JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG

Synoptic Problems

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
329

Mohr Siebeck

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

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ISBN 978-3-16-152617-6
ISSN 0512-1604 (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at *http://dnb.dnb.de*.

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The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

In the memory of

William R. Farmer
Michael D. Goulder
Frans Neirynck

Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos, gigantium humeris insidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora videre, non utique proprii visus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subvenimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.

Preface

This volume had its origins in the kind invitation of Jörg Frey and Henning Ziebritzki to collect and reprint several essays on the Synoptic Gospels and Q. In selecting those for inclusion, I have benefited from the encouragement and counsel of William Arnal, Sarah Rollens, Daniel Smith, and Joseph Verheyden. Rather than simply reprint the essays as they once appeared, I have attached a bibliographical addendum to each that takes note of literature that has appeared in the meantime, agreeing, dissenting from, and advancing the conclusions of these essays. These addenda do not, of course, aim at bibliographical completeness, but offer only some of the most prominent engagements with the topics of these essays.

All of the essays have been reformatted and a consistent bibliographical format employed, replacing in some instances the author-date format of the original publications. This means, of course, that the original in-text citations now appear as footnotes. The original pagination, however, is indicated with bolded numerals in the body of the text.

In preparing these essays for publication I have been aided greatly by the assistance of Ms. Emily Lafleche, who read the re-formatted essays against their original publications, and who located much secondary literature that engaged these essays after their initial appearance.

The collection is dedicated, with great admiration, to three giants of Synoptic studies, all sadly deceased: William R. Farmer, whose *Synoptic Problem* in 1964 was the prime mover behind the re-opening of studies on the Synoptic Problem in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s; Michael Goulder, indefatigable advocate of the Farrer hypothesis, brilliant and learned redaction critic, and a daunting sparring partner in any debate; and Frans Neirynck, with his encyclopedic grasp of Synoptic studies, tireless and generous defender of the Two Document hypothesis, and intellectual leader in New Testament studies. I have profited more than can be stated here from the immense learning of these three.

I wish gratefully to acknowledge permission to publish the following articles and essays:

"The Theological Stakes in the Synoptic Problem," *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (BETL 100; eds. F. Van Segbroeck, C. Tuckett, G. Van Belle and J. Verheyden; Leuven: Peeters, 1992) 93–120. ©Peeters 1992.

"Is There a New Paradigm?" *Christology, Controversy, and Community: Essays in Honour of David Catchpole* (NovTSup 99; eds. D. G. Horrell and C. M. Tuckett; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000) 23–47. ©E.J. Brill 2000.

"On Dispensing with Q? Goodacre on the Relation of Luke to Matthew," *New Testament Studies* 49/2 (2003) 21–36. ©Cambridge University Press 2003.

"Variation in the Reproduction of the Double Tradition and an Oral Q?" *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 83/1 (2007) 49–79. ©Peeters 2007.

"Synopses and the Synoptic Problem," *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (BETL 239; eds. P. Foster, A. Gregory, J. S. Kloppenborg and J. Verheyden; Leuven: Peeters, 2011) 51–85. ©Peeters, 2011.

"Symbolic Eschatology and the Apocalypticism of Q," *Harvard Theological Review* 80/3 (1987) 287–306. ©Harvard University 1987.

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"Nomos and Ethos in Q," *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (eds. J. E. Goehring, J. T. Sanders and C. W. Hedrick; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990) 199–214. ©Polebridge Press 1990.

"City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)," *Semeia* 52 (1991) 145–60. ©Society of Biblical Literature 1991.

"Literary Convention, Self-Evidence, and the Social History of the Q People," *Semeia* 55 (1991) 77–102. ©Society of Biblical Literature 1991.

"The Sayings Gospel Q: Literary and Stratigraphic Problems," *Symbols and Strata: Essays on the Sayings Gospel Q* (Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65; ed. R. Uro; Helsinki and Göttingen: Finnish Exegetical Society and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 1–66. ©Finnish Exegetical Society 1996.

"A Dog Among the Pigeons: The 'Cynic Hypothesis' as a Theological Problem," *From Quest to Quelle: Festschrift James M. Robinson* (BETL 146; eds. J. Asgeirsson, K. de Troyer and M. W. Meyer; Leuven: Peeters, 1999) 73–117. ©Peeters 1999.

"Discursive Practices in the Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest of the Historical Jesus," *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (BETL 158; Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense XLIX; ed. A. Lindemann; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001) 149–90. ©Peeters 2001.

"Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9," *Novum Testamentum* 44/2 (2002) 134–159. ©E.J. Brill 2002.

"Self-Help or *Deus ex Machina* in Mark 12.9?" *New Testament Studies* 50 (2004) 495–518. ©Cambridge University Press 2004.

"*Evocatio Deorum* and the Date of Mark," *JBL* 124/3 (2005) 419–50. ©Society of Biblical Literature 2005.

"Agrarian Discourse in the Sayings of Jesus," *Engaging Economics: New Testament Scenarios and Early Christian Interpretation* (eds. B. Longenecker and K. Liebengood; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2010) 104–128. ©Eerdmans 2010.

"Jesus and the Parables of Jesus in Q," *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (NovTSup 75; ed. R. A. Piper; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995) 275–319. ©Brill 1995.

"The Parable of the Prodigal Son and Deeds of Gift," *Jesus, Paul and Early Christianity: Studies in Honour of Henk Jan de Jonge* (NovTSup 13; eds. R. Buitenwerf, H. W. Hollander and N. Tromp; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2008) 169–94. ©Brill 2008.

"Pastoralism, Papyri and the Parable of the Shepherd," *Light from the East: Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament* (Philippika. Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 39; eds. P. Arzt-Grabner and C. M. Kreinecker; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010) 48–69. ©Harrassowitz 2010.

"The Representation of Violence in the Synoptic Parables," *Mark and Matthew I: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Earliest Gospels in Their First Century Settings* (WUNT 271; eds. E.-M. Becker and A. Runesson; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011) 323–51. ©Mohr Siebeck 2011.

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Abbreviations

The abbreviations of ancient sources and modern publication are those of Patrick H. Alexander, *et al*., *The SBL Handbook of Style, for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1999). Other abbreviations include:

2DH	Two Document hypothesis
2GH	Two Gospel (neo-Griesbach) hypothesis
FH (MwQH)	Farrer (Goulder) hypothesis, Mark-without-Q hypothesis
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*
CEQ	Robinson, James M., Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds. *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas*. Hermeneia Supplements. Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000.
ESCJ	Studies in Christianity and Judaism / Études sur le Christianisme et le Judaïsme
SA	*Sociological Analysis*

Q texts are cited by their Lukan versification. For example, Q 6:20b is the Q text located at Luke 5:20b || Matt 5:3. This does not imply, however, that Lukan wording is necessarily that of Q. For Matthaean *Sondergut* that might derive from Q, Q/Matt is used; e.g., Q/Matt 5:41.

Papyri are abbreviated by the conventions of the American Society of Papyrologists: see John F. Oates, Roger S. Bagnall, and William H. Willis. *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*. 5th ed. BASP Supplements, vol. 9. Oakville, Conn.: American Society of Papyrologists, 2001.

Introduction

As a title for this collection I have chosen "Synoptic Problems" rather than the perhaps more optimistic "Synoptic solutions." I have done this for two main reasons. First, it is to avoid the *hybris* of supposing that we are in a position to offer definitive solutions to the issues of the relationship among the Synoptic Gospels, the shape, construction and editorial intent of the hypothetical Sayings Gospel Q, and issues concerning the interpretation of Mark and the parables. The data upon which we base our conjectures and hypotheses are, after all, rather paltry, with many gaps. Our earliest manuscripts of Matthew and Luke date from about a century after their putative dates of composition, and the earliest copy of Mark is even later. We are not in a position to know how strictly the texts of the gospels were transmitted prior to the end of the second century CE, but we do know that by the beginning of the third century there were already a number of important variations in those texts. This in turn means that we cannot know the degree to which the texts of the Synoptics that are printed in the twenty-eighth edition of Nestle-Aland, upon which we found our analysis and hypotheses, correspond to originating texts of the gospels. Hence, to the extent that discussions of the Synoptic Problem and the reconstruction of Q depend on knowing the texts of the Gospels with a high degree of certainty – and they surely do –, our conclusions cannot be definitive and the talk of "proofs" must be replaced with "plausible scenarios."

Second, the term "problems" underscores the fact that our thinking about the Synoptics is always provisional and subject to revision. In fact, the Synoptic Gospels turn out to be outstanding loci to think about how best to construct hypotheses that are responsive to the available data and which seem historically plausible. This applies not only to the Synoptic Problem and the reconstruction of Q, but also to numerous exegetical problems.

Compelling interpretations of issues in the Synoptic Gospels require a thick set of *comparanda* – lexicographical, literary, social-historical, material, and conceptual. In many instances, however, our data set is very weak. Part of the challenge in constructing compelling hypotheses involves choosing appropriate and relèvant *comparanda*. But what are these? Only "biblical" materials? Only "Jewish" texts and ideas? Graeco-Roman data, and if so, the products of high literary culture, or nonliterary and documentary materials? Some of the essays in this collection will attempt to make a case for the robust use of papyri from early Roman Egypt, since these provide detailed information on social realities,

administrative processes and social practices that are presupposed by Synoptics stories and sayings: for example, the managment of vineyards and viticultural labour; the division of paternal property *inter vivos*; mechanisms of dispute settlement; and the operations of courts, banks, and tax extraction. Because Synoptic parables and sayings were written for audiences that already had cultural competence in these ancient practices, it is hardly a suprrise that the Synoptics do not bother to explain or elaborate on any of these matters. But the modern interpreter, historically and culturally separated from those practices, is left with a dilemma. Either to suppose that vineyard management and dispute settlement occurred pretty much as they do today and to run the risk of serious anachronism. Or, to assemble solid ancient *comparanda* on the practices and social realities which the sayings of Jesus and the parables presuppose. For such a project, documentary papyri are usually our most plentiful, and sometimes only, resource.

A more subtle problem raised in some of these essays concerns how the canons of plausible explanation are constructed. What makes an argument compelling? What kinds of comparative data are relevant to explanation? A longer historical view of the study of the New Testament quickly reveals that conclusions that we now find far-fetched were in the past endorsed by very competent and distinguished scholars. Issues that they regarded as central to the exegetical enterprise often do not coincide at all with our questions. And some of the issues that we find pressing did not even have occurred to our predecessors. To look at the long historical view of exegesis is to come face to face with the fact that humanistic scholarship is historically and ideologically situated. This should constitute a warning that our own senses of what is important to know, and of which are good arguments and which are not, are not entirely based on objective norms but on ideological (and therefore subtle) factors.[1] These dictate, among other things, what we suppose *must* have been the case and what *cannot* have been the case. A long historical view will show how dramatically such understandings have changed, and how with them the habits of argument have changed. Prior to the end of the Second World War the topic of "unity and diversity in New Testament theology" was hardly probed and Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*, published in 1934, was largely ignored. Interest in the social structures of the earliest Christ groups was hardly discussed before the 1960s, apart from

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[1] I use 'ideological' here not in the sense of 'conceptual', but rather to refer to the nexus of beliefs and practices of a society which implicitly privilege certain values and judgments and which therefore control the interpretation of textual data by rendering 'natural' or 'plausible' certain construals, and 'implausible' or 'impossible' others that might, on the face of it, be mounted with equivalent arguments. On this notion of ideology, see Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London and New York: Verso, 1991) and Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)," in *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays* (translated by Ben Brewster; New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 127–86.

similarly ignored works by Adolf Deissmann and Karl Kautsky until interest was revived by Edwin Judge, Gerd Theissen, Abraham Malherbe and Wayne Meeks a generation later. Part of the construction of a good argument, then, involves not only selecting appropriate *comparanda*, but also understanding *why* we might think that these *comparanda* are appropriate and articulating what is at stake in these comparisons.[2]

The first section of this collection, entitled "Synoptic Problems," refrains from rehearsing or defending one or other solution to the synoptic problem, but instead treats conceptual and methodological issues in the synoptic problem. There are already many good treatments and evaluations of solutions to the Synoptic Problem, and many studies that advance a particular hypothesis as superior to all others with more appearing every year.[3] There are many fewer

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[2] One here thinks of Jonathan Z. Smith's observation in *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, 14. School of Oriental and African Studies; Chicago: London: The School of Oriental and African Studies; University of Chicago Press, 1990) that the widespread practice in the exegesis of the New Testament to insist on "biblical" and "Jewish" pedigrees had a strong correlation with Protestant-Catholic polemics which construct the theological purity of Protestantism by caricaturing Catholicism as pagan or "Hellenistic."

[3] The classic treatments of the synoptic problem are Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangelien: Ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1863); Hajo Uden Meijboom, *Geschiedenis en critiek der Marcus-Hypothese* (Proefschriff, Groningen; Amsterdam: Gebroeders Kraay, 1866); Gustav Meyer, *La question synoptique: Essai sur les rapports et l'origine des trois premiers évangiles canoniques: thése* (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1877); Paul Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage* (Leipzig, Freiburg im Breisgau, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1899); J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem* (2nd ed; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909 [repr. 1968]); William Sanday, ed., *(Oxford) Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911); B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1924); John Chapman, *Matthew, Mark and Luke: A Study in the Order and Interrelation of the Synoptic Gospels* (ed. John M.T. Barton; London: Longmans, Green, 1937); B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951); Lucien Cerfaux, "Le problème synoptique," *NRTh* 76 (1954): 494–505; Léon Vaganay, *Le problème synoptique: une hypothèse de travail* (with a preface by Lucien Cerfaux; Bibliothèque de théologie, Série 3: Théologie biblique 1; Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1954); Bruno de Solages, *Synopse grecque des évangiles: Méthode nouvelle pour résoudre le problème synoptique* (with a preface by Eugène Cardinal Tisserant; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill; Toulouse: Institut catholique, 1959); William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1964); Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse* (Zürich and Stuttgart: Gotthelf, 1971); William R. Farmer, ed., *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1983); Christopher M. Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis: An Analysis and Appraisal* (SNTSMS 44; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Christopher M. Tuckett, ed., *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (JSNTSup 7; Sheffield:

treatments of what I call the "meta-issues." These include the theological entailments in solutions to the synoptic problem and, therefore, the relationship between synoptic solutions and our reconstructions of the development and articulation of early Christian thinking about christology, soteriology, unity and diversity in early Christian thought, and other issues informing the synthetic pictures that we create from the various data at our disposal (chap. 1). The 2DH has been so widely embraced that its historical and conceptual entailments now run the risk of becoming the "things we think we most certainly know about early Christianity." This (false) certainty in turn lends credibility to the 2DH. But these entailments are in fact only the products of the hypothesis, not its demonstration. Thus, Matthew's more sympathetic treatment of the Twelve is not an assured result of research which happily coheres with the 2DH; it is a product or entailment of the 2DH, that Matthew edited Mark and not *vice versa*. The historical narrative that we tell ourselves that there was a tendency to enhance and deepen christological insights from the earliest period onwards is a *consequence* of adopting the 2DH, not an independent datum that supports the 2DH. Hence, chapter 1 examines some of the theological entailments in the 2DH, the FH and the 2GH, not as a way to cast doubt on any of them, but rather to lay out the picture of the evangelists's redactional methods and the picture of the 'development' of early Christianity that flows inevitably from these hypotheses.[4]

JSOT Press, 1984); Hans-Herbert Stoldt, *Geschichte und Kritik der Markus-Hypothese* (2nd edition, expanded; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986); Robert H. Stein, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1987); Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989); E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989); David L. Dungan, ed., *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* (BETL 95; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1990); David L. Dungan, *A History of the Synoptic Problem: The Canon, the Text, the Composition, and the Interpretation of the Gospels* (Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York, London and Toronto: Doubleday, 1999); John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), chap. 1, 6; Mark S. Goodacre, *The Synoptic Problem: A Way Through the Maze* (The Biblical Seminar 80; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001); Mark S. Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002); Delbert Burkett, *Rethinking the Gospel Sources [1]: From Proto-Mark to Mark* (New Testament Guides; London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2004); *Rethinking the Gospel Sources, Volume 2: The Unity and Plurality of Q* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009); Dennis R. MacDonald, *Two Shipwrecked Gospels: The* Logoi *of Jesus and Papias' Exposition of the Logia About the Lord* (Early Christianity and Its Literature 8; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012).

[4] This approach is now exemplified in several of the essays published in Paul Foster, et al., *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008. Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett* (BETL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), in particular in the essays by David B. Peabody ("Reading Mark from the perspectives of different synoptic source

Another second issue, discussed in the second chapter, has to do the with logical status of the "proofs" that are offered in defence of a particular hypothesis or against another. The standard introductions to the Synoptic Problem – the fictions that we tell our undergraduates – create simplistic diagrams of the relationship among the three gospels, as if on the 2DH Matthew quite literally had Mark's gospel before him, or on the FH, that Luke had Matthew's gospel as an immediate source.

Simple reflection on the state of our knowledge of the transmission of early Christian texts should tell us that it is dazzlingly improbable that Matthew had direct access to Mark, or that Luke had Matthew's autographic copy. At best, they had copies (or copies of copies) which at the very least were subject to the ordinary alterations introduced by copyists, and perhaps more major alterations such as additions, deletions, and rewordings as well. If the latter is the case, then the arguments that we invoke for testing hypotheses cannot take the form of simple deductive testing. That is, if the Synoptic Problem were a logical puzzle on the same level of the proposition that "all swans are white," where the discovery of even a single black swan would refute that proposition, it would be a simple matter to refute, for example, the FH's claim that Luke derived all of his "double tradition" material Matthew by pointing to a single instance where Luke's version of a double tradition saying or story was clearly earlier than Matthew's version. But such is hardly the case. For we have neither the autographs of Matthew or Luke, nor is it reasonable to suppose that there was a hermetically sealed conduit between Matthew and Luke such that no alternate memories, performances, or information could affect Luke's re-performance of a Matthaean unit. Though the fictions of simple synoptic diagrams are heuristically useful, we must not be beguiled by their simplicity and assume that the relationship between two gospels was a simple one. That also means that simple deductive testing is not the appropriate tool for the evaluation of synoptic hypotheses.

Chapters 3 and 4 engage specific problems in the Synoptic Problem. Chapter 3 reviews and assesses critically Mark Goodacre's *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (2002), which is less a critique of the Two Document hypothesis as it is a stout defence of the Farrer hypothesis. The fourth chapter engages and tests the suggestion promoted by James D. G. Dunn to the effect that while instances of high-verbatim agreement between Matthew and Luke in non-Markan materials indicates reliance on a written source (Q), the low-agreement pericopae more likely derive from oral materials.

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hypotheses: historical, redactional and theological implications"), David Sim ("Matthew and the Synoptic Problem") and John Poirier ("The Composition of Luke in Source-Critical Perspective"). Each of these authors were asked to consider the composition of their respective gospels from three different perspectives, outlining both the strengths and challenges to the 2DH, 2GH, and FH.

The final chapter in this section is in conversation with the claims, on the one hand, of Heinrich Greeven that three- or four-gospel synopses can be "neutral" as far as source criticism is concerned, and on the other, the contention of Bernard Orchard and the late David L. Dungan that the very physical construction of a synopsis skews the data and inclines the user toward one solution to the Synoptic Problem and obscures others. What is at stake in this issue is of considerable moment, for if the case of Orchard and Dungan can be sustained, it would logically necessitate that we always work with several specialized synopses at hand, each constructed to illustrate a particular source-critical solution. And even if they are not right in claiming inherent and systemic bias in synopses, it is nonetheless critical to grasp the significance of the very important differences between the display of synoptic texts adopted by Huck and his successors and that exemplified in the Aland and Boismard synopses. If one cannot show systemic bias, it is nonetheless true that the editors' choices in presenting synoptic materials have profound effects on how one imagines the editing of one gospel by another.

The second main division of the volume deals with problems that arise from the Sayings Gospel Q. Of course, Q is already the product of one of the Synoptic hypotheses, the 2DH, and hence from one point of view, each of the eight essays in this section ought perhaps to have a large question mark placed over it. Nevertheless, these essays are offered in the conviction that if Markan priority and the literary independence of Matthew and Luke are cogent postulates, then the corollary of these two postulates, Q, is deserving of examination, no less than other problems in the literature of the early Jesus movement. Hence, this section examines a range of problems that arise from the positing of Q and analogous to questions that are routinely asked of Mark: the eschatology of Q (Chap. 6); making sense of Q's apparent lack of any reference either to Jesus' death or to his vindication by God (Chap. 7); and Q's stance toward the Torah and the sense that can be made of the seeming lack of chriae in Q that represent Jesus as in conflict with Sabbath practices (Chap. 8).

