀφίσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα,	εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξῃ θαυμάσια, εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ ἴδω αὐτὴν ὑπὸ κοινὸς συρωμένην.	καὶ ἤρξατο ψαλλεῖν ἐβραϊστῆ ἐπὶ ὥραν μίαν.	καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντες αὐτῷ ἠτένιζον.
G	αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφαιρόντος εἰς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπισεν αὐτόν.	Ἐμβλέψας δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν λέγει· ὁ κύριός μου ἀφίσει σοι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι	εἰς τὸν δὲ νῦν κόσμον δεῖξει θαυμάσια εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ ἴδω συρομένην (οιομένην) ἐνταῦθα ὑπὸ κυνός.		Ὅτε δὲ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ παρόντες, ἠτένιζον αὐτῶν μὴ εἰδόντες ἅπερ ἐλάλει καὶ ἔβλεπον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐνηλλαγμένον ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ.
H	αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορώντος εἰς τις τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπισεν αὐτόν.	ἐμβλέψας δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν λέγει· ὁ κύριός μου ἀφίσει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι,	εἰς τὸν δὲ κόσμον δεῖξει θαυμάσια, καὶ εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ ἴδω αὐτὴν ὑπὸ κυνός συρομένην.	καὶ ἤρξατο ψαλλεῖν ἐβραϊστῆ ἐπὶ ὥραν μίαν.	καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παροντες ἠτένιζον εἰς αὐτόν.
7	αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφοροῦντος εἰς τὸν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐράπησεν αὐτόν	ἐμβλέψας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· ὁ κύριός μου ἀφίσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα	εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δεῖξῃ θαυμάσια, εἰς αἰκίην τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ ἴδω αὐτὴν ὑπὸ κυνός συρομένην	καὶ ἤρξατο ψάλιν ἐβραϊστῆ ἐπὶ ὥραν μίαν	καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντας αὐτῷ ἠτένιζον
11	Αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορώντος εἰς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ, ἐράπισεν αὐτόν.	προσεμβλέψας οὖν εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἐν θυμῷ λέγει, ὁ θεός μου ἀφίσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα τὸ ἁμαρτήμα,	εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κόσμον δίξει θαυμάσιον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τύψασάν με καὶ θεάσασμαι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ κυνός συρομένην.	Ἦρξατο δὲ ψάλλειν καὶ ὅτε τὴν ᾠδὴν ἤσεν	πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέκλεπτον καὶ ἑώραν τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἐνηλλαγμένον

12	αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορόντος εἰς τῶν οἰνοχόων ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐράπισεν αὐτὸν.	ἐπάρας δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀπόστολος καὶ προσχῶν τῷ τύψαντι αὐτῷ εἶπεν· ὁ θεὸς μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα αἰῶνα	εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια, καὶ θεάσομαι ἡδὴ τὴν χεῖρα ἐκείνην τὴν τύψασάν με ὑπὸ κυνὸς συρομένην	καὶ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἤρξατο ψαλεῖν <u>ἐβραϊστῆ ἐπὶ ὥραν μίαν.</u>	καὶ ὅτε ἐπαύσατο, πάντες οἱ ἐκεῖ παρόντες εἰς αὐτὸν ἀπέβλεπον, μὴ εἰδότες ἄπερ ἐλάλη.
36	αὐτοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφορῶντος εἰς τῶν οἰνοχόων τὴν χεῖρα ἐκτείνας αὐτὸν ἐρράπισεν.	<u>ἐμβλέψας</u> δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ὁ ἀπόστολος λέγει· ὁ κύριος μου ἀφήσει σοι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸν μέλλοντα,	εἰς δὲ τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον δείξει αὐτοῦ τὰ θαυμάσια, εἰς τὴν τύψασάν με χεῖρα ἐκείνην καὶ ἴδω αὐτὴν συρομένην ὑπὸ κυνὸς.	καὶ ἤρξατο ψάλλειν ἐν <u>ἐβραϊστί ἐπὶ ὥραν μίαν.</u>	καὶ ὅτε τοῦ ψαλλεῖν ἐπαύσατο πάντες <u>ἠτένιζον αὐτῷ</u>

Note: In bold, mss. belonging to the family Γ.

In cursive, mss. showing hybrid characteristics from both Γ and Δ.

Underlined, cases in which they share a reading departing from the complete version of HBr.