Other essays reflect on the spatial imagination of Q, that is, the "world" that it projects and the values assigned to various locations in that spatial world, in particular, cities and the desert (Chap. 9). Chapter 10 marks the beginning of my movement away from speaking of a "Q community" – as if those producing the document and employing it were a settled and discrete "church" somewhere in the Galilee – and a re-focusing of the issue of the producers/addressees of Q by attending to the values and assumptions about the cosmos that are embedded in the document, and what these suggest about its producers. Chapter 11 is a lengthy survey of redaction-critical approaches to Q, designed to lay out as clearly as possible the conflicting methods that have been used in the analysis of Q, and both the convergences and divergences in results.

Chapter 12, on the so-called Cynic Q hypothesis, is not so much concerned with whether this hypothesis, advocated in various forms by Burton Mack, Leif

Vaage, and F. Gerald Downing, is cogent or not, as it is with why that hypothesis has provoked so muscular, even frantic, a refutation. That is, the refutation of the Cynic hypothesis turns out to be an excellent site to examine *how* that refutation has been mounted, and what unspoken issues appear to be its guiding subtext. The final chapter (13) in this section tries to address the problem of Q and the historical Jesus. This is a problem for both historical and methodological reasons. Since Harnack it has been widely assumed that Q provides unvarnished access to the historical Jesus, and hence, many contemporary scholars seem to conclude that conclusions on Q are simply transferrable to the historical Jesus. On the other hand, the mainstream of Q studies since Lührmann and Hoffmann have studiously avoided conflating their conclusions about the composition, editing, and theology with conclusions about the historical Jesus. No one nowadays would think that Mark's depiction of Jesus can naively be projected onto the historical Jesus. Yet in order to avoid an analogous naivété in regard to the use of Q, it is necessary to reflect on *how* the results of the analysis of Q might be used judiciously in the effort to reconstruct a credible and defensible portrait of the historical Jesus.

The third section of the volume has Mark as its focus. Both Chapters 14 and 15 are concerned with exegetical aspects of the Parable of the Tenants in Mark 12:1–12. Both employ Graeco-Egyptian papyri to assist in assessing the compositional history of Mark 12:1–9, with its Isaian allusions, relative to the very different version of the parable found in the *Gospel of Thomas* (65). Efforts to date the Gospel of Mark – the subject of chap. 16 – have focused mainly on the apocalyptic discourses in Mark 13 and its dual predictions of the dismantling of the Temple (13:1–2) and its desecration by the presence of τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως (13:14). It is not clear that these predictions should be read together, as two aspects of a more general fear about the temple; nor is it clear whether they are told *ex eventu* (i.e., from the vantage point of 70 CE or later) or not. This essay draws on what is know of Roman battlefield practices, in particular the ritual of "calling out the gods" from a site that is about to be destroyed and poses the question, Does Mark know of this ritual, and does he know that it had occurred?

The final essay (17) in the section has both Mark and Q in view as it inquires into the various ways in which the measure-for-measure aphorism is deployed in Mark 4:24 and Q 6:38. This essay makes the case that an understanding of the measuring practices in an agrarian economy is fundamental to appreciating how the measure-for-measure aphorism re-imagined and adapts a commonplace about equal exchange, applying the aphorism to various moral practices (Q; *1 Clement*) and to the economy of revelation (Mark) and benefaction (Luke).

The fourth and final set of essays take parables as their focus, first surveying the parables of Jesus in Q, and observing how "unparabolically" they function

(Chap. 18). The other three essays draw heavily on documentary papyri that concern testamentary practices and "deeds of gift," pastoralism and the practice of sheep raising, and the conceptualization of force and violence to offer interpretations of the actions of the younger son in the Parable of Prodigal Son (Chap. 19), the Parable of the Shepherd (Chap. 20), and parable of Mark, Q and Matthew that feature violent actions by one of the protagonists (Chap. 21). Each of these essays is designed to illustrate how different the problem looks when one shifts from exclusively "biblical" and "Jewish" comparanda, to a broader and more inclusive survey that takes into account papyrological resources.

As will be clear by now, it is my conviction that the literature, practices, and thought of the early Jesus movement should be treated in splendid isolation of their ancient social, literary, and intellectual contexts. Those contexts should not be preemptorily narrowed in order to protect dogmatic investments. A glaring instance of such a narrowing can be found in the reaction to the so-called "cynic hypothesis" (chap. 12); but it is a danger in other exegetical problems as well. Hence, part of the attempt of the later essays in this collection is to broaden the comparative basis of exegesis to documentary materials and thus to see whether the matter looks different when one views early Christian texts in the context of Graeco-Egyptian papyri. Moreover, the intellectual contexts of scholarship must be taken into account every bit as much as ancient intellectual contexts. Throughout, I have strived, unsuccessfully no doubt at times, to create a level playing field in argument and to treat competing hypotheses by equivalent rules of evaluation – something that I learned from William Farmer, who on many occasions expressed irritation at how arguments and surveys of the Synoptic Problem were framed from the perspective of the supposed victors.

Part I
Synoptic Problems

Chapter 1

Theological Stakes in the Synoptic Problem[1]

In the debate about the Synoptic Problem, theological considerations have played a relatively minor role. Most of the attentions has been focused, rightly, on other issues: which of the many arrangements of dependency that are abstractly possible are in fact logically permitted, given the pattern of agreements and disagreements among the Synoptic gospels? And which of the solutions that are logically possible entail literary procedures that are credible given what we can surmise of the editorial interests of each of the evangelists, and given what we know of editorial procedures in other ancient literature?

I

It is well-known that the general non-agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark in the order of pericopae in the triple tradition suggests a solution of dependence in which Mark is the medial term between Matthew and Luke.[2] Mark, however, is medial in all three synoptic source-critical hypotheses that dominate recent critical discussion: the Two Document Hypothesis (2DH), the Two-Gospel (Owen-Griesbach) hypothesis (2GH), and the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis (FH).

Since purely logical considerations do not resolve the Synoptic problem, the second issue – that of the plausibility of the editorial scenarios implied by each solution – becomes important. Here, clearly, we are dealing only in the realm of probabilities rather than "proofs." That one solution entails generally credible editorial procedures does not in itself imply that other solutions are less probable. It should be added that our failure to understand the editorial practices implied by a given source-critical solution or our inability to imagine

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[1] [First published as "The Theological Stakes in the Synoptic Problem." Pp. 93–120 in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*. Edited by Frans Van Segbroeck, et al. BETL 100. Leuven: Peeters, ©1992. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.]

[2] This point was made by B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951), 62–71, himself an advocate of the Augustinian hypothesis (in which Mark is also medial). The "fallacy" is misnamed, for Karl Lachmann, "De ordine narrationum in evangeliis synopticis," *TSK* 8 (1835): 570–90, did not in fact commit it, though some since Lachmann have.

a credible setting for a particular gospel may be a failure of *our* imagination rather than a defect of the solution itself.

A generation of redaction-critical analyses of Matthew and Luke presupposing the 2DH have, with relatively few exceptions, been able to render credible their respective treatments of Mark. Indeed, one argument in favor of the 2DH is its very *Brauchbarkeit* in accounting [**94**] for the shape of Matthew and Luke.[3] These same studies, to the extent that they deal with Matthew's relation to Markan material, might also serve to rationalize one component of the FH.

It is only recently that redactional studies have begun to appear that attempt to rationalize in a systematic way the supposition, shared by the 2GH and the FH, of Luke's use of Matthew,[4] and the position of the 2GH, that Mark alternated between his two sources[5] as he conflate them.[6] This work is only in its

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[3] Recently, S. E. Johnson (*The Griesbach Hypothesis and Redaction Criticism* [SBLMS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991]) has compared the 2DH and the GH in their explanations of the redactional procedures of the synoptic evangelists, and by using the treatments of the kingdom of God, the parables, and Christology as tests case. He concludes that while the solutions proposed by the GH are not impossible, "the 2DH provides a more satisfactory solution of most of the problems" (p. 144).

[4] See also Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989); William R. Farmer, "Luke's Use of Matthew: A Christological Inquiry," *Perkins Journal* 40, no. 3 (1987): 39–50. H. B. Green has tried to account for Luke on the basis of the FH, but his arguments are often tortured and speculative. See "The Credibility of Luke's Transformation of Matthew," in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 131–55 and *idem*, "Matthew 12.22–50 and Parallels: An Alternative to Matthaean Conflation," in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 157–76.

[5] The suggestion that Mark alternated between Matthew and Luke is fundamental to Griesbach's solution ("A Demonstration that Mark was Written after Matthew and Luke," in *J. J. Griesbach, Synoptic and Text Critical Studies, 1776–1976* [ed. Bernard Orchard and Thomas R.W. Longstaff; SNTSMS 34; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978], 103–35, esp. 108–13). See also Ferdinand Christian Baur, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die kanonischen Evangelien, ihr Verhältnis zueinander, ihren Charakter und Ursprung* (Tübingen: Ludwig Friedrich Fues, 1847), 544: "So hält er [Markus] abwechselnd bald an diesem, bald an jenem, und sein Verfahren ist überhaupt ein zusammensetzendes eklektisches."

On this problem, see now Thomas R.W. Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark? A Study in the Synoptic Problem* (SBLDS 28; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1977); idem, "The Minor Agreements: An Examination of the Basic Argument," *CBQ* 37 (1975): 184–92 and the responses of Joanna Dewey, "Order in the Synoptic Gospels: A Critique," *SecCent* 6, no. 2 (1987–88): 68–82; William O. Walker, "Order in the Synoptic Gospels: A Critique," *SecCent* 6, no. 2 (1987–88): 83–97 and Longstaff's response "Order in the Synoptic Gospels: A Response," *SecCent* 6, no. 2 (1987–88): 98–107.

[6] For attempts to understand Mark's theology on the 2GH, see Thomas R.W. Longstaff, "Crisis and Christology: The Theology of Mark," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge*

infancy; a great deal remains to be done [**95**] in order to given an account of Lukan (2GH, FH) and Markan (2GH) editorial practice.

II

Although the center of gravity of the discussion thus far has been on the logic and the "mechanics" of various source critical solutions, the ultimate interest of source criticism is, presumably, to achieve an adequate textual basis for understanding (a) the literary and theological achievements of each gospel, (b) the place of each gospel in the history of primitive Christianity, and, eventually, (c) the history of primitive Christianity itself. It is at this point that constructive, synthetic and theological considerations become important.

1. It is obvious that the adoption of a particular source-critical theory has important consequences for the reconstruction of an evangelist's theology. While this reconstruction is, strictly speaking, an outcome of the source theory, a particular arrangement of synoptic relationships that implies an implausible theology will most likely be deemed to be in need of revision if not abandonment. Clearly, the key term is "implausible," and the key issue has to do with the canons of plausibility for first-century CE theological views.

It would be rash to attempt to predict what kinds of theologies ancient authors were capable of producing and what theological views would have seemed self-evidently appropriate, since new discoveries of ancient texts continue to broaden our horizons of what was "thinkable." We have, however, a gauge of what the Synoptic evangelists considered plausible and appropriate in the actual constructions of their gospels. In this regard, it is unfortunate that

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Gospel Conference and Beyond (ed. William R. Farmer; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 373–92; David L. Dungan, "The Purpose and Provenance of the Gospel of Mark According to the Two-Gospel (Owen-Griesbach) Hypothesis," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (ed. William Reuben Farmer; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 411–40; and, most recently, William R. Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1990 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 196–211; William R. Farmer, "The Two-Gospel Hypothesis: The Statement of the Hypothesis," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1990), 125–56; Allan J. McNicol, "The Composition of the Synoptic Eschatological Discourse," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 157–200. The commentary by C.S. Mann, *Mark: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 27; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1986) is unfortunately not an eloquent defense of Markan posteriority and seldom provides reasons for Mark's editorial practice apart from claiming (for dubious reasons) that Mark's version was "the way it happened."

most of the redaction-critical studies of the gospels in the past forty years have taken the 2DH for granted, and consequently have not rigorously distinguished the task of describing the stylistic and theological profile of each of the Synoptics on the basis of a synchronic analysis from a profile that is produced diachronically, by drawing inferences from their respective alterations of Mark and Q. Synchronic analysis, precisely because it is based upon what the evangelist *in fact* accomplished – the selection and arrangement of materials and the style and theological disposition visible in what is presented – , affords us a control on what the evangelist thought was appropriate in a life of Jesus. The implications of diachronic analyses, predicated on various source-critical assumptions, must be tested against the results of synchronic analysis, and these results must cohere.

Herein lies the importance of the several recent attempts to establish a redactional profile for the gospels without regard to a particular [96] source-critical hypothesis.[7] As important as these may be on methodological grounds, it is nonetheless crucial that the results of such studies be coordinated with the inferences drawn from diachronic analyses, and important that the two sets of results are consistent. There would be an obvious contradiction if the theological and stylistic tendencies of, say, Mark, derivable from the architecture of the gospel, were to conflict with the editorial policies that on a given source-critical hypothesis Mark must be deemed to have use with respect to his sources.

2. Theological considerations play an important role in the discussion of the synoptic problem in another way. A careful reading of the history of the discussion of the problem reveals the extent to which a priori assumptions have controlled what was thought to be "imaginable" or "likely" as Christian theology, and hence, what could plausibly be suggested about any of the gospel writers.[8] It should be recognized that the very prominence of the hypothesis of

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[7] For Mark (and dealing mostly with style rather than theology), see Frans Neirynck, *Duality in Mark: Contributions to the Study of the Markan Redaction* (BETL 31; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1972); David B. Peabody, *Mark as Composer* (New Gospel Studies 1; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1986). For Matthew, see Jack Dean Kingsbury, "The Theology of St. Matthew's Gospel According to the Griesbach Hypothesis," in *Farmer, William R.* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 331–61; William O. Walker, "A Method for Identifying Redactional Passages in Matthew on Functional and Linguistic Grounds," *CBQ* 39 (1977): 76–93. For Luke, see J.G.F. Collison, "Linguistic Usages in the Gospels [Sic] of Luke," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (ed. William R. Farmer; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 245–60; idem, "Eschatology in the Gospel of Luke," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (ed. William R. Farmer; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1983), 363–71; Joseph B. Tyson, *The Death of Jesus in Luke-Acts* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1986).

[8] The role of larger political, cultural and theological forces in commending one hypothesis has hardly been explored. For the beginnings of such an investigation, see Bo I. Reicke, "From Strauss to Holtzmann and Meijboom: Synoptic Theories Advanced During the

Markan priority and the extent which it has controlled scholarly imagination has played a role in rendering one view of Christian origins "self-evident" and completing reconstructions "less probable."[9] Dominant hypotheses, precisely because they are treated as self-evidently true, have the tendency to replicate themselves, thereby further entrenching the larger schema in the human imagination. The dominant views of the dating of the gospels, the ways in which the evangelists' theologies are construed, and reconstructions of theological and ecclesial developments all serve [97] to replicate and reinforce the 2DH, and, perhaps to some extent, to control the way in which questions about Christian origins are posed.[10]

Just as it is important to face the implications that a given source hypothesis has for the reconstruction of the theology of an evangelist, it is also important to raise to the level of self-conscious method the assumptions which undergird and render credible one source hypothesis and the theological constructions that derive from it, and which render another hypothesis "incredible."[11]

This paper will consider three issues: first, the implications of the 2GH for reconstructing the theology of the evangelists, using Mark's treatment of Jesus' relatives as a test case; second, the possibility of coordinating lines of theological development with source criticism; and third, a priori assumptions at work in the 2DH. It is not my purpose either to defend the 2DH or to argue against the FH or the 2GH; instead, I hope to expose by way of several examples what is at stake in the adoption of a particular source-critical hypothesis.

Consolidation of Germany, 1830–70," *NovT* 29, no. 1 (1987): 1–21, has argued that "[i]n this situation [after 1848] liberal and empirical interests became more important than before, and since liberal theology was now dominating in Protestant Germany, its emphasis on historical experience favoured the preference for the two-document hypothesis" (p. 16).

[9] On the notion of the self-evident, see Alfred Schutz and Thomas Luckmann, *The Structures of the Life-World* (trans. Richard M. Zaner and H. Tristram Jr. Engelhardt; Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy; Evanston Il.: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 284: Insights that were once subjective are condensed into symbols that can be shared; thus they are objectified and generalized, and rendered self-evidently true. "It is thus ... that knowledge comes to have an overwhelming and at the same time taken-for-granted independence, which in the end is based on the subjective results of experience and explication, but which contrasts with the individual and the subjectivity of his experience and situation."

[10] Proponents of the 2GH and FH often express incredulity (or worse) at attempts, for example, to arrive at a theology of Q, (rightly) observing that this is building hypothesis upon hypothesis. This is somewhat disingenuous, since the adoption of *any* source hypothesis would inevitably lead to the construction of analogous (though different) theological and historical scenarios deriving from that hypothesis.

[11] Ironically, in spite of the dominance of the 2DH, many of its historical, methodological, and theological consequences have not been grasped when is comes to the reconstruction of Christian origins, or the historical Jesus. See now John S. Kloppenborg, ed., in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage, *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus* (Semeia 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

III

1. The Theological Description of the Evangelists' Work: A Test Case

One of the typical objections raised against the 2GH is that on this hypothesis, Mark must have deliberately omitted the infancy accounts of Matthew and Luke, something, in Streeter's words, that only a lunatic would have done.[12] When one peels back the rhetorical exaggeration of Streeter's statement, what is left is the assumption that the infancy stories are so self-evidently appropriate, either theologically or stylistically, to a life of Jesus that once they had entered the tradition, they would not easily be overlooked. Mark, had he known the accounts, would have been obliged to preserve them.[13] [**98**]

The advent of redaction criticism and better understandings of the workings of antique literary genres should cause us to rethink this argument. Mark's inclusion or exclusion of any material is a function of how he conceived of his life of Jesus. Philip Shuler has pointed out that the genre of encomiastic biography was flexible in respect to whether birth and infancy stories need be used.[14] Moreover, the principal function of birth and childhood stories in the biographical genre was to serve the eventual characterization of the adult life. According to Shuler, Mark chose an alternate way to introduce his hero, namely through his account of John the Baptist and his quotation of Isaiah (and Malachi) and hence could afford to drop the infancy stories.[15]

That a biography could forego birth and infancy stories is also clear from Marcion's gospel (Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 1.27.2; Epiphanius, *Haer.* 42.11), the

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[12] B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1924), 158: "... only a lunatic would leave out Matthew's account of the Infancy, the Sermon on the Mount, and practically all the parables, in order to get room for purely verbal expansion of what was retained." The context of Streeter's statement is his argument against the Augustinian characterization of Mark as an abbreviator of Matthew.

[13] In responding to F. W. Beare's review of Farmer's *Synoptic Problem*, *JBL* 84 (1965) 296–297, David L. Dungan ("Mark – The Abridgement of Matthew and Luke," in *Jesus and Man's Hope: Pittsburgh Festival on the Gospels*, vol. 1 [ed. David G. Buttrick; Perspective: A Journal of Pittsburgh Theological Seminary 11; Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1970], esp. 93–94) makes the excellent point that Beare's argument presumes without any justification that Mark's gospel was intended to *complement* Matthew and/or Luke. The point applies equally well to Streeter. Contrast, however, Farmer's position (below).

[14] Philip L. Shuler, "The Genre(s) of the Gospels," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1990), 459–83. Shuler (p. 472 n. 39) points out that Plutarch's *Camillus* contains no birth stories, nor do some of Diogenes Laertius' *Lives* (p. 467 n. 32). For a fuller discussion of encomiastic biographies, see idem, *A Genre for the Gospels: The Biographical Character of Matthew* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982).

[15] Shuler, "Genre(s)," 472.

Gospel of the Ebionites (Epiphanius, *Haer.* 30.13.2), and John, whose ironic dialogues in John 7:40–44 and 19:8–11 are probably designed to indicate that questions about Jesus place of birth and genealogy are quite irrelevant and, wrong-headed. Nevertheless, as Shuler himself concedes, birth and childhood stories are typical, even if not inevitable, features of the *bios* pattern.[16] This means that while the 2DH may hold that Mark did not include such materials because he did not know them, the 2GH must provide an account of why Mark would forego these elements.[17] In the case of John, Marcion and the *Gos.* [99] *Ebionites*, the reason for the omission is plainly theological. Can a similar explanation be found for the 2GH?

Surprisingly, perhaps, relatively little has been said in defense of Mark's procedure on the 2GH. Griesbach himself asserted, "*omittuntur haec capita integra, quia Marcus res a Christo, tanquam doctore publico, gestas enarrare tantum voluit.*"[18] To the extent that this is more than a simple description of what Mark in fact included, it is not an especially good *explanation* of Mark's choice to omit material, in particular Luke's childhood stories (2:22–40, 41–52), which are designed precisely to prepare for Jesus' role as a teacher.

William Farmer's defense of Mark reveals greater sophistication. In 1977 he argued the general proposition that[19]

> [o]n the Griesbach hypothesis Luke omits much of Matthew, and adds a great deal from his special source material. Mark omits most of this same material from Matthew which Luke has omitted while taking very little of what Luke has added.

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[16] Shuler, "Genre(s)," 467 n. 32.

[17] Shuler's explanation does not address the question of Mark's *omission*; it only responds to the issue of whether, without birth and childhood stories, Mark can still legitimately be treated as an encomium biography. This, however, is not to quarrel with Shuler's use of the descriptive category of encomiastic biography. It is much to be preferred to P. Stuhlmacher's designation of the gospels as "presentations of the history of Jesus as 'salvation event'" ("The Genre[s] of the Gospels: Response to P.L. Shuler," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* [ed. David L. Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1990], 484–94), which substitutes theological characterization for literary description in a way designed to render all comparison pointless. On the rhetoric of theological characterization and "uniqueness," see now the brilliant work of Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, 14. School of Oriental and African Studies; Chicago: The School of Oriental and African Studies; London: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

[18] Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Commentatio qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum esse monstratur* (Jena: J.C.G. Goepferdt, 1789–90).; repr. in Bernard Orchard and Thomas R.W. Longstaff, eds., *J. J. Griesbach, Synoptic and Text Critical Studies, 1776–1976* (SNTSMS 34; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 203 n. 16.

[19] William R. Farmer, "Modern Developments of Griesbach's Hypothesis," *NTS* 23 (1977): 283.

In a later article he adds[20]:

> The fact that Mark is both internally self-consistent and free from contradictions with Matthew and Luke at every point where they appear to contradict one another, strongly suggests that this Gospel was written after Matthew and Luke, and for a Church which valued both earlier Gospels as teaching documents.

Although he does not expressly speak of the infancy accounts, it would seem legitimate to infer that on this view, Mark would have omitted these stories because of the conflicts between the two versions. But Farmer adduces another argument, this time directly related to the infancy accounts. As a Petrine gospel, Mark followed the kerygmatic pattern laid out in Peter's speeches in Acts, which begin with the baptism of John (Acts 1:21–22) and dwell on Jesus' public ministry, passing over his genealogy and childhood in silence[21]:

> Neither in the speeches of Peter in Acts, nor in Paul's letters do we find any interest in these matters. If here is an identifiable motive for Mark's having omitted the infancy narratives it could be: (1) his determination to adhere to the 'apostolic' model for the telling of the gospel story found in Peter's speeches in Acts, and/or (2) his tendency to incorporate narratives where the parallel accounts of Matthew and Luke can be easily retold because the same story is being narrated in both gospels. [**100**]

Farmer's explanation of Mark's avoidance of conflicting stories is not especially convincing, for Mark *has* on various occasions chosen between conflicting versions of stories – for example, between Matt 3:13–17 and Luke 3:19–20, 21–22, between Matt 4:18–22 and Luke 5:1–11 and between Matt 13:53–58 and Luke 4:16–30. The key to his explanation is his hypothesis regarding Mark's "determination" and the presumption of Mark's personal allegiance to Peter and to a "Petrine" view of the gospel.[22]

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[20] Farmer, "Two-Gospel Hypothesis," 139.

[21] Farmer, "Modern Developments," 287. While Griesbach (above) argues that Mark omitted the infancy accounts because he wished to portray Jesus only as a teacher, Farmer (p. 285), argues the opposite: "... Peter's speeches make to reference to Jesus' pre-existence, his genealogy nor to any marvelous things that happened at or following his birth. There is no reference in the speeches of Peter in Acts to Jesus as a teacher. Thus, while Mark shows Jesus as teacher and includes some sayings, his omission of the larger part of the sayings material corresponds to the lack of emphasis on teaching in the speeches of Peter in Acts. Everything tends to be reduced to its strongest kerygmatic form, with a preponderant interest in presenting a highly dramatic portrayal of Jesus' approval by God through 'mighty works and wonders'."

[22] William R. Farmer, "Two-Gospel Hypothesis," 130–31, presumes an eirenic, catholicizing – almost liberal – purpose for Mark: "Mark, by blending these two traditions [Matthew and Luke] together, made it possible for local churches to retain and cherish at one and the same time both Matthew and Luke and to do that within the theological context of a profound Pauline-Petrine orientation to the faith. In bringing this about, Peter/Mark underlined the need for more than one perspective on the tradition. In this 'more-than-one-Gospel-canon' no single written account of the Church's Gospel was or ever will be an adequate textual basis for Christian doctrine or practice."

Farmer's explanation suffers from the double inconvenience of relying upon an identification of the author of the second gospel which derives from patristic speculations and which is rejected as groundless by most Markan specialists, and upon the supposition that the speeches in Acts are substantially Petrine.[23] Moreover, his explanation is *ad hoc*: Mark preserves (or omits) certain materials because he has *chosen* to do so. In view of Shuler's observations regarding the frequency of birth accounts in encomiastic biographies a much better justification is required.

If one were to adopt the 2GH, the most obvious explanation of the omission of the infancy accounts would have to do with the extremely positive view that both take of Jesus' kin. This is clearly not Mark's view, as can be seen from what the 2GH must regard as additions to and modifications of Matthew and Luke.

On the 2GH, Mark rejected both the Matthaean and the Lukan introductions to the Beelzebul accusation, preferring one which aligned Jesus' kin with the accusers: [**101**]

Matt 12:22–24	Mark 3:20–22	Luke 11:14–15
	20 Καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον· καὶ συνέρχεται πάλιν [ὁ] ὄχλος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν.	
	21 καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθον κρατῆσαι αὐτόν, ἔλεγον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξέστη.	
22 Τότε προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ δαιμονιζόμενος τυφλὸς καὶ κωφός· καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτόν, ὥστε τὸν κωφὸν λαλεῖν καὶ βλέπειν. 23 καὶ ἐξίσταντο πάντες οἱ ὄχλοι καὶ ἔλεγον, Μήτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς Δαυίδ;		14 Καὶ ἦν ἐκβάλλων δαιμόνιον, [καὶ αὐτὸ ἦν][24] κωφόν· ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐξελθόντος ἐλάλησεν ὁ κωφός. καὶ ἐθαύμασαν οἱ ὄχλοι·
24 οἱ δὲ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες	22 καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβάντες	15 τινὲς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν

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[23] See Ulrich Wilckens, *Die Missionsreden der Apostelgeschichte: Form- und traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (3., überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage; WMANT 5; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974).

[24] Omit $\mathfrak{P}^{45.75}$ ℵ A* B L λ 33 205 788 892 2542 ($sy^{s.c.p}$) co; txt: A^c C R W Θ Koine φ *pm* lat $sy^{p.h}$.

εἶπον,	ἔλεγον ὅτι Βεελζεβοὺλ ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι	εἶπον,
Οὗτος οὐκ ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ Βεελζεβοὺλ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων.	ἐν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια.	Ἐν Βεελζεβοὺλ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῶν δαιμονίων ἐκβάλλει τὰ δαιμόνια·

Mark has replaced Matthew's and Luke's exorcism with the motif of the crowd's enthusiastic reaction to Jesus.[25] This motif dramatizes the contrasting reaction of the scribes from Jerusalem[26]; but it also serves [**102**] to underscore the negative assessment of Jesus' activities by his family (οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ) in v. 23. The 2GH must also hold that while Mark omits Matt 12:27–28.30 (‖ Luke 11:19–20, 23), Matt 12:33–35, 36–37 (cf. Luke 6:43–45) and Matt 12:43–45 (‖ Luke 11:24–26) and relocates a shortened form of Matt 12:38–42 (‖ Luke 11:29–32), he preserves a form of the warning on the blasphemy of the Spirit that implicitly characterizes the reactions to Jesus described in 3:21 and 3:22 as unforgivable. Moreover, he punctuates the sequence by returning expressly to Jesus' relationship to his kin (Mark 3:31–35).

In 3:31–35 Mark accentuates Jesus' shunning of his family by rejecting Luke's introduction (καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο συντυχεῖν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον, 8:19), which explains the inability of the family to make direct contact, and by reducing Matthew's ζητοῦντες αὐτῷ λαλῆσαι (12:46) and ζητοῦντές σοι λαλῆσαι (12:47)[27] to καλοῦντες αὐτόν (Mark 3:31) and ζητοῦσίν (Mark 3:32) respectively. Mark thus shifts the focus from the family's desire to *communicate* with Jesus to a personal *summons*.[28] Mark has also converted Matthew's καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ (12:49) to περιβλεψάμενος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν κύκλῳ καθημένους (Mark 3:34): the scene no longer

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[25] On the role of the crowds, see Theodore J. Weeden, *Mark – Traditions in Conflict* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 20–22 and Shuler, "Genre(s)," 474, who point out that this motif serves the overall encomiastic function of Mark's biography.

[26] Mark 3,20–21 is frequently regarded as redactional, regardless of the source-critical hypothesis that is assumed. See, e.g., E.J. Pryke, *Redactional Style in the Marcan Gospel: A Study of Syntax and Vocabulary as Guides to Redaction in Mark* (SNTSMS 33; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 140, 155; Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (EKKNT 2/1–2; Zürich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978–79), 1:144–45 (excluding 3,21b); Peabody, *Mark as Composer*, 163–64 [Mark 3:20] and the statistics compiled in Neirynck, *Duality in Mark: Contributions to the Study of the Markan Redaction*, 77, 87, 98, 113, 133.

[27] V. 47 is omitted in ℵ* B L Γ ff^{1} k sy$^{s.c}$ sa; txt: ℵ$^{(1).2}$ C (D) W Z Θ λ φ Koine lat sy$^{p.h}$ bo.

[28] Presupposing the 2DH, John Dominic Crossan, "Mark and the Relatives of Jesus," *NovT* 15 (1973): 96, observes: "To wish to speak to Jesus or to seek to get through the crowd to Jesus is, at very least, more polite than what is recorded in Mk. iii 31."

contrasts disciples with family but instead contrasts the seated crowd within the house and the family outside.[29] Finally, rather than opting for Luke's more streamlined form of the chria,[30] Mark in fact heightens the repetition of ἡ μήτηρ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ (καὶ αἱ ἀδελφαί) (vv. 31, 32, 33, 34, 35), thereby underscoring the fact that this is about Jesus' real kin. Thus on the 2GH, Mark heightens the personal confrontation between Jesus and his kin, and thus elevates the snub when Jesus openly rejects their summons and declares his true kinship to be with an anonymous crowd.

It should not be surprising that when Jesus returns to his village (Mark 6:1–6a), Mark again sharpens the contrast and heightens the confrontation. First, his explicit mention of the presence of Jesus' [**103**] disciples (καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, Mark 6:1b) creates a συγκρίσις between those who believe and follow Jesus and those who do not (v. 6a).[31] Second, since Mark preserves from Matthew (13:55) the triadic division of mother-brothers-sisters (Mark 6:3), the tensions and contrasts exposed in 3:31–35 are immediately present again. Third, Mark inserts into Matthew's proverb the words καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ (Mark 6:4b), thus drawing attention to the kin who are mentioned in the immediately preceding verse.[32] Finally, he fills out Matthew's καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐκεῖ δυνάμεις πολλὰς διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν (13:58) by expressly mentioning some cures and, most importantly, by noting Jesus' own reaction: amazement (ἐθαύμαζεν) at their unbelief. On the 2GH, this latter element, καὶ ἐθαύμαζεν διὰ τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν (Mark 6:6a), is striking, for it

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[29] Crossan, "Relatives of Jesus," 97.: "They [the family] are in the most complete isolation, not just from the official disciples but from the crowd itself."

[30] For Luke, this pericope (8:19–21), when seen in the light of the corrective chria in Luke 11:27–28, does not distance Jesus from his kin; it merely establishes the basis for true kinship with Jesus – hearing and doing the word of God – activities that Luke's Mary perfectly exemplifies (cf. Luke 1:38; 2:19, 51). For Mark, however, there is no such correction; only rejection of Jesus' kin.

[31] On the 2GH, Mark has moves from following Luke to Matthew. Compare Griesbach, "Demonstration," 109. William R. Farmer, et al., "Narrative Outline of the Markan Composition According to the Two Gospel Hypothesis," 222 comments: "At this point in Luke's outline, Mk comes to the story of the Sending Out of the Twelve. Mk/Peter sees this event as the beginning of the most glorious period in Jesus' Galilee ministry. In his ironic, contrapuntal style, however, Mk first interposes Mt's account of the contempt and unbelief still prevailing, despite everything, in Jesus' home town. Interrupting his use of Lk, Mk moves over to Mt to the end of the Parable Discourse (13:52) and relates the sad story of the hardness of heart in Jesus' own hometown." It might be added that the contrast between the faith of Jesus' followers and the lack of faith of his kin is further accentuated by the juxtaposition of two faith stories, Luke 8:40–56 || Mark 5:21–43, with the rejection at Nazareth.

[32] Crossan, "Relatives of Jesus," 103, presupposing the 2DH also argues that καὶ ἐν τοῖς συγγενεῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ is Markan redaction: "... the indictment which the tradition left impersonal [i.e., as a proverb] is rendered personal by Mark's mention of the relatives'."

would serves as an ironic counterpart to a phrase omitted from Matt 8:10=Luke 7:9 where Jesus marvels (ἐθαύμασεν) at the *faith* (πίστις) of a Gentile.

The conclusion that the 2GH must draw is that Mark views Jesus' family as unbelieving opponents. He has inserted them into the Beelzebul controversy and has made Jesus' refusal to respond to their summons in Mark 3:31–35 even more blunt. Mark's treatment of Jesus' kin in 6:1–6a is consistent with this: he personalizes the proverb that lies at the heart of this chria and uses the series of contrasts developed in the pericope to underscore the irony of their unbelief.[33] To have [**104**] included the infancy accounts of Matthew or Luke without massive rewriting would simply have defeated Mark's redactional intentions displayed with respect to Jesus' family in the main body of his gospel.

At this point it becomes necessary to raise the question, Why should Mark have taken such a tack? This, of course, is a question that the 2DH must ask as well, but in the case of the 2GH it is all the more pressing since on that hypothesis, Mark has done considerably more to accentuate the opposition to Jesus' kin. On the 2DH, the most likely explanation as to do with the Markan theme of the blindness of Jesus' disciples. They too display a lamentable lack of understanding of Jesus' purpose and stubborn resistance to the passion christology evinced by Mark.

For the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to rehearse the well-known treatments of Mark's disciples or to referee he various disagreements among them.[34] Regardless of the source-critical hypothesis adopted, it is clear that

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[33] Crossan, "Relatives of Jesus," 105–10, argues that in the naming of the women at the cross and at the tomb, Mark had inherited a tradition naming only Mary of Magdala, Mary the mother of James and Salome and he added he added καὶ Ἰωσῆτος in 15:40, repeating it in the redactional verse, 15:47. He did this to draw a connection with Mark 6:3 where Jesus is an ἀδελφὸς Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσῆτος. This identification functions to underscore that "once again the relatives of Jesus, not just some Galilean women, have failed him and are directly and causally involved in the failure of the Jerusalem community to 'receive' the call of the Risen Lord. This [16:8] is clearly not intended as a literal statement concerning the historical silence, be it temporary or permanent, of these women, but as a symbolic statement concerning the failure of the Jerusalem church and of the relatives of Jesus" (pp. 109–110).

On the 2GH, Crossan's explanation is even more probable, since in that case Mark would have converted Matthew's triad of "Mary of Magdala, Mary the mother of James and Joseph, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee" (Matt 27:56; cf. 27:61; 28:1) and Luke's "Mary of Magdala, Joanna, Mary the mother of James and the other women" into a form that directly recalled Mark 6:3.

[34] A. Kuby, "Zur Konzeption des Markus-Evangeliums," *ZNW* 49 (1958): 52–64; Joseph B. Tyson, "The Blindness of the Disciples in Mark," *JBL* 80 (1961): 261–68; repr. in Christopher M. Tuckett, ed., *The Messianic Secret* (Issues in Religion and Theology 2; Philadelphia: Fortress Press; London: SPCK, 1983), 35–43; Theodore J. Weeden, "The Heresy That Necessitated Mark's Gospel," *ZNW* 59 (1968): 145–58; idem, *Mark*, 162–63; Werner H. Kelber, "Mark 14,32–42: Gethsemane, Passion Christology and Discipleship Failure," *ZNW* 63 (1972): 166–87; Crossan, "Relatives of Jesus"; idem, "Empty Tomb and Absent Lord: (Mark 16:1–8)," in *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14–16* (ed. Werner

Mark uses the disciples, and in particular Peter, James and John, as the focal point for a christology that refuses to take the passion of the Son of man into account and, correspondingly, for an understanding of discipleship that looks to glory and rewards rather than to the way of the cross. While purely literary approaches to the structure of Mark might tempt us to view the disciples as literary ciphers that Mark used to accomplish narrative aims,[35] it is crucial to remember that the persons he chose were significant figures in the Jerusalem church and, on any dating of Mark, of relatively recent memory.

Joseph B. Tyson has argued, convincingly in my view, that Mark's [**105**] disciples bear a striking resemblance to the Jerusalem church. The disciples resist and reject the passion of the Messiah, their self-aggrandizing attitudes derive from the expectation of a royal messiah, and they display an unfortunate parochialism in respect to outsiders (cf. Mark 9:38–41). The core of the speech in Acts 2, if pre-Lukan, likewise ignores the necessity of Jesus' death; the evidence of the establishment of a dynastic succession in the church of Jerusalem[36] indicates "that the Christianity of this church, which probably included most of the original disciples, took the form of a mildly modified Judaism..."[37]; and Paul's comments in Galatians 2 (and Romans 15) indicates that there were forces in the Jerusalem church that were not favourable to a Gentile mission. Mark's gospel, then, is not merely a theological argument conducted via various abstract narrative roles, but a political argument involving both Christology and discipleship, conducted via personal polemics[38] directed against the mistaken views of those in Jerusalem – who include both members of the Twelve and Jesus' relatives.[39]

Thomas Longstaff has observed that while such a reconstruction of Mark's theology is not dependent upon any source theory, it is in fact consistent with

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H. Kelber; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 135–52; Jack Dean Kingsbury, *Conflict in Mark: Jesus, Authorities, Disciples* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 89–117.

[35] In my view Robert C. Tannehill's treatment of the disciples suffers from a too-abstract understanding of narrative roles. See "The Disciples in Mark: The Function of a Narrative Role," *JR* 57 (1977): 386–405.

[36] Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.11.1; 3.32.3; 4.5.3–4.

[37] Joseph B. Tyson, "The Blindness of the Disciples in Mark," in *The Messianic Secret* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; Issues in Religion and Theology 2; Philadelphia: Fortress Press; London: SPCK, 1983), 39.

[38] On first-century personality and the notion of personal (rather than abstract) causality, see Bruce J. Malina, "Dealing with Biblical (Mediterranean) Characters: A Guide for U.S. Consumers," *BTB* 19, no. 4 (1989): 127–41.

[39] Crossan, "Relatives of Jesus," 112: "... the animosity of Mark to the relatives of Jesus points likewise against the Jerusalem church because it is there that James, the brother of the Lord, becomes important.... The polemic against the disciples and the polemic against the relatives intersect as a polemic against the doctrinal and jurisdictional hegemony of the Jerusalem mother-church although, of course, this was most likely all provoked by heretics within the Markan community. But to oppose them Mark had to write not only a doctrinal warning against heresy but a jurisdictional manifesto against Jerusalem."

the 2GH.[40] In particular, Mark's reaction to the Twelve and the relatives of Jesus might plausibly be seen as a reaction to the positive role that Luke assigns to Jerusalem throughout his double work, and to the positive role that Matt 16:17–19 assigns to Peter.[41] He cites Weeden approvingly[42]:

> [I]n a stroke of genius Mark decides to dramatize the christological dispute raging between himself and his opponents through the inter-relation of Jesus with his disciples during the course of this public ministry. That is, [**106**] he stages the christological debate of his community in a 'historical' drama in which Jesus serves as a surrogate for Mark and this disciples serve as surrogates for Mark's opponents.

Although Longstaff does not propose that Mark treated his predecessors as heretical – Mark treats Matthew and Luke with too much respect for that –, he suggests that Matthew and Luke contained traditions that could be put to a use that Mark found objectionable. Hence, Mark wrote to show how his predecessors ought to be understood.[43]

This is, in my view, too eirenic an interpretation of the data. On the 2GH, Mark has not merely cast Matthew and Luke in a light that emphasizes the key role of the suffering Messiah – though he has done that too. Mark, for example, removed Peter's role from the walking on the water (Matt 14:22–33), and then converted Matthew's acclamation of Jesus as θεοῦ υἱός – a favorite Markan title – into a statement of their fear and hardness of heart (Mark 6:52). But much more serious is Mark's treatment of Peter and the disciples in the passion account. Here, the 2GH requires us to conclude that Mark systematically vilified the disciples. Where Matthew stresses the disciples' obedience to Jesus' commands (Matt 26:19) and their solidarity with him (μετ' αὐτῶν/μετ' ἐμοῦ: 26:20 [=Mark], 36, 38, 40, 51, 69 [=Mark], 71), and where Matthew structures Jesus' prayer in Gethsemane as an exemplum of Jesus' prayer and fidelity:[44] Mark deletes most of the expressions connoting the disciples' solidarity with Jesus, and sharpens Peter's retort to Jesus in 14:31.[45] While Luke reduces the triadic scene in Gethsemane to a single incident, Mark preserves Matthew's triad, but shifts the focus from Jesus' fidelity to the disciples'

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[40] Longstaff, "Crisis and Christology," 387–88. See his earlier essay, idem, "Empty Tomb and Absent Lord: Mark's Interpretation of Tradition," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1976 Seminar Papers* (ed. George W. MacRae; SBLSP 10; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976), 269–77.

[41] Longstaff, "Crisis and Christology," 388–89, also notes that Mark's reserve towards the miraculous might be seen as a reaction to the accentuation of the miraculous in both Matthew and Luke, and the importance he gives to Gentiles may be a response to the parochialism of Matthew, especially as it is seen in Matt 5:17–20; 10:5–6 and 15:24.

[42] Weeden, *Mark*, 162–63.

[43] Longstaff, "Crisis and Christology," 391–92.

[44] See Donald P. Senior's outstanding study of the Matthaean passion account written under the direction of Prof. Neirynck: *The Passion Narrative According to Matthew: A Redactional Study* (BETL 39; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1975).

[45] Matt 26:35: λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος; Mark 14:31: ὁ δὲ ἐκπερισσῶς ἐλάλει. Luke omits the retort completely.

failure to be faithful.[46] He turns Matthew's second person plural, οὕτως οὐκ ἰσχύσατε μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι μετ᾽ ἐμοῦ; (Matt 26:40) into a stinging personal rebuke of Peter: Σίμων, καθεύδεις; οὐκ ἴσχυσας μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι; (14:37). And while Luke adds a scene in which he mitigates the force of Peter's denial by having Jesus assure Peter, before the fact, of his rehabilitation (Luke 22:31–32), Mark not only deletes this scene, but, by eliminating the resurrection appearance stories, also omits any positive sign of the rehabilitation of the disciples, apart from the residual comments in 14:28 and 16:7 (both taken from Matthew). [**107**]

If, following Weeden's observation, we understand Mark's argumentative strategy as involving the historicizing and personalizing of various positions in the debate over christology, it is impossible to see how his negative depiction of the disciples, like his negative depiction of Jesus' relatives, is not a *de facto* rejection of his predecessors' positive portraits, which, one must suppose, Mark's audience knew. It would hardly be overlooked that one of the heroes of the walking on the sea story had disappeared, or that the πέτρα (Matt 16:18) and fortifier (Luke 22:32) of the church had vanished.

It is for this reason that it seems quite impossible to imagine for Mark the scenario assumed by Farmer and Dungan:[47] that the writer of Mark had a personal attachment to Peter. If we understand the putative relation between Peter and Mark as that between a patron and a client or protégé,[48] it is virtually unimaginable that Mark would treat his patron in so unflattering a manner.[49] In

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[46] See especially, Werner H. Kelber, "The Hour of the Son of Man and the Temptation of the Disciples," in *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14–16* (ed. Werner H. Kelber; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 41–60.

[47] See Dungan, "Purpose and Provenance".

[48] Some of the basic works on this topic are Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt and L. Roniger, *Patrons, Clients, and Friends: Interpersonal Relations and the Structure of Trust in Society* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Steffen W. Schmidt, et al., *Friends, Followers, and Factions: A Reader in Political Clientelism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977); Ernest Gellner and John Waterbury, eds., *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies* (London: Duckworth; Hanover, N.H.: Center for Mediterranean Studies of the American Universities, 1977); Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, ed., *Patronage in Ancient Society* (Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 1; London; New York: Routledge, 1989).

[49] On literary patronage, see Barbara K. Gold, ed., *Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982) and E.J. Kenney, "Books and Readers in the Roman World," in *Latin Literature* (The Cambridge History of Classical Literature 2; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 12–14. Obviously, neither Farmer nor Dungan imagines the relationship of Mark to Peter to be exactly what is entailed in the relationship of a poet or writer to a literary patron. Nonetheless, both accept the patristic testimony to the effect that Mark was a protégé of Peter, and under these circumstances the dynamics of patron-client relationships would be at work. If literary patronage can be a guide to what would be expected in a protégé's writing, it would be either praise of the patron or popularizing of the patron's ideas (or both). See esp. T.P. Wiseman, "*Pete Nobiles Amicos:* Poets and Patrons in Late Republican Rome," in

cultures that depend upon face-to-face (rather than abstract, bureaucratic) relationships and in which all significant "goods" – honour, wealth, learning, and salvation – come via personal channels, it is virtually impossible to abstract these "goods" from the persons who convey them. This can be seen, for example, in how Paul treats personal allegiance as virtually the same as allegiance to his gospel. For Mark to have presented the "gospel" at the expense of the honor of his patron Peter would not have been an option.

On the 2GH it is extremely unlikely that there was any personal (patron-client) relationship between Peter and the writer of Mark. It might be possible to imagine a scenario along the lines of Tyson's suggestion, that the writer was a Gentile Christian, probably from the [**108**] early second century,[50] who viewed the church in Jerusalem and those who invoked the names of the Twelve as ill-representing the heart of the faith.[51] But by this time there is little evidence that the Jerusalem church was much of a threat to Gentile churches.[52]

Literary and Artistic Patronage in Ancient Rome (ed. Barbara K. Gold; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 28–49.

[50] Longstaff, "Crisis and Christology," 386 suggests that Mark was composed about the time of persecutions under Domitian, and that his purpose was to offer a correct understanding of discipleship and to encourage Christians to suffer for their faith. Longstaff bases this conjecture Pliny's reference to someone who had renounced his faith twenty years prior to 112/13 (*Epistula* 10.96). This, however, is a misreading of the letter. There is no indication that from what Pliny says that there was any *public* renunciation of faith, or that any "persecution" was involved: *Alii ab indice nominate esse se Christiani dixerunt et mox negaverunt; fuisse quidem se desisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti*. Moreover, Pliny's admission, *cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam: ideo nescio quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri* and his later statement that he is unsure whether *nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur* are telling since Pliny was active as *quaestor Augusti* and *praetor* under Domitian, and was *consilium principiis* to Trajan, spending most of his career in Rome; he of all persons would know about such trials had they occurred in Rome during Domitian's principate.

[51] Dungan's earlier observation ("Mark") that Mark may have been written to *replace* Matthew and Luke rather than to *complement* or supplement them seems preferable than his later suggestion (in "Purpose and Provenance") that Mark tried to harmonize the two gospels.

[52] There is some evidence that Jewish Christian Davidites were by Rome: Hegesippus (*apud* Eusebium, *Hist. eccl.* 3.19.1–20.7) reports that the grandsons of Jude (Zoker and James?, cf. *Hist. eccl.* 3.17.1–18.1) were interrogated by Domitian but released when the emperor concluded that even through they were Davidites, they posed no political threat and ordered that the persecution of the churches cease. Hegesippus says that they became "leaders of the churches" (ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, *Hist. eccl.* 3.20.6; προηγοῦνται πάσης ἐκκλησίας, 3.32.6) – presumably churches in Palestine – upon their release "both for their testimony and for their relation to the Lord" (3.20.6). Simon b. Clopas (*Hist. eccl.* 3.32.1–8) was executed under Trajan (probably ca. 106/7) as a Davidite.

Richard J. Bauckham, *Jude and the Relatives of Jesus in the Early Church* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1990), 99–106 points out that a trial before Domitian is extremely unlikely, and that there is a strongly apologetic motif at work: Hegesippus' attempt to connect the end of the persecution of Jewish Christians with Zoker and James is a "hagiographical glorification"

Thus we are left with a stark situation: on the 2GH, Mark avoids the birth stories, vilifies Jesus' family – when the tradition he inherited had heroized them – and turns the disciples are turned into anti-heroes – again, against the tradition. This is possible. But it is a consequence that must be faced squarely and frankly. An eirenic view of Mark is not possible. On the 2GH, Mark is combative, not complementary. [**109**]

2. Theological Development in Early Gospel Literature

The adoption of a source hypothesis has consequences not only for the reconstruction of the theology of each evangelist, but also for our understanding of the way in which certain developments occurred in Christian reflection upon christology, soteriology, ecclesiology, etc.

It should be stated from the outset, however, that for the most part it is not possible to argue that one scenario of development is more probable than another. Various scholars have argued, for example, that the fact that Matthew displays a greater familiarity with Jewish exegetical traditions than does Mark amounts to evidence in favour of Markan posteriority.[53] This, however, gratuitously presumes a linear de-Judaizing tendency and ignores the impact of local factors on redactional formulations. Matthew's proximity to a synagogue or contact with Jewish critics may just as easily have precipitated a "re-judaizing." Wayne Meeks observes apropos of Paul that in spite of his considerable concern with "Israel" as a theological entity, he displays remarkably little interest in "Jews" as a social entity.[54] The same, *mutatis mutandis*, is true of John with respect to the pagan world. Matthew is concerned with "Israel" both theologically, in his treatment of the scriptures, and socially, in his debate with the "scribes and Pharisees." Yet it would be rash to try to produce a linear trajectory of diminishing concern with Israel and increasing concern with the pagan world. In each of these cases, local factors must be taken into account.

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and their reply to Domitian (*Hist. eccl.* 3.20.4) is concerned to minimize any political dimension of the Jewish Christian church. This suggests that the Romans may have regarded Davidites in Jerusalem as a potential threat. Luke's political apologetic or John's strategy in John 18:36 (as well as Hegesippus' own tack) appear to be a response to this problem; Mark's attack on the family of Jesus (on the 2GH) would hardly be an appropriate response.

[53] O. Lamar Cope, "The Argument Revolves: The Pivotal Evidence of Markan Priority is Reversing Itself," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (ed. William R. Farmer; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 143–59 and George Wesley Buchanan, "Matthaean Beatitudes and Traditional Promises," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (ed. William R. Farmer; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 161–84.

[54] Wayne A. Meeks, "Breaking Away: Three New Testament Pictures of Christianity's Separation from the Jewish Communities," in *"To See Ourselves as Others See Us": Christians, Jews, "Others" in Late Antiquity* (ed. Jacob Neusner and Ernest S. Frerichs; Scholars Press Studies in the Humanities; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985), 104–8.

A key methodological issue is whether there are *any* theological trends that are not reversible. In 1983 William Walker attempted to plot the development of the Son of Man (SM) title and to coordinate this with various synoptic arrangements.[55] Beginning with the hypothesis that the SM title originated as the result of a pesher-style combination of Ps 110:1 and Dan 7:13 with the help of Ps 8:6, Walker used decreasing eschatological content as an index of later usage. Thus, Q is the most eschatological, with five of its eight (ten?) sayings falling into this class;[56] only three of Mark's fourteen SM sayings are [110] eschatological, but he has nine references to the suffering SM, a category entirely wanting in Q.[57] On the 2DH Matthew took over most of the SM sayings from Mark and Q, and added nine more, six of them eschatological, while Luke added eight, half of them eschatological. Hence Walker detects a shift from a non-eschatological usage (Mark) to an eschatological one.

The 2GH, however, implies Luke retained almost all of Matthew's seven earthly SM sayings, eight of Matthew's fourteen eschatological sayings (adding three more), and six of his nine passion sayings. Mark would have copied future and earthly SM sayings *only* when he saw them in both of his predecessors, but took over suffering SM sayings even when they appeared in only one source. Hence, the 2GH suggests a gradual movement away from eschatological sayings, notwithstanding Luke's addition of such sayings.

Walker concludes that neither the 2DH nor the 2GH adequately accounts for the data, since the 2DH implies a movement towards rather than away from an eschatological SM, and the 2GH involves the inconvenience of Luke's secondarily introducing eschatological SM sayings.[58] His analysis, however, suffers from three problems. First, from the fact that the SM title is not widely attested outside the Synoptics and apparently fell into disuse quite early on, he concludes that SM christology was probably restricted to a relatively small group. This inclines him to prefer solutions that posit a single source for all of the SM sayings – which neither the 2DH nor the 2GH does. But while it is true that SM christology did not have much of a future, the phrase is probably too widely

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[55] William O. Walker, "The Son of Man Question and the Synoptic Problem," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (ed. William R. Farmer; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 261–301.

[56] Walker ("Son of Man Question," 291) counts only Q 11:30; 12:40, 17:24, 26, 30 as eschatological, ignoring Q 12:8–9 even though he considers it (and Q 6:22) to be from Q (ibid., 291 n. 116). Since it is unclear whether Q 11:30 refers to the earthly or the coming Son of man, his count should be adjusted to 5(6?) of *ten* sayings.

[57] Only Mark 8:38; 13:26 and 14:62 are eschatological; Mark 2:10, 28 refer to the earthly SM and the remainder are suffering SM sayings.

[58] Walker's own expedient ("Son of Man Question," 298–99) is to posit a "Q" consisting of all that is common to Matthew and Luke (including 27 SM sayings) and to argue that Matthew and Luke used this "Q" independently, and that Mark conflated Matthew and Luke.

scattered and too variously used to posit a single originating source.[59]

Second, to plot Synoptic relations against the development of the SM title is to explain *obscurus per obscuriorem*, since there is probably even less consensus on the origin and significance of the SM than there is on the Synoptic problem. It is not the *opinio communis* that the SM title originated as a pesher exegesis of Pss 110:1; 8:6 and Dan 7:13 nor is there agreement that the eschatological valences of the SM title are primary.[60] Hence, one cannot take for granted the starting point of [111] Walker's discussion and presume that movement away from an eschatological valence is always secondary.

Finally, even if it were correct that the SM title arose as Walker supposes and that the suffering SM is a secondary development, the shifts that Walker detects on both the 2DH and the 2GH cannot be attributed to a non-reversible *Tendenz* at work in early christology. Redactional interests – e.g., Mark's concern to emphasize a passion christology – are surely more significant factors in the choice of which type of SM sayings are emphasized.

Farmer may be right when he states that[61]

> ... there is no reliable way in which to adjudge the christology of Mark as earlier or later than that of Matthew or Luke. All three Gospels came from the post-Pauline period of the early Church about which very little is known apart from inferences derived from the Gospels themselves. Apart from the Gospels there is no objective basis upon which to reconstruct a scheme of christological development in this period against which to measure the relative date of a specific christological reference in the Gospels.

Nonetheless, Reginald Fuller draws from the debate of F. C. Baur and A. Hilgenfeld one non-reversible criterion: if the *Tendenz* of gospel *A* appears in gospel *B* which does not share that *Tendenz*, this would be a "clear sign" of the dependence of *B* upon *A*.[62] To be precise, this should be stated negatively, since it might be argued that *A* merely exploited and expanded a minor theme present in *B*.[63] The absence, however, in gospel *A* of a development present in

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[59] In addition to the Synoptics, (ὁ) υἱὸς (τοῦ) ἀνθρώπου is found in John, Acts (7:56), Heb (2:6; cf. Ps 8:4); Rev (1:13; 14:14) and the *Gospel of Thomas* 86.

[60] See, for example, Barnabas Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man: A Fresh Examination of the Son of Man Sayings in the Gospels* (London: SPCK; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1983) and Douglas R.A. Hare, *The Son of Man Tradition* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

[61] William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1964), 230.

[62] Reginald H. Fuller, "Baur Versus Hilgenfeld: A Forgotten Chapter in the Debate on the Synoptic Problem," *NTS* 24 (1978): esp. 369–70.

[63] Hilgenfeld's own argument takes both forms: (1) that Mark's *Tendenz* has been displaced and weakened in Luke, but is nonetheless still visible; and (2) Mark lacks motifs peculiar to Luke (e.g., emphasis on Israel's final rejection of the Messiah) that one would expect Mark to have taken over, had he known Luke. See Adolf Hilgenfeld, *Das Markus-evangelium, nach seiner Composition, seiner Stellung in der Evangelien-literatur, seinem Ursprung und Charakter* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1850), 15–33.

gospel *B* that would have served the redactional interests of *A* would prove a serious obstacle to positing the dependence of *A* upon *B*.

On both the 2DH's and the FH's views of the relationship of Mark to Matthew, there has been an expansion of the roles and titles assigned to Jesus. Sherman Johnson has also pointed out that Matthew's christology is more highly integrated than that of Mark.[64] In the course of the first section of his gospel (1:1–4:16), Matthew has used the titles "Christ" (1:1, 16; 2:4), "son of Abraham" (1:1) "son of David" [**112**] (1:1), "Emmanuel" (1:23), "the one who is coming" (3:11) and "son of God" (2:15; 3:17; 4:3, 6) and has made it clear that Jesus is both a royal figure, deserving of προσκύνησις, and a divine figure, a shepherd, a thaumaturge, and an apocalyptic judge. Although each of these titles exposes a different aspect of Jesus' activity, Matthew sees no conflict between them.[65]

Proponents of the 2GH might reply, rightly, that Mark has problematized christology. A synchronic analysis of Mark confirms that christological cognition is a key concern and this might account for Mark's restriction of number of titles used and, more importantly, his careful serialization of christological disclosures and recognitions, beginning with the demons, continuing (in a limited way) with the disciples (after Mark 8:29), and culminating in the centurion's exclamation (Mark 15:39). Similarly, Mark's rather negative treatment of the "Son of David" title in Mark 12:35–37[66] would, on the 2GH, be explicable as a result of Mark's negative reaction to Jesus' family and to Jewish Christian expectations in general.

There is, however, at least one non-reversible motif lurking here. Johnson observes that it remains difficult to explain why Mark, on the 2GH, would have removed from his christological portrait the motif of Jesus as judge when it was strongly present in both Matthew (7:21–23; 13:41–43; 16:27; 25:31–46) and Luke (21:36; Acts 10:42; 17:31), and when it would have enhanced rather than interfered with his depiction of Jesus as one with ἐξουσία.[67] On the 2DH, the extending of judicial powers to Jesus is unattested in Mark and only seminally present in Q. Q 13:26–27 and 3:16–17 (to use Lukan versification for Q) imply a forensic role for Jesus, and Q 22:28–30 promises such a role to Jesus' followers; but in Q this is far from a dominant theological motif. It was left to Luke and especially to Matthew to develop this christological feature fully. To judge from late first and early second century literature, this identi-

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[64] Johnson, *Griesbach and Redaction Criticism*, 90–97, 101–5, 112.

[65] See Kingsbury, "New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond".

[66] Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (2. Aufl. 1977–1980; repr., HTKNT 2; Freiburg, Basel and Wien: Herder, 1976–77), 2:256: "David-Sohn ist für Markus keine Jesus adäquate christologische Kategorie...."

[67] Johnson, *Griesbach and Redaction Criticism*, 111, 112.

fication, once made, did not easily disappear.[68] That a post-Matthaean, post-Lukan Mark might have dropped the almost-formulaic reference to Jesus *qui venturus iudicare vivos et mortuous* is, of course, possible; but it would be [113] necessary to show *why* this was done, when other authors took this role for granted.

3. Some Theological Stakes in the Synoptic Problem

Besides the issues of the theologies of each of the evangelists and establishing some lines of theological development, the synoptic problem impinges on several larger theological questions for the imagination of Christian origins. One, for example, has to do with whether reflection on the role of the Torah was at the heart of the first attempt to codify the Jesus traditions. On the 2GH, clearly it was. On the 2DH, by contrast, Jesus' posture towards the Torah is not a programmatic concern either for Mark or for Q. Q contains a few sayings the reflect on the role of the Torah, but these represent secondary (and probably late) glosses and are far from Q's main interests.[69] The Torah becomes a programmatic issue only in function of a polemical situation obtaining in the Matthaean church, just as it became a major theme for Paul in function of the controversy in Galatia and was not a programmatic concern in the earliest stages of his theology.

Dieter Lührmann has pointed out an irony in recent German life of Jesus scholarship: even though the 2DH is ostensibly presupposed, it is *Matthew's* image of Jesus that has set the agenda – with his interest in Jesus' posture to the law and with his tendency to connect the parables of Jesus with the Kingdom.[70] This is perhaps an indication that for all ink that has been spilled

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[68] 2 Tim 4:1: διαμαρτύρομαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, τοῦ μέλλοντος κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς; *Barn* 7.2: εἰ οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὢν κύριος καὶ μέλλων κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς...; *2 Clem* 1.1: Ἀδελφοί, οὕτως δεῖ ἡμᾶς φρονεῖν περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς περὶ θεοῦ, ὡς περὶ κριτοῦ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν; Polycarp, *Phil.* 2.1; ὃς ἔρχεται κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν; Hegesippus *apud* Eusebium, *Hist. eccl.* 3.20.4: ...ἐλθὼν ἐν δόξῃ κρινεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ.

[69] For slightly differing interpretations, see John S. Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q," in *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (ed. James E. Goehring, Jack T. Sanders, and Charles W. Hedrick; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990), 35–48 [chap. 8 in this volume]; and Daniel Kosch, *Die eschatologische Tora des Menschensohnes: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Stellung Jesu zur Tora in Q* (NTOA 12; Freiburg Sw.: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989). Only when redactional considerations are minimized or ignored can the Torah be seen has having a more central function. See, e.g., Christopher M. Tuckett, "Q, the Law and Judaism," in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (ed. Barnabas Lindars; Cambridge: J. Clarke, 1988), 90–101 and David R. Catchpole, "Temple Traditions in Q," in *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (ed. William Horbury; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 305–29.

[70] Dieter Lührmann, "Die Logienquelle und die Frage nach dem historischen Jesus" (paper presented at the Fall 1991 Meeting of the Westar Institute, Edmonton, Canada, Oct

on the synoptic problem, its influence on some inquiries has been rather superficial.[71] It is also worth considering whether the apologetic schematic of law versus Gospel and its replication in Reformation polemics have created overriding *theological* desiderata that make it more convenient to ignore the results of source criticism when it comes, for example, to the Jesus of history debate.[72] [**114**]

Thus, while the GH implies that concern about the position of the Torah was a formative interest in the gospel tradition, the 2DH suggests that the debate was rather occasional and contingent upon local situation. A priori, it is not possible to decide which scenario is the more likely. The consequences of a decision are, nevertheless, major both for reconstructing the historical Jesus and for understanding the relationship of emergent Christianity in both its Pauline and non-Pauline forms to Judaism.

In the history of the synoptic debate, the key theological objection to the 2DH has to do not with Mark, but with Q and its lack of a salvific interpretation of Jesus' death. On the 2GH, the passion of Jesus and its saving effects are present from the very start. On the 2DH, at least one of the principal documents of formative Christianity did not, apparently, feel it necessary to locate Jesus' saving significance there.

William Farmer has seen the implications of the 2DH in his essay *The Church's Stake in the Question of 'Q'*[73] where he focuses his attention on the impact of Helmut Koester and James M. Robinson's model of Christian origins.[74] Koester's claim that the genre of λόγοι σοφῶν was "the most original *Gattung* of the Jesus tradition ... which ... became acceptable to the orthodox church only by radical alteration"[75] and Robinson's, that Q "is the most important book ever written by a Christian,"[76] are singled out[77]:

24–27, 1991), p. 5; now published as "Die Logienquelle und die Leben-Jesu-Forschung," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 191–206, here p. 196.

[71] On this, see Burton L. Mack, "Q and the Gospel of Mark: Revising Christian Origins," in *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage; Semeia 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 15–39.

[72] On this, see Smith, *Drudgery Divine*.

[73] William R. Farmer, "The Church's Stake in the Question of Q," *Perkins Journal* 39, no. 3 (1986): 9–19.

[74] James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester, *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971).

[75] Helmut Koester, "GNOMAI DIAPHOROI: The Origin and Nature of Diversification in the History of Early Christianity," in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 135.

[76] James M. Robinson, "The Sayings of Jesus: Q," *Drew Gateway* 54, no. 1 (1983): esp. 37. Robinson adds: "The saving significance of Jesus, according to 'Q', does not consist in Jesus having died for our sins, and the like, as we know it from the Kerygma, but in that he did not let himself be turned off by the fear of death in presenting the definitive guide for understanding the Torah..." (32). At this point, and in a slightly later essay, "Judaism, Hellenism, Christianity: Jesus Followers in Galilee Until 70 C.E," *Archivio de Filosophia* 53,

> The far reaching consequences of this Robinson-Koester enterprise may be measured by the fact that all the canonical Gospels feature passion narratives where Jesus Christ is represented as suffering under Pontius Pilate – i.e., these Gospels, unlike their gnostic counterparts, all tell the story of the flesh and blood martyrdom of the Son of God. This story, important in the tradition of the primitive church known to the apostle Paul..., would not represent the most original form within which the words of Jesus were to be understood, as with his sayings as they are preserved in the Gospels. [**115**]

If the 2GH must defend its portrait of Mark, it is the 2DH that must here defend what its solution implies regarding Christian origins. There are at least three interrelated issues: (1) whether there is any reason to suppose that a sayings gospel would have been used to codify the Jesus traditions; (2) whether the genre of a sayings gospel is gnosticizing as such; and (3) whether there is any reason to suppose that there were any Christian kerygmata that lacked reference to Jesus' death and its saving significance.

1. Austin Farrer put the matter baldly: "We have no reason to suppose documents of the Q type to have been plentiful .... No, in postulating Q we are postulating the unique, and that is to commit a *prima facie* offense against the principle of economy in explanation."[78] It is not altogether clear what Farrer meant by "documents of the Q type." In 1957 a sayings gospel such as the *Gospel of Thomas* was already published and the Oxyrhynchus fragments had been available for more than half a century.[79] Whether Farrer thought that the *Gos. Thom.* was dependent upon the Synoptics should have been irrelevant to his point, since his observations had to do with the *genre* of Q. But Farrer's comment points to a deeper issue. "Documents of the Q type" – i.e., collections of sayings – had been known in abundance in the form of Greek and Latin gnomologia and chriae collections, and in the form of Egyptian and other Near Eastern instructions.[80]

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no. 1 (1985): 241–50, Robinson still seems to be influenced by Schulz's view that Q "radicalized" the Torah. See Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), 167–73.

[77] Farmer, "Church's Stake," 13.

[78] Austin M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *Studies in the Gospels in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (ed. Dennis E. Nineham; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 57–88; repr. in Arthur J. Bellinzoni, ed., *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985), 321–56, esp. 325. (All page references will be to the 1985 reprint.)

[79] Michael Goulder (*Luke*, 51) notes the analogy of the *Gos. Thom.* but dismisses it immediately as a "gnostical revelation of the risen Lord [which] is very different from our hypothetical compound Q." Just how it is different, Goulder never explains.

[80] See the survey of wisdom collections in John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 263–316. A more restricted survey is provided in Max Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen: Zum Fortgang weisheitlichen Denkens im Bereich des frühjüdischen Jahweglaubens* (OBO 26; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Freiburg/Sw: Universitätsverlag, 1979). See also Helmut Brunner, "Die Lehren," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Erster Band: Ägyptologie. Zweiter Abschnitt: Literatur* (2. Aufl.; ed. Hermann Kees; Leiden and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1970), 113–39; Kenneth

One cannot know why Farrer thought these to be irrelevant; it may be for the same reasons that Greek and Latin *bioi* are often thought not [**116**] to be relevant for deciding the genre of the gospels.[81] Lying behind this rhetoric of "difference" is a theological program, brilliantly described in Jonathan Z. Smith's *Drudgery Divine*, which understands comparison to be the search for genealogy or homology, and which uses "Judaism" to insulate Christianity from the Hellenistic world and then, ironically, drives a wedge between Judaism and Christianity, thereby arriving at Christianity and its literature as *nova*.[82] Examples of the use of this strategy to produce "uniqueness" are legion. The irony in this case is that Farrer (and Goulder)[83] depend upon the rhetoric of "difference" in order to arrive at a *sui generis* Q, which may then be dismissed as improbable precisely because it is *sui generis*.

If the issue in comparison is not homology ("Q *is* an *x*") but analogy (Q resembles *x* more than *y* with respect to *z*)[84] then it should be clear that there are many analogies to Q among antique sayings collections. That some early Christians chose to present the Jesus traditions on the analogy of a gnomologium or an instruction should not be thought any more surprizing than that others chose a *bios* format. The choice of a sayings genre had certain implications for what would be emphasized and what would be minimized, just as the choice to present Pythagorean materials as the cryptic *Golden Words* produced a different "Pythagoras" than did Porphyry's narrative *Life of Pythagoras*. From the point of view of genre, Q (and the *Gos. of Thom.*) is not especially uncommon. That some early Christians would choose this form and would thereby emphasize Jesus' role as a teacher of wisdom points only to the fact that gnomologia were quite ordinary and therefore quite "natural" vehicles with which to present Jesus traditions. That others would chose an essentially biographical format – and all that goes which it – was just as "natural." The 2DH thus implies *generic* diversity at the earliest stages of the Jesus movement and along with this, *theological* diversity.

2. Farmer is obviously concerned over the statements of Koester and Robinson to the effect that Q's genre is gnosticizing and that Q had to be domes-

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A. Kitchen, "The Basic Literary Forms and Formulations of Ancient Instructional Writings in Egypt and Western Asia," in *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (ed. Erik Hornung and Othmar Keel; OBO 28; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 235–82; Miriam Lichtheim, *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context: A Study of Demotic Instructions* (OBO 52; Freiburg/Sw.: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983).

[81] See Shuler, "Genre(s)" and the response by Stuhlmacher, "Genre(s) of the Gospels".

[82] Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, esp. 35–53.

[83] Goulder, *Luke*, 51 agrees with Michel Devish's conclusion that Q is *sui generis*: Michel Devisch, "Le document Q, source de Matthieu: Problématique actuelle," in *L'Évangile selon Matthieu: Rédaction et théologie* (ed. M. Didier; BETL 29; Gembloux: Duculot, 1972), 86.

[84] Cf. Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 51.

ticated for it to be acceptable to "orthodox" Christianity.[85] [117] These statements had been made largely on the basis of a comparison of Q with the *Gos. Thom.* A more detailed analysis of literary analogies to Q (including the *Gos. Thom.*) shows that a gnosticizing or esoteric construal of the sage's sayings was only *one* of the possibilities available in the genre; a proto-biographical presentation was another; and still other collections presented the sayings as advice inspired by heavenly Wisdom and designed to lead to happiness, salvation, wisdom, etc.[86] Koester himself observes that even though Q contains at least one expression of esoteric wisdom, Q 10:21–22, this is not typical of the collection as a whole.[87] Q itself, by its inclusion of the predictions of John (3:[2–4?], 7–9, 16–17) and the Temptation account (4:1–13), appears to have opted for a proto-biographical presentation of Jesus' sayings, and in doing so paralleled other collections which began with a testing story (*Ankhsheshonq*, *Ahikar*, the *Sentences of Secundus*).

The 2DH does not, therefore, necessarily posit a "gnostic" impulse at the heart of earliest Christianity. It does, however, suggest a certain tentativeness, a certain experimentation in the first attempts of Christians to textualize their traditions and it again points to diversity rather than uniformity as a characteristic of the early Jesus movement.

3. The most remarkable difference between Q and the narrative gospels lies in the valuation of the theological importance of Jesus' death. That Q was regarded as problematic in this regard is seen in various attempts by proponents of the 2DH either to suggest that Q had a passion, now obscured,[88] or that it contained material that pointed to Jesus' death and its significance,[89] or that Q presupposed a knowledge of the passion narratives.[90] The assumption is that Q

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[85] Raymond E. Brown, "The *Gospel of Peter* and Canonical Gospel Priority," *NTS* 33, no. 3 (1987): esp. 321–22 expresses the same concern, that the effect (if not the intention) of the wave of scholarship on pre-gospel sources and on apocryphal gospels as representative of early stages in the formation of the gospel tradition is to "undermine" the canonical gospels.

[86] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 263–316.

[87] Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International; London: SCM Press, 1990), 61, 141.

[88] E.g., F. Crawford Burkitt, *The Earliest Sources of the Life of Jesus* (2d ed 1922; repr., London: Constable, 1910), 111: "I find it difficult to believe that a document Q, which on any hypothesis goes into some detail about the Ministry of Jesus, could have been silent about the end of his earthly ministry."

[89] Bernhard Weiss, *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung* (TU 32; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1908), 88 held that the anointing at Bethany was in Q. "Nun weist aber diese Wort auf das Begräbnis Jesu als den Abschluß seiner irdischen Geschichte hin; ud darum ist diese Geschichte planvoll mit der bekannten Übergangsformel den letzen Reden Jesu angereiht und ersetzt so gleichsam die fehlende Leidensgeschichte." According to Benjamin Wiser Bacon, "The Nature and Design of Q, the Second Synoptic Source," *HibJ* 22 (1923–24): esp. 688, Q contained Matt 12:18–21 = Isa 42:1–4, which functioned in place of a passion narrative to interpret Jesus' rejection and death.

[90] E.g., Julius Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (2. Aufl.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911), 159–60; Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 292 and many others.

must have treated the passion of Jesus in some way. In arguing against the 2DH Farrer makes this assumption explicit[91]: [**118**]

> After an exordium so full of dogmatic weight and historical destiny [i.e., Q 3:7–9, 16–17; 4:1–13], is it credible that the book should peter out in miscellaneous oracles, and conclude without any account of those events which, to a Christian faith, are supremely significant?

He continues[92]:

> Why should not the author of Q follow the scriptural example, and write a "prophetical biography" of Christ beginning with history and proceeding to discourse, and ending with eschatological oracles? Why should he not? Because Christ was no mere prophet. Isaiah was no more than a prophet, an instrument of the Lord's word.... The divine act in Isaiah is his call, not his death. It is otherwise with Christ.

It is clear from these citations the extent to which Farrer allowed theological conclusions to control historical investigation and literary characterization. He does not even seem to have noticed that Q never refers to Jesus as the χριστός. He does, however, raise the key question: was it possible for early Christians to imagine Jesus without a theologized cross?

If one sees this question through the lens of Paul or the narrative gospels, the answer is clear. If the *Gos. Thom.* is regarded as "Christian" in at least the sense that those who compiled it thought of Jesus as the sole or principal mediator of salvation, then the answer is quite different.

Here we encounter an epistemological problem deriving from the fact of a canon.[93] The sacralizing of a set of texts creates expectations which the texts themselves should not have to bear. The stress laid upon the death of Jesus by our canonical documents gives the impression of normativity, ubiquity and appropriateness. Yet this is not confirmed in the least by an examination of early Christian iconography. Graydon Snyder, in his book *Ante Pacem*, notes that it was not until the fourth century that the cross and the related symbols of suffering, death and self-immolation appear in Christian art.[94] The baptismal themes deriving from Romans 6 are totally absent from second century [**119**]

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[91] Austin M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (ed. Arthur J. Bellinzoni; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985), 327. Farrer's observation of Q "petering out" merely betrays his ignorance of the structure of gnomic collections, e.g., *Ankhsheshonq* or the *Sentences of Secundus*, which begin in a quasi-biographical way, but continue and conclude with sayings. Farrer obviously is judging one genre (Q) by the rules of another.

[92] Ibid., 328. Cf. Migaku Sato, *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988), who argues that Q should be seen on the analogy of a prophetic book, and that this accounts for the absence of a passion narrative.

[93] See Jonathan Z. Smith, "Sacred Persistence: Towards a Redescription of Canon," in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 36–52, 141–43.

[94] Graydon F. Snyder, *Ante Pacem: Archaeological Evidence of Church Life Before Constantine* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1985), 29, 56, 165–66.

Christian literature.[95] What one finds instead is a variety of images representing Jesus as a shepherd, a (bearded) philosopher or as a (beardless) wonder worker.[96] Snyder's conclusion is stunning[97]:

> With the evidence at hand there appears a clear Christology for the *ante pacem* era. Jesus was not understood in a promise-fulfillment nexus, nor in a guilt-redemption pattern, but in an alienation-deliverance structure. Understood in this manner, we can see why motifs of the fulfillment (eschatology) or self-giving (the cross and sacrifice) cannot be found in the data except by those who insist on cryptosymbol systems. Rather than a pantheon, Christianity offered a single figure, Jesus, who could bring peace and opportunity to those in desperate circumstances.

What Paul held to be the heart of his theology, and what in the canonical gospels achieves prominence through the sheer bulk of the passion narratives seems not to have been widely celebrated outside the literary elites responsible for the production and transmission of these documents. We might ask whether the very forcefulness with which Paul asserts a *theologia crucis* has misled generations of scholars into thinking that this rhetoric was successful in promoting his vision and that this vision was representative of the various Christianities alive in the Mediterranean basin.

Q and the *Gos. Thom.* suggest that it was not.[98] By depicting Jesus as a teacher of wisdom, Q and the *Gospel of Thomas*, far from presenting a historical oddity, reflect what was to be the norm of popular christological representations. [**120**]

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[95] André Benoit, *Le baptême chrétien au second siècle: La théologie des pères* (Études d'Historie et de Philosophie Religieuse.43; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1953), 43: "One is struck by an especially surprising fact: the baptismal themes of Paulinism are totally absent. Nowhere, in all of the patristic literature of the second century can one perceive the least echo of the mystery according to which to be baptised is to die and be resurrected with Christ.... [Paulinism] played no role in the development of baptismal theology in this period."

[96] Snyder, *Ante Pacem*, 22–24 [shepherd], 61–62 [Jesus as a philosopher]; 56, 59, 64–65 [Jesus as miracle worker], and the earlier work of Friedrich Gerke, *Christus in der spätantiken Plastik* (3. Aufl.; Berlin: Florian Kupferberg, 1948).

[97] Snyder, *Ante Pacem*, 166–67.

[98] See Mack, "Q and the Gospel of Mark," 20: "As strange as this idea may seem, given the traditional scenario of Christian origins, the Q tradents may not have been the only exception to the kerygmatic rule. The miracle stories ... also need not be read as stories of the resurrected Jesus. The pre-Markan pronouncement stories are not concerned with kerygmatic characterizations. Jesus as the "living one" in the Gospel of Thomas does not get and hardly needs any kerygmatic credentials. The Didache makes no mention of the death and resurrection of the Christ. And as for the synoptic Gospels in general, it is now becoming clear that, in spite of their narratives of the passion and resurrection, they are exceedingly fuzzy at the point of the necessity and significance of these events. They are certainly not strong evidence for a kerygmatic interpretation of Jesus' death. Myths of origin, yes; strong convictions about the saving significance of a kerygmatic event on the model of Pauline views, no."

IV

That the 2GH requires us to imagine an aggressive Markan theology, or that the 2DH implies the existence of early Christians who did not (yet?) see the need of an account of the death of Jesus are not in themselves indications that either hypothesis is probable or improbable. The exercise of exposing the theologies which are implied by each source hypothesis, and the theological assumptions that have controlled (and continue to control) our investigation are, however, part of the necessary project of raising the investigation of the synoptic problem to the level of full critical self-consciousness.

Addendum

Since the first publication of this article, William R. Farmer (*The Gospel of Jesus: The Pastoral Relevance of the Synoptic Problem* [Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1994]) engaged some of its arguments, but also extended the approach by arguing that the choice of a solution to the Synoptic Problem had theological (or "pastoral" implications in Farmer's terms) for the understanding of the importance of the Eucharist, the doctrine of justification by faith, the church's commitment to the poor, and the role of women in the earliest Jesus movement. Peter M. Head's *Christology and the Synoptic Problem: An Assessment of One Argument for Markan Priority* (SNTSMS 94; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997) adopts a similar methodological approach, testing synoptic arrangements through the lens of the elaboration of christological statements. More recently, David Peabody's "Reading Mark from the Perspectives of Different Synoptic Source Hypotheses: Historical, Redactional and Theological Implications" (*New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008. Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett* [edited by Paul Foster, Andrew Gregory, John S. Kloppenborg, and Joseph Verheyden; BETL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 159–85) considers the literary and theological entailments for understanding Mark on the 2DH, FH, and 2GH.

Other important literature includes: Allan J. McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse – Luke's Use of Matthew: A Demonstration by the Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies*, in collaboration with David L. Dungan and David B. Peabody (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996); Mark S. Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002); David L. Peabody, Lamar Cope, and Allan J. McNicol, *One Gospel from Two: Mark's Use of Matthew and Luke* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002); David J. Neville, *Mark's Gospel – Prior or Posterior?: A Reappraisal of the Phenomenon of Order* (JSNTSup 222; London and New York: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002).

Chapter 2

Is There a New Paradigm?[1]

One of the persistent criticisms of the current state of Synoptic scholarship by both William R. Farmer and Michael Goulder is that the fundamental issue of the Synoptic Problem is often treated as if it H. J. Holtzmann or B. H. Streeter had been solved definitively. The criticism is perhaps most justified when applied to scholarship in Germany, where the Two Document hypothesis (2DH) or minor variations of it are still overwhelmingly accepted and correspondingly little discussion of other options occurs.[2] In both North America,

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[1] [First published as "Is There a New Paradigm?" Pages 23–47 in *Christology, Controversy, and Community: Essays in Honour of David Catchpole*. Edited by David G. Horrell and Christopher M. Tuckett. NovTSup 99. Leiden, Boston and Köln: ©Koninklijke Brill NV, 2000. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.]

[2] See, however, the detailed account of the current state of synoptic problem scholarship by Walter Schmithals, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (De Gruyter Lehrbuch; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 44–233. There has been an active discussion by German and Swiss scholars of the "minor agreements" (Georg Strecker, ed., *Minor Agreements: Symposium Göttingen 1991* [Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten 50; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993]) and various modifications of the 2DH, including: (a) subsidiary influence of Matthew upon Luke, without eliminating the need for Q (Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse* [Zürich and Stuttgart: Gotthelf, 1971], 303–5); (b) the positing of a deutero-Markus in order to account for certain minor agreements (Albert Fuchs, "Die Behandlung der Mt/Lk Übereinstimmungen gegen Mk durch S. McLoughlin und ihre Bedeutung für die synoptische Frage: Probleme der Forschung," *SNTU/A* 3 [1978]: 24–57; idem, "Das Elend mit der Zweiquellenstheorie: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit zwei neuern Dissertationen zum Thema der minor agreements," *SNTU/A* 18 [1993]: 183–243; idem, "Zum Umfang von Q: Anfragen an eine neue Arbeit zur Logienquelle," *SNTU/A* 21 [1996]: 188–210; H. Aichinger, "Quellenkritische Untersuchung der Perikope vom Ährenraufen am Sabbat Mk 2,23–28 par Mt 12,1–8 par Lk 6,1–5," *SNTU/A* 1 [1976]: 110–53; Christoph Niemand, *Studien zu den Minor Agreements der synoptischen Verklärungsperikopen: Eine Untersuchung der literkritischen Relevanz der gemeinsamen Abweichungen des Matthäus und Lukas von Markus 9,2–10 für die synoptische Frage* [Europäische Hochschulschriften 23. Reihe: Theologie 352; Frankfurt/M, Bern and New York: Peter Lang, 1989]; Andreas Ennulat, *Die "Minor Agreements": Untersuchung zu einer offenen Frage des synoptischen Problems* [WUNT 2. Serie 62; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994]); and (c) the positing of recensions of Q (Daniel Kosch, "Q: Rekonstruktion und Interpretation: Eine methodenkritische Hinführung mit einem Exkurs zur Q-Vorlage des Lk," *FZPT* 36 [1989]: 409–25).

The most serious recent dissent from the Two Document hypothesis is offered by Hans-Herbert Stoldt, *Geschichte und Kritik der Markus-hypothese* (2nd edition, expanded;

Belgium, and the United Kingdom, however, the criticism is less than fair: In North America there has been a lively debate of the Griesbach (or Two [24] Gospel) hypothesis.[3] Frans Neirynck (Leuven) has engaged the Two Gospel hypothesis, and in the United Kingdom, Christopher M. Tuckett has offered a detailed analysis and critique of the Griesbach hypothesis.[4] Farrer's thesis of Markan's priority coupled with Luke's direct dependence on Matthew[5] has

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Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1986), who favours the Griesbach hypothesis. Eta Linnemann, *Gibt es ein synoptisches Problem?* (3. Aufl.; 1991; repr., Nürnberg: VTR, 1998) is an attack on synoptic scholarship in general, but one that suffers from an unfortunate lack of acquaintance with much of the relevant literature (see my review in *Critical Reviews in Religion 1993* [Atlanta: Scholars Press 1993] 262–64).

[3] A large number of publications have issued from the research team assembled by Farmer, most recently, Allan J. McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse – Luke's Use of Matthew: A Demonstration by the Research Team of the International Institute for Gospel Studies* (in collaboration with David L. Dungan and David B. Peabody; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996). See the review by Robert A. Derrenbacker, "The Relationship among the Gospels Reconsidered," *Toronto Journal of Theology* 14 (1998) 83–8. For earlier engagements with the Two Gospel hypothesis, see Charles H. Talbert and Edgar V. McKnight, "Can the Griesbach Hypothesis Be Falsified?" *JBL* 91 (1972): 338–68, with a reply by George Wesley Buchanan, "Has the Griesbach Hypothesis Been Falsified?" *JBL* 93 (1974): 550–72. See further Sherman E. Johnson, *The Griesbach Hypothesis and Redaction Criticism* (SBLMS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991); Robert H. Stein, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1987); John S. Kloppenborg, "The Theological Stakes in the Synoptic Problem," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 93–120 (pp. 11–38 in this volume); M. Eugene Boring, "The Synoptic Problem, 'Minor' Agreements, and the Beelzebul Pericope," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 587–619; Robert H. Gundry, "Matthean Foreign Bodies in Agreements of Luke with Matthew Against Mark: Evidence That Luke Used Matthew," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 1467–95; David S. New, *Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels and the Two-Document Hypothesis* (SCS 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993).

[4] Christopher M. Tuckett, *The Revival of the Griesbach Hypothesis: An Analysis and Appraisal* (SNTSMS 44; Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); idem, "The Griesbach Hypothesis in the 19th Century," *JSNT* 3 (1979): 29–60; idem, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), 11–16. See also Peter M. Head, *Christology and the Synoptic Problem: An Assessment of One Argument for Markan Priority* (SNTSMS 94; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

[5] Austin M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *Studies in the Gospels in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (ed. Dennis E. Nineham; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 57–88; repr. in Arthur J. Bellinzoni, ed., *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985), 321–56. Farrer's thesis has been defended and elaborated by Michael D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974); idem, *Luke: A*

elicited learned replies from David R. Catchpole,[6] F. Gerald Downing,[7] and Tuckett.[8]

The work of David Catchpole on Q has proved important not only for the host of insights into the construction and thought of Q, [25] but for the constant attention he pays to the basic issue of the Synoptic Problem. His main dialogue partner is Goulder, for Catchpole rightly recognizes that if it could be shown in a systematic fashion that Luke could be derived from Matthew (and Mark), Q would become a superfluous supposition.[9] Hence, Catchpole's essay "Did Q Exist?"[10] just as systematically shows that at numerous points it is difficult to derive Luke's directly text from Matthew, for Matthew contains elements that one would otherwise expect Luke to have taken over had he seen Matthew.

In this essay, I should like to offer a different sort of reflection on the synoptic problem, not pursuing the painstaking work of Catchpole in defending the independence of Matthew and Luke, but raising a more theoretical question of what it is that synoptic theories are designed to accomplish, taking as a point of departure the main British challenge to the 2DH, Michael Goulder's "New Paradigm."

Goulder calls his proposal "a new paradigm," expressly invoking a term popularized by Thomas Kuhn in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962, 1970).[11] In this critical reflection, I would like to ask three questions: First,

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New Paradigm (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989); idem, "On Putting Q to the Test," *NTS* 24, no. 2 (1978): 218–34; idem, "A House Built on Sand," in *Alternative Approaches to New Testament Study* (ed. A.E. Harvey; London: SPCK, 1985), 1–24; idem, "Luke's Knowledge of Matthew," in *Minor Agreements: Symposium Göttingen 1991* (ed. Georg Strecker; Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten 50; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 143–60; idem, "Is Q a Juggernaut?" *JBL* 115, no. 4 (1996): 667–81; idem, "Self-Contradiction in the IQP," *JBL* 118, no. 3 (1999): 506–17. [See the response by Robert A. Derrenbacker and John S. Kloppenborg, "Self-Contradiction in the IQP? A Reply to Michael Goulder," *JBL* 120, no. 1 (2001): 57–76].

[6] David R. Catchpole, *The Quest for Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 1–59.

[7] F. Gerald Downing, "Towards the Rehabilitation of Q," *NTS* 11 (1965): 170–81; idem, "A Paradigm Perplex: Luke, Matthew and Mark," *NTS* 38, no. 1 (1992): 15–36.

[8] Christopher M. Tuckett, "On the Relationship Between Matthew and Luke," *NTS* 30 (1984): 130–42; *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), 16–31.

[9] The key term here is "systematic," since as Catchpole notes with Timothy A. Friedrichsen ("The Matthew-Luke Agreements Against Mark: A Survey of Recent Studies: 1974–1989," in *L'évangile de Luc: Problèmes littéraires et théologiques. Mémorial Lucien Cerfaux* [revised and enlarged ed.; ed. Frans Neirynck; BETL 32; Leuven: Peeters, 1989], 335–92, esp. 391), the demonstration that (e.g.) the minor agreements betray Luke's dependence on Matthew would not by itself foreclose the possibility that Matthew and Luke used another source alongside Mark for the double tradition in general.

[10] Catchpole, "Did Q Exist?" *Quest for Q*, 1–59.

[11] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2d ed, enlarged; 1962; repr., International Encyclopedia of Unified Science. Foundations of the Unity of Science 2/2; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). All references are to the 1970 edition.

what does Goulder mean by "paradigm"? Second, is Goulder's "paradigm" new? And third, does Goulder's thesis offer a compelling critique of the Two Document Hypothesis?

Goulder on Paradigms

Ever since the publication of Kuhn's volume, the term "paradigm" has become rather a buzz-word among theological writers. A quick consultation of the ATLA database shows that the word appears in the titles and abstracts of one thousand monographs and articles published since 1980, almost 1200 since 1970.[12] Though a handful of [**26**] these discuss the paradigms in the Greek and Hebrew verbal systems, many others implicitly or explicitly invoke Kuhn by announcing "shifting," "new" and "emerging" paradigms.

Some of these usages are no doubt rhetorical – attempts to lend some unearned legitimacy to novel theses by claiming that they are part of "new" or "emerging" paradigms. The rhetorical appeal of the term is obvious. No one, after all, would want to be associated with the old and dying view that combustion and rusting involves the release of phlogiston when Lavoisier's new paradigm of oxidation, reduction, and acidity is on the horizon. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that for Kuhn, a "paradigm" is not merely an idea or a theory, but an *achievement* involving theories and practices (new ways of approaching the phenomena and new equipment), and promoting a new research program (naturally suggesting new puzzles as well as new solutions).[13] New paradigms, moreover, are more easily recognized with hindsight than at the moment of their birth,[14] precisely because it takes some time for the paradigm to take hold in theory, in practices, and in the discursive modes adopted by practioners.

Hence, advertisements of the birth of new paradigms (and the death of old ones) are always likely to be a bit premature. To be fair to Goulder, however, his rehabilitation of Farrer's theory, even if it has not attracted a large group of practioners,[15] has been articulated over the course of twenty-five years and has

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[12] [Ed note: This statistics was gathered in 2000. In 2012, almost 2900 articles and books in the ATLA database announce new, shifting, and emerging paradigms.]

[13] Cordell Strug, "Kuhn's Paradigm Thesis: A Two-Edged Sword for the Philosophy of Religion," *Religious Studies* 20 (1984): 270.

[14] As Kuhn notes, it is sometimes even difficult to identify the point at which a paradigm-shifting discovery occurs, as in the case of the discovery of oxygen in the 1770s. See *Scientific Revolutions*, 53–56.

[15] See, e.g., H. Benedict Green, "The Credibility of Luke's Transformation of Matthew," in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 131–55; idem, "Matthew 12.22–50 and Parallels: An Alternative to Matthaean Conflation," in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT

achieved a practical embodiment in two significant commentaries, one on Matthew and another on Luke. It is not clear to me, nevertheless, that Goulder's theory has done what Kuhnian paradigms ought to do, namely to suggest a new set of problems to be solved. And as I shall suggest below, Goulder's theory involves no substantially new practices or tools: Goulder remains a redaction critic, and a fine one at that, [27] employing the standard tools of the trade in a relatively conventional manner.

1. Falsifiability: Goulder's Popperian View

In order to probe more deeply into what Goulder means by "paradigm," it is useful to scrutinize the opening paragraphs of *Luke: A New Paradigm*. There he refers both to Popper[16] and to Kuhn, arguing (with Popper) that knowledge progresses by conjectures, which are then subjected to deductive testing that attempts to refute them. For Popper, conjectures that survive are not thereby shown to be certainly true or even as probably correct, but they do appear to us to be better approximations of the truth than competing conjectures which fail deductive testing.[17] Falsifiability – the susceptibility of an hypothesis to refutation by means of empirical observations – is for Popper what sets scientific conjectures apart from non-scientific ones.[18]

Goulder describes the Two Document hypothesis as a "paradigm" or "complex of hypotheses" that includes a conjectured sayings source Q and the hypothesis of the independence of Matthew and Luke. Since on most accounts Q's contents did not include material parallel to the Markan passion narrative,[19] the

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Press, 1984), 157–76; E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989); Mark S. Goodacre, *Goulder and the Gospels: An Examination of a New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 133; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1996). [Added note: see now Mark S. Goodacre, "*Beyond the Q Impasse* or Down a Blind Alley?" *JSNT* 76 (1999): 33–52; *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002); Mark S. Goodacre and Nicholas Perrin, eds., *Questioning Q: A Multidimensional Critique* (London: Ill.: SPCK; Downer's Grove, InterVarsity Press, 2004)].

[16] Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (revised ed.; London: Hutchinson, 1968); idem, *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).

[17] Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations*, vii; *Logic*, 32–33.

[18] This is Popper's criterion of demarcation between scientific and non-scientific (and metaphysical) statements. "I proposed ... that *refutability or falsifiability* of a theoretical system should be taken as the criterion of demarcation. According to this view, which I still uphold, a system is to be considered as scientific only if it makes assertions which may clash with observations; and a system is, in fact, tested by attempts to produce such clashes, that is to say by attempts to refute it. Thus testability is the same as refutability, and can therefore likewise be taken as a criterion of demarcation" (*Conjectures and Refutations*, 256, emphasis original).

[19] Goulder's statement is much stronger: "Now Q is *defined* as a body of sayings material and some narrative, beginning from the preaching of John and ending before the Passion...."

2DH implies that while in Mark 1–13 there might be Matthew-Luke agreements against Mark that result from their incorporation of Q into the Markan [28] framework, there should be no significant agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in the passion narrative. This is a simple deductive test, and one which, apparently, the 2DH fails: there is at least one significant minor agreement, Matt 26:67–68 || Luke 22:63–64 against Mark 14:65.[20]

I will return to the issue of the minor agreements later, but for the moment it is important to observe that Goulder's understanding of a "paradigm" corresponds to Popper's idea of the "problem-situation" or "framework" into which the scientist fits her own work.[21] For Popper, the scientist works within a definite theoretical framework; but he emphasizes that "at any moment" the scientist can challenge and break out of that framework.[22] But Popper in fact rejects Kuhn's model of a single dominant, controlling paradigm. On the contrary, multiple competing theories exist at any given time; they are generally commensurable; and, if scientific, they are falsifiable. For Popper, science progresses in a continuous process of conjectures and refutations, with multiple conjectures vying for dominance.

This erodes Kuhn's distinction between "normal" and "extraordinary" science, between those phases of scientific research generally informed by one broad conceptual paradigm, related practices, and commending a certain research program, on the one hand, and on the other, transitional periods when a prevailing paradigm has become problematized due to a critical mass of unoperative data and anomalous observations, which eventually lead to its displacement by a new paradigm. Popper in fact understands Kuhn's term "normal science" in a pejorative sense, connoting the activity of the "non-revolutionary" and "not-too-critical professional," "the science student who accepts the ruling dogma of the day."[23] [29]

[*Luke*, 6, emphasis added] and "there is no Q in the Passion story *ex hypothesi*." This appears to be an effort to make the refutation of the supposition of Q analytic–by defining terms in such a way that simple understanding of the terms renders hypotheses using those terms true or false on the basis of grammar–rather than *a posteriori*. But Q in fact is only "defined" as the non-Markan source of Matthew and Luke. It *turns out* not to have Passion sayings, but this is not and has never been part of the definition of Q.

[20] See below, n. 41.

[21] Karl Popper, "Normal Science and Its Dangers," in *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge* (International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science, London, 1965; ed. Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave; Proceedings of the International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 51–58, esp. 51.

[22] Popper, "Normal Science," 56.

[23] Popper, "Normal Science," 52. Similarly, *Logic*, 50: "A system such as classical mechanics may be 'scientific' to any degree you like; but those who uphold it dogmatically – believing, perhaps, that it is their business to defend such a successful system against criticism as long as it is not *conclusively disproved* – are adopting the very reverse of that critical attitude which in my view is the proper one for the scientist. In point of fact, no conclusive disproof of a theory can ever be produced; for it is always possible to say that the

Ironically, "paradigm" for Goulder has a Popperian ring, despite the fact that the title of his Luke book advertises a new paradigm. To be sure, Goulder takes from Kuhn the idea that dominant paradigms often accommodate anomalies by making *ad hoc* adjustments. But while Kuhn takes such adaptations to be a standard and necessary part of normal science,[24] Goulder sees the attempts of the 2DH to accommodate anomalies by adjusting the theory – positing other intermediate documents, or oral tradition, or textual corruption – as leading to an "elastic," unfalsifiable, and therefore unscientific hypothesis. He observes, moreover, that paradigms resist displacement because researchers have invested careers in research programs informed by those paradigms. For Goulder, as for Popper, paradigms *ought* to be susceptible to deductive testing which could well lead to their immediate collapse. The fact that they do not collapse is a symptom of the dangers of "normal science."[25] Thus he bemoans the fact that generations of graduate students will imbibe and later perpetuate a paradigm which, he thinks, is logically indefensible.[26] Throughout [30] his

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experimental results are not reliable, or that the discrepancies which are asserted to exist between the experimental results and the theory are only apparent and that they will disappear with the advance of our understanding.... If you insist on strict proof (or strict disproof) in the empirical sciences, you will never benefit from experience, and never learn from it how wrong you are."

[24] Thomas S. Kuhn, "Logic of Discovery or Psychology of Research?" in *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge* (International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science, London, 1965; ed. Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave; Proceedings of the International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 1–23, esp. 13: "It is important, furthermore, that this should be so, for it is often by challenging observations or adjusting theories that scientific knowledge grows. Challenges and adjustments are a standard part of normal research in empirical science, and adjustments, at least, play a dominant role in informal mathematics as well." Contrast Popper's statement in *Logic*, 42: "For it is always possible to find some way of evading falsification, for example by introducing *ad hoc* an auxiliary hypothesis, or by changing *ad hoc* a definition. It is even possible without logical inconsistency to adopt the position of simply refusing to acknowledge any falsifying experience whatsoever. Admittedly, scientists do not usually proceed in this way, but logically such procedure is possible; and this fact, it might be claimed, makes the logical value of my proposed criterion of demarcation dubious, to say the least."

[25] Popper, "Normal Science," 52–53. Goulder (*Luke*, 4) asserts that Kuhn's use of "normal science" is pejorative, but this seems to be a case of reading Kuhn *via* Popper. Kuhn (*Scientific Revolutions*, 65) in fact sees "normal science" not as antithetical to extraordinary science, but as embodying the practices that lead to its own displacement. "By ensuring that the paradigm will not be too easily surrendered, resistance guarantees that scientists will not be lightly distracted and that the anomalies that lead to paradigm change will penetrate existing knowledge to the core. The very fact that a significant scientific novelty so often emerges simultaneously from several laboratories in an index both to the strongly traditional nature of normal science and to the completeness with which that traditional pursuit prepares the way for its own change."

[26] Goulder, "Juggernaut," esp. 668.

introduction to *Luke: A New Paradigm*, he refers to adherents of the 2DH with the apparently pejorative term, "paradigmers."

Kuhn's reply to Popper is that paradigms, precisely because of their complexity, can seldom be cast in a form that is susceptible to the sort of refutations that Popper (or Goulder) seeks. Tolerance to anomalies is not a special characteristic of paradigms that are about to collapse, or of paradigms that irrationally resist falsification; it is a mark of all paradigms. For example, Schrödinger's wave mechanics and his wave equation produce coherent results for hydrogen atoms and for particles travelling at "non-relativistic" velocities, less than ten percent of the speed of light; but Schrödinger's equation is not designed for particles at "relativistic" velocities. But these restrictions are not sufficient grounds to abandon the equation. It is for reasons such as this that paradigms in Kuhn's sense do not collapse when faced with bits of anomalous data. An old paradigm is declared invalid only when anomalies have accumulated to the extent that the paradigm cannot bear their weight *and* when a new candidate is there to take its place. The choice to abandon one is simultaneously a choice to embrace another.[27]

Goulder's Popperian perspective on the issue of the falsification of scientific hypotheses and his Popperian sense of paradigms helps to account for the strategy he adopts in criticizing the 2DH: he proposes simple deductive tests – principally, the presence of minor agreements and the presence of "Matthaean" vocabulary in Luke – with the expectation that such tests should refute the theory, leaving place for his own. This is also why he prefers the position of the so-called "hard-liners," Neirynck and Tuckett, who respond to the issue of the minor agreements by suggesting either coincidental redaction by Matthew and Luke, or textual corruption.[28] This is in contrast to the "soft-liners," who appeal to multiple recensions of Mark, the interference of oral tradition, or intermediate gospels. The "hard-line" position, because it requires Neirynck and Tuckett to be [31] able to supply plausible redaction critical reasons for a coincidental agreement in altering Mark, or to point to an early and reliable manuscript that eliminates the minor agreement, is, Goulder believes, easily falsifiable. Thus while he invokes Kuhn, the key issue for Goulder is falsification. The existence of a "paradigm" only accounts for the resistance encountered by new proposals. It is a term connoting institutional inertia.[29]

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[27] Kuhn, *Scientific Revolutions*, 77.

[28] On the notorious minor agreement at Mark 14:65, see Tuckett, "Matthew and Luke" and Frans Neirynck, "ΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΠΑΙΣΑΣ ΣΕ; Mt 26,68/Lk 22,64 (Diff. Mk 14,65)," *ETL* 63 (1987): 5–47; repr. with an additional note in *Evangelica II: 1982–1991 Collected Essays* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck; BETL 99; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1991), 94–138.

[29] Goulder ("Juggernaut," 668–69) ventures that modern support for the 2DH is due to a combination of inertia, personal attachments, lack of academic integrity in admitting "that [proponents] have been wrong for years" and the daunting mass of scholarly literature on the topic that few can read or master. Missing from Goulder's list is the possibility that some

I wish to suggest that there are two reasons why Goulder's criticism of the 2DH has not proved effective and his own theory has not been embraced – a fact conceded by Goulder himself. First is that Goulder's Popperian view of falsification is not shared by most of those he criticizes. The 2DH is believed to be able to accommodate anomalies, just as Kuhn's paradigms routinely both produce and accommodate anomalies in the course of the puzzle-solving of normal science. The 2DH is not perceived as imperiled by the problem of the minor agreements and, it provides a generally coherent account of a host of synoptic data. Simply put, the 2DH is still an effective hypothesis.

The second reason is that Goulder's thesis produces its own puzzles having to do with Luke's editorial procedures that Goulder has not sufficiently addressed. I will return to some of these later, but for the moment I would like to comment on falsification and the 2DH.

Are Synoptic Theories Falsifiable?

When it was first formulated, the 2DH – or at least, the supposition of (Ur)Markan priority and the existence of sayings source – was advertised as incorrigible, beyond falsification. Albert Schweitzer, Holtzmann's erstwhile student at Strasbourg, is a good example of such rhetorical bravado: "The [Markan] hypothesis has a literary existence, indeed it is carried out by Holtzmann to such a degree of demonstration that it can no longer be called a mere hypothesis."[30] A half-century later Marxsen echoed this:[31] [32]

> This Two-Sources theory [sic] has been so widely accepted by scholars that one feels inclined to abandon the term "theory" (in the sense of "hypothesis'). We can in fact regard it as an assured finding – but we must bear in mind that there are inevitable uncertainties as far as the extent and form of Q and the special material are concerned.

This is a grave logical mistake that has now been exposed, thanks in part to the efforts of Chapman, Butler, Farmer and Goulder. Happily, it is difficult to find such inflated rhetorical claims made by contemporary adherents of the Two

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embrace the 2DH on the basis of a careful examination of synoptic data and the explanations that best account for those data.

[30] Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (trans. William Montgomery, with a preface by F.C. Burkitt, new edition 1968) with a new introduction by James M. Robinson; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1910), 202.

[31] Willi Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament: An Approach to Its Problems* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 118. Similarly, Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Revised English ed.; trans. Howard C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), 64 asserted that Luke's direct dependence on Matthew was "completely inconceivable" ('völlig undenkbar'), while citing as proponents of this view Rengstorff, Schlatter, Ropes, Butler, Farrer, Turner, Farmer, Argyle, Simpson, Wilkens, and Sanders.

Document hypothesis. The 2DH is an hypothesis. Deductive testing might refute an hypothesis, but it can never prove one or establish it as a fact.

Ironically, perhaps, proponents of other hypotheses have sometimes succumbed to the temptation of similar rhetoric. For example, in the defence of the Two Gospel hypothesis (2GH) offered by McNicol and his colleagues, McNicol repeatedly describes data in Luke (either the sequence of Lukan materials or certain phrases or words) as *evidence* of Luke's direct use of Matthew.[32] It is not evidence or proof; rather, it is *data* for which the 2GH may offer a plausible accounting, but for which the 2GH is not the *only* plausible accounting. A yet more blatant example of rhetorical overstatement is Farrer's assertion:[33]

> The Q hypothesis is a hypothesis, that is its weakness. To be rid of it we have no need of a contrary hypothesis, we merely have to make St. Luke's use of St. Matthew intelligible; and to understand what St. Luke made of St. Matthew we need no more than to consider what St. Luke made of his own book. Now St. Luke's book is not a hypothetical entity. Here is a copy of it on my desk. [**33**]

This is a sleight of hand. Luke may indeed have "existed" on Farrer's desk, though Farrer did not seem to appreciate the fact that the Greek text that lay on his desk was not Luke's, but the *reconstruction* of text critics such as Tischendorff, Westcott, Hort, and Nestle that was based on *hypotheses* concerning the transmission of the text of Luke. But what did *not* exist on Farrer's desk was Luke's *relationship* to Matthew. *That* was Farrer's hypothesis and that is his "weakness."

Goulder engages in similar rhetorical flourishes when he asserts: "Luke's use of Mark is a fact (or generally accepted as one), while Q is a mere postulate" and further, "Q is now hardly defended in the University of Oxford."[34] Goulder's subordinate clause, "Q is a mere postulate," is perfectly correct: Q is a postulate of the hypothesis which affirms both the priority of Mark to Matthew and Luke and the mutual independence of Matthew and Luke. One may quibble only with Goulder's adjective "mere." Q is not a "mere" postulate; on the contrary, it follows *necessarily* from the two logically prior postulates.[35]

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[32] McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse*, 18 (sequential parallels between Luke 3:1–10:22, divided into five sections, and the sequence of Matt 3:1–18:5); 23 (agreements of Luke 4:31–32; 7:1 with Matt 7:28–29); 24 (Luke's use of the "Matthaean" absolute genitive + ἰδού, Luke's use of a participial form of προσέρχομαι to introduce a finite verb [23:52], and Luke's use of σκανδαλίζειν). In the summary (318–19), McNicol claims that this data can *only* be explained on the 2GH, even though other explanations are not entertained.

[33] Austin M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (ed. Arthur J. Bellinzoni; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985), 333.

[34] Goulder, "Juggernaut," 670, 668. The irony of the latter statement is that by the time the *JBL* article appeared, Christopher M. Tuckett, one of the ablest defenders of the 2DH, had come to Oxford.

[35] Similarly, Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Existence of Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and

As to Luke's use of Mark being a "fact" or even a "generally accepted fact," neither is the case. The key piece of data from the Synoptic gospels, that Matthew and Luke never agree against Mark in the sequence of triple tradition pericopae,[36] admits (logically speaking) of any explanation that places Mark in a medial position. This includes the 2DH and the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis (FH). This datum, however, is also explicable, for example, on the Two Gospel hypothesis and Boismard's multi-stage hypothesis, which allows only a mediated relationship between Mark and Luke.[37] Such explanations [34] are hypotheses, not unassailable facts. Moreover, whether Luke used Mark (2DH, FH) or Mark used Luke (2GH) or both derived from some intermediary (Boismard) cannot conclusively be proved or disproved, since virtually all of the directional indicators are stylistic or theological, and most or all of the arguments are reversible. Luke's use of Mark thus remains an hypothesis – a reasonable and effective hypothesis, in my view –, but no volume of scholarly literature in its support (and no voting from Oxford – or Birmingham or Toronto, for that matter) will elevate its ontological status to anything more than that.

The Nature of Synoptic Hypotheses

If we set aside the various rhetorical overstatements, we are still left with the broader conceptual question of the nature and function of competing synoptic hypotheses.

In my view, it is foolish to claim incorrigibility, but equally mistaken to insist on the degree of simplicity that Goulder's requirement of falsifiability implies. In the formulation of hypotheses concerning the synoptic gospels, we are caught between two incompatible constraints: to formulate hypotheses that are as simple and clear as possible and which are generally falsifiable by reference to the array of synoptic data; and to formulate hypotheses that are

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Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 4, who rightly calls the "Q hypothesis" a "negative theory" insofar as it is predicated on the denial of a direct relationship between Matthew and Luke. Because Q is an integral part of the 2DH, it is infelicitous to speak of "the Q hypothesis" as if it were logically separable from the 2DH.

[36] See E. P. Sanders, "The Argument from Order and the Relationship Between Matthew and Luke," *NTS* 15 (1968–69): 249–61 and the answers by Frans Neirynck, "The Argument from Order and St. Luke's Transpositions," *ETL* 49 (1973): 784–815 and Reginald H. Fuller, "Order in the Synoptic Gospels: A Summary," *SecCent* 6, no. 2 (1987–88): 107–9.

[37] This is characteristic of all of Boismard's slightly varying solutions. In Marie-Emile Boismard, *Evangile de Marc: sa préhistoire* (Etudes bibliques, nouvelle série 26; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994) Luke and Matthew are dependent on an intermediate version of Mark (Mark^{int}), and the final version of Mark is dependent on a Marco-Lukan editor. His 1972 hypothesis lacked Mark's dependence on a "rédacteur marco-lucanien" but affirmed the dependence of Mark and Luke on Mark^{int}. See Marie-Emile Boismard, *Synopse des quatre évangiles en français. Tome 2: Commentaire* (with a preface by Pierre Benoit; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1972).

sufficiently attentive to the complexity of technological and human factors involved in the production and transmission of the gospels to be a near approximation to what might have happened. Moreover, synoptic hypotheses are not *pictures* of what happened; they are only heuristic *tools* that offer convenient lenses through which to view data.

From the point of view of logic, it is desirable to have a simple theory according to which Matthew and Luke used Mark – a supposition common to both the Farrer-Goulder and the Two document hypotheses. It is, however, most improbable from a historical perspective that Matthew and Luke used the *same* copy of Mark. And given what we know about the early transmission of manuscripts, it [35] is highly unlikely that any two copies of Mark were in every respect identical. After all, none of the early papyri of the gospels are identical with one another. Two copies of Mark would at a minimum be subject to copyists' mistakes, and conceivably to more substantial alterations. There is, moreover, no reason to suppose that Matthew's Mark and *our* Mark are identical, or that Luke's Mark was identical with either. The same considerations apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to Q on the 2DH or Matthew and Luke on the 2GH.[38]

Synoptic hypotheses are convenient *simplifications* of what was undoubtedly a much more complex – and unrecoverable – process of composition and transmission. Under such circumstances, it seems perverse to insist on simple pictures that we know *in advance* to be too simple, merely because they are also easily falsifiable, or to bemoan the resort to more ornate solutions on the grounds that certain features of the more ornate hypotheses place them beyond falsification.

1. The Minor Agreements and the 2DH

As noted above, the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark are the key problem for the 2DH. Some proponents of the 2DH accommodate the minor agreements by adjusting the model of the 2DH, suggesting recensions of Mark (*Ur-* or *Deutero-Markus*) which agreed with Matthew and Luke; others account for the minor agreements by the supposition of interference from oral tradition; others still suggest textual (post-Markan) corruption; and a few have posited intermediate gospels. Goulder objects to most of these strategies since they place the hypothesis beyond falsification.

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[38] This assertion might appear odd, coming from one of the three editors of *Documenta Q* and the critical edition of Q by the International Q Project. I do not, however, believe that in text-critical labours or in the reconstructive efforts of the IQP it is realistic or theoretically possible to reconstruct *the* original text of a gospel or Q. What is reconstructed is an imaginary point on a continuum of textual and textual transmission. This imaginary point presumably approximates to a near degree a document that once existed; but its primary theoretical function is to account for preceding and subsequent textual history, to the extent that this is known.

While Goulder's point is well taken, it is also the case that none of the adjustments mentioned above is inherently implausible. First, we know of other literature that existed in multiple recensions: the Greek and Coptic versions of the *Gospel of Thomas*, for example, display significant variations, including abbreviation and contractions of [**36**] sayings, and the relocation of one saying to a new context.[39] Second, as recent studies of ancient literacy have shown, oral performance was involved in literary production at several stages. Composition sometimes involved preliminary drafts, oral recitation before select audiences, and final editing taking into account the audience reaction. Moreover, the difficulties inherent in reading texts were written *scripta continua* meant that in the "reading" of a work, the text functioned in a manner more akin to a musical score requiring performance than to a text which was to be recited.[40] This implies that the way a work was heard was a combination of textual and (oral) performative features; or to put it differently, when *we* read ancient texts, we see only part of what was actually heard. We have no way to gauge the conventions that governed its performance or the oral elements that typically formed part of the its performance. Finally, the study of early NT papyri shows a remarkably unstable textual situation, with harmonization and parallel influence attested at a very early stage. If such variation is empirically attested in NT manuscripts, it seems perverse to insist on a scenario that forecloses the possibility of transcriptional variations between multiple copies of Mark (or Q).

Given these facts, it makes no sense to insist, as Goulder does, on mathematically simple hypotheses. The imperative of synoptic problem research is not to produce generalizations or schematic models simply so that they achieve a state of maximal falsifiablity; the task of research is to produce models that account for as much of the data as possible. Any one of the adjustments to the 2DH noted above is capable of accommodating the few significant minor agreements – and they are relatively few.[41] If there is a difficulty with the 2DH,

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[39] Compare the abbreviation of *P.Oxy.* 655 i 1–17 in *GThom* 36 and the expansion of *P.Oxy.* 654.5–9 in *GThom* 2. The second part of *P.Oxy.* 1.22–30 (=*GThom* 30) is found in Coptic as *GThom* 77.

[40] Kenneth Quinn, "The Poet and His Audience in the Augustan Age," *ANRW* II.30.1 (1982): 75–180, esp. 90.

[41] Although raw tabulation of the minor agreements produces seemingly impressive numbers – 610 positive and 573 negative agreements by Ennulat's (*Minor Agreements*) counting – many of these are "agreements" only in the most general sense and hardly imply any collaboration of Matthew and Luke; others are rather easily explained on the basis of Matthaean and Lukan redactional habits. There is a small number of difficult cases: Matt 13:11 || Luke 8:10 against Mark 4:11; Matt 9:20 || Luke 8:44 (τοῦ κρασπέδου) against Mark 5:27; Matt 9:26 || Luke 4:14 (not in the same Markan context); Matt 22:34–40 || Luke 10:25–28 (which some have ascribed to Q) against Mark 12:12–34; Matt 26:67–68 || Luke 22:63–64 against Mark 14:65; Matt 26:75 || Luke 22:62 against Mark 14:72; and Matt 28:1 || Luke 23:54 (ἐπιφώσκειν) against Mark 16:1. See my review of Ennulat in *Toronto Journal of Theology* 13 (1997) 101–3. The fundamental work on the minor agreements is still Frans

[37] it is not that it cannot give an account of the minor agreements; rather, it is that we do know which of the several available adjustments is preferable. Nor for that matter is there agreement on the interpretation and implications of Heisenberg's Uncertainty principle – whether the position and velocity of electrons cannot be ascertained simultaneously or whether the electron is a dispersed cloud with which the act of measurement interferes.

This view is bound not to please Goulder but it is a realistic approach under the circumstances. It does render falsification of the 2DH more difficult but not, I think, impossible. The 2DH allows for a coherent accounting of both Matthew's and Luke's editorial practices and although it also generates some anomalies, these are no more serious than those generated on other hypotheses.

Is Goulder's "Paradigm" New?

There is little doubt about the novelty of Goulder's theory of synoptic relationships. While there are some anticipations in the nineteenth century in the work of Karl Credner (1836),[42] and closer comrades in J. H. Ropes (1934)[43] and Morton Enslin (1938),[44] Goulder's theory is far more learned and ambitious than those of his predecessors, for he accounts for most of the non-Markan material in Matthew and Luke as the result of redactional invention by the evangelists.

The Kuhnian question, however, is, "Is this a new *paradigm*?" The answer is, I think, No. A paradigm for Kuhn is significantly larger than a particular theory or hypothesis. A paradigm "stands for the [38] entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given [research] community." It is "the concrete puzzle-solutions which, employed as models or examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis for the solution of the remaining puzzles of normal science."[45] Moreover, Margaret Masterman ob-

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Neirynck, *The Minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark: With a cumulative list* (BETL 37; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1974); see also idem, "The Minor Agreements and the Two-Source Theory," in *Evangelica II: 1982–1991 Collected Essays* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck; BETL 99; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1991), 3–42.

[42] Karl August Credner, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1836), 201–5, who posited Luke's dependence on Matthew, and both on an Aramaic proto-Gospel also used by Mark. But Credner also invoked the *logia* source to account for the double tradition.

[43] James Hardy Ropes, *The Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press; Oxford University Press, 1934 [2nd impression, with new pref. 1960]), 66–68, 93–94.

[44] Morton Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), 431–34.

[45] Kuhn, "Postscript – 1969," in *Scientific Revolutions*, 175 . The first sense Kuhn calls "sociological," and the second sense, a "shared example." Margaret Masterman, "The Nature of a Paradigm," in *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge: International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science, London, 1965* [ed. Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave; Proceedings of

serves that in the genealogy of a new paradigm, it is often not the formal theory that comes first, but what she calls a "trick, or an embryonic technique, or picture, and an insight that is applicable to the field."[46] This combination of "trick" and "insight" constitutes the paradigm, which is then worked out in explicit theory and more advanced techniques.

As an example, one might think of advances in quantum mechanics: faced with Compton's evidence that X-rays had particle as well as wave properties, de Broglie's suggested that all matter has both properties. This intuition was tested with defraction devices, which had been employed ever since Augustin-Jean Fresnel's experiments in 1815 that demonstrated wave theory in visible light. But instead of defracting electromagnetic radiation, Davisson and Germer tried electrons and showed in 1927 that they too could be defracted and hence exhibited wave properties. Only later did Schrödinger's wave mechanics provide the mathematical resolution of the two seemingly opposed characteristics of electrons.

The main paradigm shift in the study of the gospels came, not with Goulder or even Holtzmann, but in the late eighteenth century, with Reimarus and Griesbach. Since the time of Tatian, Celsus, and Porphyry, the disagreements among the gospels were well known, but were resolved in two different manners. Augustine, in his *De consensu evangelistarum*, treated differences among the gospels as divergent yet ultimately compatible depictions of Christ, Matthew focussing on royalty, Mark on humanity, Luke on priesthood, and John on divinity. The differences among the gospels could not gainsay the truth of *the* Gospel, the latter understood in Augustine's Platonism as a transcendental idea that was partially and perspectivally embodied [39] in the text of the gospels.[47] A different strategy was employed by harmonists. They referred disagreements to the artificially constructed meta-text of the gospel harmony. This practice came under increasing pressure with the advent, in the sixteenth century, of a verbally-based doctrine of inspiration. Andreas Osiander's *Harmonia evangelica* (1537) insisted that even small variations in seemingly parallel accounts were significant, and indicated discrete historical events.[48] Thus he desynchronized pericopae that earlier harmonists had treated as parallel, a policy that produced in his synopsis and those that followed him a string of absurd repetitions. Osiander, for example, had three healings of blind

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the International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970], 59–89, esp. 67) refers to the second as a construct-paradigm.

[46] Masterman, "Nature," 69.

[47] Augustine's Platonism is noted by Swithun McLoughlin, "An Approach to the Synoptic Problem," S.T.L. thesis (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1963), 28: "Augustine speaks of Mk following Mt, and while in our scientifically-minded age such a suggestion carries causal implications, it is much less certain that it does so for the Platonic-minded Augustine: a second witness, who adds nothing to what the first and principal witness had already said, could well in such a mentality be described as his follower."

[48] Andreas Osiander, *Harmoniae evangelicae libri quatuor Graece et Latine* (Geneva: Oliua Roberti Stephani, 1537).

men near Jericho, three centurions' sons healed, three anointings of Jesus, and the Temple cleansed three times.[49]

A new paradigm emerged with an insight concerning the "particularity" or individuality of each gospel. Particularity had been a feature of Osiander's harmony insofar as particularities of the gospels were registered as discrete events in his meta-text. But particularity took on a new significance when Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1778) argued that the contradictions among the gospels implied that their authors had produced inconsistent, indeed fraudulent, accounts of Jesus' career.[50] For Reimarus the gospels were discrete works, not related to some reconciling meta-text. Instead, he viewed the gospels in relation to a plausible historical reconstruction of their referent (Jesus) and their composers (the evangelists).

This turn towards the particularity of the gospels was made possible by a new "device," the three-gospel synopsis, created by J.J. [40] Griesbach at virtually the same time.[51] The synopsis allowed for the first time a close comparison of agreements and disagreements among the gospels. In retrospect, one might locate a paradigm shift in Griesbach's stated refusal to embrace the harmonist's program of creating a harmonious narrative, for this was impossible *in principle*.[52]

The "trick" of the new paradigm of gospel study is synoptic comparison, made possible first by the critical synopsis, and subsequently by the many tabular comparisons of the sequence of synoptic pericopae and the special and shared vocabulary of the gospels, culminating in sophisticated tools such as Morgenthaler's *Statistische Synopse*, Neirynck's *New Testament Vocabulary*, and the Hoffmann-Hieke-Bauer *Synoptic Concordance*.[53]

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[49] See the discussion of pre-Griesbach synopses in Harvey K. McArthur, *The Quest Through the Centuries: The Search for the Historical Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), 85–101 and Marijke H. de Lang, "Gospel Synopses from the 16th to the 18th Centuries and the Rise of Literary Criticism of the Gospels," in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and New Literary Criticism* (ed. Camille Focant; BETL 110; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1993), 599–607.

[50] Hermann Samuel Reimarus, *Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger* (ed. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing; Fragmente des Wolfenbüttelschen Ungenannten; Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1778); ET: *Fragments* (trans. Ralph S. Fraser; ed. Charles H. Talbert; Lives of Jesus Series; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970) .

[51] The Synopsis originally appeared in 1774 as part of Griesbach's *Libri historici Novi Testamenti graece* (Halle: Curtius, 1774) and was printed separately two years later as *Synopsis Evangeliorvm Matthaei, Marc et Lvcae* (Halle: Curtius, 1776).

[52] Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci et Lucae, una cum iis Joannis pericopis, quae historiam passionis et resurrectionis Jesu Christi complectuntur* (Editio 2. emendatior et auctior; Halle: J.J. Curtii Haeredes, 1797), v–vi.

[53] Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse*; Frans Neirynck and Frans Van Segbroeck, *New Testament Vocabulary: A Companion Volume to the Concordance* (BETL 65; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1984); Paul Hoffmann, Thomas Hieke, and Ulrich Bauer, *Synoptic concordance: A Greek Concordance to the First Three Gospels in Synoptic*

The combination of an insight (the historical particularity of the gospels) and a device (the synopsis) constituted a paradigm in which the puzzle-solving of normal "science" could take place. This took the form of a succession of attempts to solve the literary puzzle of the relationship of the Synoptics, first in the rather loose and impressionistic theories of Lessing and Herder, then in the baroque source theories of Eichhorn, then in Saunier and de Wette's popularization of the Griesbach hypothesis, and finally in Holtzmann's rehabilitation of C. H. Weisse's 1838 two-source theory. What is common to these theories, and to the Streeterian Four Source Hypothesis, the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis, and the Two Gospel hypothesis which followed them, is that, as divergent as they may seem, they no longer refer differences to some metanarrative, but understand differences to be the function of the literary, historical, and rhetorical particularity of the gospels themselves.

In the course of two centuries of gospel study many variations of the paradigm have been introduced. Source criticism in the [41] nineteenth century seemed to prefer a rather strict documentary approaches, not entertaining the possibility of the influence of oral tradition upon the writers. This habit accounts both for the positing of intermediate documents such as *Ur-Markus* to account for slight differences between canonical Mark and the "Mark" which Matthew and Luke seemed to use, and for the scouring of patristic sources for references to possibly important lost documents such as the *Gospel of the Hebrews* or Papias' *Logia*. In the early twentieth century, appeal to the interference of oral tradition became a standard part of many synoptic theories; and by mid-century, the advent of redaction criticism obviated the theoretical need to posit earlier forms of Mark or Matthew, since differences, including additions, deletions, and modifications, could plausibly be referred to the creativity of the evangelists.

In this sense, Goulder's theory is a utilization hypothesis that accounts for the differences between Matthew and Mark, and between Luke and Matthew-/Mark, by appealing to a now-standard lexicon of editorial manoeuvers: abbreviation, expansion, transposition, re-writing, and free invention. All of this fits snugly within the prevailing paradigm of synoptic research, despite its nonconformity with the 2DH, the dominant source *theory* (not paradigm) of synoptic relationships.

Genuinely new paradigms might be on the horizon – one thinks of the narrative approaches, which often prescind from diachonic features of composition and focus on the narrative syntax of the gospel text. There may even be a new "device," the gospel parallel, which allows each gospel to be viewed in its narrative integrity rather than cutting the text into source- or form-critical

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Arrangement, Statistically Evaluated, including occurences in Acts: Griechische Konkordanz zu den ersten drei Evangelien in synoptischer Darstellung, statistisch ausgewertet, mit Berücksichtigung der Apostelgeschichte (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999–2000).

slices.[54] Or again, the turn towards social history has discovered the tool of the Mediterranean anthropologist's field report and has applied some of her conceptual categories to the gospel text. Whether such innovations will turn out to offer a new paradigm may be doubted, however: both synchronic aspects of the gospel text and the constellation of embedded social values have now been subsumed in socio-rhetorical exegesis.[55] In any event, neither narrative approaches nor social-scientific approaches have served to solve the puzzles endemic to the study of the synoptic problem. [**42**]

Is the 2DH Imperiled?

Goulder's main challenge to the 2DH is threefold:

(1) First, he notes that there is no mention of Q in patristic literature. Of course in the nineteenth century, Schleiermacher, Lachmann, Credner and Weisse supposed that Papias' λογία referred to Q or something very much like Q. But Goulder is quite right to insist that "Papias is sand."[56] Indeed. Papias is sand, as Lührmann has most recently shown, and as the majority of twentieth century synoptic scholars hold.[57] But it is a misrepresentation to assert that "the Q hypothesis rests in part on a misunderstanding,"[58] if what is meant is that the hypothesis rests *logically* on Papias. It does not. A careful reading of Holtzmann shows that, despite the fact that he referred to Q with the siglum Λ (for λόγια), Papias' testimony played no role in the *architecture* of Holtzmann's argument.[59] In the early twentieth century such critics as W. C. Allen, J. A. Robinson, F. C. Burkitt, B. W. Bacon, and J. C. Hawkins rejected the designation "logia" as question-begging.[60] It should be noted that even those

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[54] See Robert W. Funk, *New Gospel Parallels: Vol. 1,2: Mark* (rev. ed.; Foundations & Facets: Reference Series; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990) and idem, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (Foundations & Facets: Literary Facets; Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1988).

[55] See Vernon K. Robbins, *The Tapestry of Early Christian Discourse: Rhetoric, Society and Ideology* (London; New York: Routledge, 1996).

[56] Goulder, *Luke*, 33; "Juggernaut," 669.

[57] Dieter Lührmann, "Q: Sayings of Jesus or Logia?" in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 97–116.

[58] Goulder, "Juggernaut," 669.

[59] Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangelien: Ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1863). See John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), chap. 6.

[60] J. Armitage Robinson, *The Study of the Gospels* (London: Longmans, Green, 1902), 70; Willoughby Charles Allen, "Did St Matthew and St Luke Use the Logia?" *ExpTim* 11, no. 9 (1899–1900): 424–26, esp. 425; F. Crawford Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906), 127, 130; Benjamin Wiser Bacon, "A Turning Point in Synoptic Criticism," *HTR* 1 (1908): 48–69; J. C. Hawkins, *Horae*

who wished to maintain an Aramaic Q based their case not on Papias' dubious statements, but on Wellhausen's theory of translation variants.[61]

That Q is never mentioned in patristic sources is also noted by Goulder as a consideration against its existence. Tuckett's point that other documents of the early Jesus movement have gone missing does not, of course, quite meet Goulder's objection. But it is not far [43] off. After all, we know of Paul's "tearful letter" to the Corinthians not because it is listed in any patristic source, but merely because of a quite passing comment made by Paul himself. Without this notation, we would have not hint at all of such a letter. Or again: we deduce the existence of a "Two Ways" document, not because it is ever mentioned in a patristic source, but because its existence follows *logically* from an analysis of the possible literary relationships among the *Didache*, *Barnabas*, and the *Doctrina Apostolorum*.[62] Hence, the non-mention of Q in early Christian sources neither unparalleled nor, under the circumstances, particularly troubling.

(2) Goulder's second objection has to do with the minor agreements. I have already indicated that these can be accommodated on several "realistic" versions of the 2DH. Of course, they can also be explained on the complex hypotheses of Boismard, or on Robert Gundry's view that Luke had some access to Matthew as well as Q,[63] or on the 2GH or FH.

(3) Goulder's final and most important argument against the existence of Q has to do with the appearance of allegedly Matthaean vocabulary in Luke or, to put it differently, the allegedly Matthaean character of Q's vocabulary and thought.[64] This is an issue that requires far more space than is available in order to provide a satisfactory reply[65] but David Catchpole's work has contributed to this debate in two important regards.

Catchpole has shown, first, that while some of the vocabulary of Q (or double tradition) appears in Matthew (and hence, on the FH might be Matthaeanisms in Luke), Matthew has a significant number of phrases and terms in double-tradition contexts to which Luke is favourable. For example, Matthew's extension of the quotation from Deut 8:3 to include the phrase ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ παντὶ

Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem (2nd ed; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909 [repr. 1968]), 107.

[61] E.g., J. C. Hawkins, "Probabilities as to the So-Called Double Tradition of St. Matthew and St. Luke," in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (ed. William Sanday; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 104; George DeWitt Castor, *Matthew's Sayings of Jesus: The Non-Marcan Common Source of Matthew and Luke* ([Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1907]; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1912), 17–18.

[62] See John S. Kloppenborg, "The Transformation of Moral Exhortation in *Didache* 1–5," in *The* Didache *in Context: Essays on Its Text, History and Transmission* (ed. Clayton N. Jefford; NovTSup 77; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 88–109.

[63] Gundry, "Matthean Foreign Bodies".

[64] See Goulder, "Self-Contradiction".

[65] Derrenbacker and Kloppenborg, "Self-Contradiction".

ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ (Matt 4:4) has not been adopted by Luke, in spite of the fact that the "word of God" is an obvious Lukanism.[66] On the 2DH, it was Matthew who added the phrase to Q, not Luke [**44**] who deleted it (from Q or Matthew). Similarly, the FH requires one to assume that Luke omitted Matt 5:5 μακάριοι οἱ πραεῖς, 5:6b καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, 5:7 μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, and 5:8 μακάριοι οἱ καθαροὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ, in spite of the fact that Luke shows an interest in righteousness, mercy, meekness, and purity of heart.[67] These and many other observations made difficult Goulder's thesis that Luke used Matthew directly. The 2DH appears to account better for these data.

Second, Catchpole has shown that at several points, Q's perspective differs from Matthew's, something that should not happen if indeed it is the case (as Goulder alleges) that Q is basically Matthaean. But the double tradition, exemplified by Q 6:20b–21; 9:57–60; 10:4–7; 12:22–31; and 16:13, is much more emphatic on extolling and enjoining poverty than is Matthew, who does little or nothing to enhance the theme he inherited from Q and who passes over Mark 12:41–44. Catchpole concludes that although Matthew has taken over a tradition on poverty, he "is clearly happier with piety than with poverty."[68] He observes, moreover, that Q (or the double tradition) shows very little interest in Matthew's concern for the status of the Torah[69] or with Matthew's penchant for connecting miracles with Jesus' Davidic kingship.[70] In other words, Catchpole has pointed to a gap between Q's thought and that of Matthew, a gap that tells against collapsing Q into Matthew.

The force of Catchpole's observation is to undermine the case that Goulder has tried to mount in support of Luke's direct dependence on Matthew and against the need to posit a common source for Matthew and Luke. A full reply to Goulder's 800 pages of *Luke: A New Paradigm* would require a monographic treatment; but Catchpole's limited response is sufficient to underscore the considerable problems with Goulder's own view, and the considerable merits of deriving the common Matthew-Luke material from a common source. [**45**]

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[66] Catchpole, *Quest for Q*, 13.

[67] Catchpole, *Quest for Q*, 20–21.

[68] Catchpole, *Quest for Q*, 23.

[69] Catchpole, *Quest for Q*, 42. I have argued that Q's interest in the perdurance of the Torah comes late in the editorial history of Q, and in not central to the main thrust of Q's thought: John S. Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q," in *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (ed. James E. Goehring, Jack T. Sanders, and Charles W. Hedrick; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990), 35–48 [chap. 8 in this volume].

[70] Catchpole, *Quest for Q*, 44–45.

Conclusion

In this paper I have argued, first, that Goulder has adopted a view of paradigms that corresponds more closely to Popper's view of scientific theories than it does to Kuhn's. The significance of this observation lies in the fact that it seems apparent that Goulder's interlocutors do not share his rather strict Popperian view of falsification. Moreover, whatever its applicability to hypotheses in the experimental sciences, Popper's view is inappropriate when it comes to the study of the Synoptic Problem. In place of a schematic and easily falsifiable model of Synoptic interrelationships, I have argued for a historically and technically "realistic" view. To adopt such a view, as I believe that most proponents do, renders ineffective most of the arguments that Goulder mounts against the 2DH.

Second, I have suggested that Goulder's own view is not a paradigm, at least by Kuhn's standards. It fits easily within the broad paradigm of gospels studies that has prevailed since the early 1800s. This paradigm privileges the gospels in their historical, literary, and socio-rhetorical particularity, and seeks to establish a plausible theory of literary dependence. Formally speaking, Goulder's hypothesis is no different from the 2DH, the 2GH, or the several more complex hypothesis that are advocated today although, to be sure, Goulder has several interestingly different emphases in his explanatory theory.

Finally, I have argued the objections that Goulder has raised to the 2DH are not especially threatening and that, on the other hand, there are considerable problems with Goulder's own view. A "realistic" model of the 2DH can accommodate the few problematic minor agreements without collapsing, and the evidence which Goulder adduces of Matthaeanisms in Luke (or Q) at certain points is met by the balancing observation of the *lack* of Matthaeanism in Luke at others, and the non-Matthaean character of the double tradition.

Reflection on Goulder's hypothesis and its reception raises an interesting puzzle. Goulder has not been successful in offering decisive objections to the 2DH,[71] but even if he has not, it is a perfectly [46] rational option to embrace his hypothesis, since it provides a ready solution to the issue of the minor agreements and the allegedly Matthaean vocabulary in Luke. It is possible to account for Lukanisms in Matthew by his notion of "Luke-pleasing" vocabulary. To be sure, there are some serious technical problems involved in ren-

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[71] Goulder seems to concede this point, though he has varying explanations: In "Farrer on Q," *Theology* 83 (1980): 194, his explanation is *ad hominem*: "Q is not going to collapse: it has the highest vested interest of any New Testament hypothesis in that virtually ever scholar has written a book assuming its truth." Elsewhere, his explanation has more to do with the nature of refutation: "In matters of this kind we cannot hope for proof. The four hypotheses [2DH, 2GH, FH, and Deutero-Markan theories] are in competition with one another in plausibility.... The Two-Source hypothesis starts with the tremendous advantage of having been widely taught as *the* solution for at least fifty years" ("Luke's Knowledge of Matthew," 144–45).

dering his thesis plausible, notably accounting for Luke's almost complete detachment of the double tradition from the context in which he found it in Matthew and his relocation of that material elsewhere, or the puzzle that when faced with material common to Mark and Matthew, Luke never prefers Matthew's sequence over Mark's, and almost never prefers Matthew's wording to Mark.

It might be that resistance to the FH comes down to the inability of exegetes to imagine such activities on Luke's part. But I doubt it. I think it rather more likely that ideological factors are at play. For much of its history, Q has served as a way to bridge the gap between Matthew and Luke, in the 80s or 90s, and the historical Jesus. Harnack believed Q to be an largely unadulterated collection of Jesus sayings. And despite the fact that most of the technical studies that have appeared on Q since Hoffmann's 1972 *Habilitationsschrift*[72] have tried to treat Q primarily as a document in its own right rather than as a source for the historical Jesus, outside of these specialist circles, Q is still regularly thought to offer immediate or near immediate access to Jesus. Hence John P. Meier dismisses quickly studies that attempt to ascertain a composition history of Q as "hypothetical' – what in New Testament studies do we do that is not hypothetical? – and satisfies himself with the caricature of Q as a "grab bag."[73] This allows him to use Q pretty much as Harnack had done, and to quarry Q for Jesus tradition without having to inquire whether Q's own editorializing and creativity renders those excavations problematic. [47]

If theories of the stratification of Q have been regarded as imperiling the quest of the historical Jesus, Goulder's thesis would have a yet more devastating effect. Not only is most of the double tradition treated as the result of Matthaean editorial activity; but the special Lukan material, including the parables of the Man Going Down the Road and the Prodigal Son, so central to many constructions of the historical Jesus, would dissolve into Luke's exegetical imagination.

An examination of the history of solutions to the Synoptic puzzles can show how rather technical, almost algebraic, solutions to literary puzzles have functioned within broader theological paradigms and have been embraced not so much because they solved literary problems, but because they seemed to provide literary models that cohered with broader ideological interests. This is true of the use of the Griesbach hypothesis by D. F. Strauss and his associates;

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[72] Paul Hoffmann, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 [2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980]).

[73] John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume II: Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York, London and Toronto: Doubleday, 1994), 179–81: Meier's characterization of Q as a "grab bag" without a coherent theology or a supporting "community" allows him to prescind from the literary and historical questions of its origin, tradents, and editorial tendencies, and to use Q simply as a "distinct and valuable source for sayings ... of Jesus and John."

and it is true of the use of the Markan hypothesis by liberal theology up to Harnack. The 2DH is difficult to displace not only because it still serves as an effective compositional hypothesis and because compelling counter-evidence has not be produced; but it also allows for a relatively fulsome picture of Jesus and seems to lend support to general theological models concerning the gradual development and articulation of christological, eschatological, and ecclesiological doctrines.

In order for the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis to be an effective counterforce to the 2DH, it is necessary to show not only that it solves literary puzzles more effectively than the 2DH, but that holds the promise of addressing larger theoretical issues raised in the dominant paradigm, such as the relationship of the historical Jesus to the pictures of Jesus in the early Jesus movement, and a comprehensive theory of the creation, use, and transmission of early christian texts. *That* would begin to constitute a "new paradigm."

Addendum

Since the publication of this article, Mark S. Goodacre has published two robust defences of the Farrer hypothesis (FH), in *The Synoptic Problem: A Way Through the Maze* (The Biblical Seminar 80; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) and in particular, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002) and idem, and Nicholas Perrin, eds., *Questioning Q: A Multidimensional Critique* (London: SPCK; Downer's Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2004). See my response to Goodacre's *The Case against Q* in chap. 3 below.

Chapter 3

On Dispensing with Q? Goodacre on the Relation of Luke to Matthew[1]

The publication of Mark Goodacre's *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem*[2] marks an important advance in the articulation and defence of the view that Luke composed his gospel using Mark and Matthew as immediate sources. This theory, first proposed by James H. Ropes[3] and Morton Enslin[4] in the United States, and espoused by Austin Farrer,[5] John Drury,[6] and [**211**] Michael Goulder[7] in the United Kingdom, hypothesizes Markan priority, Matthew's use of Mark, and Luke's direct knowledge and use of both. Goodacre's "case against Q" is not based on claims that the notion of a sayings source is inherently implausible or that analogies to 'Q' are lacking or that a sayings collection that did not advert to the death and resurrection of Jesus is unthinkable, as some of Goodacre's predecessors had urged.[8] Instead,

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[1] [First published as "On Dispensing with Q? Goodacre on the Relation of Luke to Matthew." *NTS* 49, no. 2 (2003): 210–36. ©Cambridge University Press. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.]

[2] Mark S. Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002).

[3] James Hardy Ropes, *The Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press; Oxford University Press, 1934 [2nd impression, with new pref. 1960]), 66–73. Ropes did not mount a full defense of this suggestion, though he did suggest that Luke "takes pains that no group of sayings shall exceed a certain moderate length" and "deliberately avoids inclusive topics and large masses" preferring "rapid contrasts and subtle suggestion to give variety and a certain quietly dramatic effectiveness to his portrayal" (p. 71).

[4] Morton Enslin, *Christian Beginnings* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1938), 426–36.

[5] Austin M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *Studies in the Gospels in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (ed. Dennis E. Nineham; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 57–88; repr. in Arthur J. Bellinzoni, ed., *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985), 321–56. All references are to the 1985 reprint.

[6] John Drury, *Tradition and Design in Luke's Gospel: A Study in Early Christian Historiography* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1976 [Atlanta: John Knox, 1977]), written while Drury was a chaplain at Oxford at the time Goulder delivered the Speaker's Lectures.

[7] Michael D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lection in Matthew* (London: SPCK, 1974) = the Speaker's Lectures, Trinity College, Oxford, 1969–71; idem, Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

[8] See, for example, Austin M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (ed. Arthur J. Bellinzoni; Macon, GA: Mercer University

Goodacre argues that given Luke's direct knowledge of Matthew the supposition of a sayings source is simply unnecessary. This is indeed the right way to frame an argument against Q, which is not a hypothesis on its own, despite those who tirelessly refer to "the Q hypothesis." Rather, Q is a *corollary* of the hypotheses of Markan priority and the independence of Matthew and Luke, since it is then necessary to account for the material that Matthew and Luke have in common but which they did not take from Mark. The case for Q rests on the implausibility of Luke's direct use of [**212**] Matthew or Matthew's direct use of Luke.[9] Goodacre's reply, then, is to argue that Luke's use of Matthew is indeed plausible and hence, Q is unnecessary.

One of the virtues of Goodacre's book is its sense of proportion and balance. Where Ropes' proposal was little more than an aside, Farrer's case logically flimsy, and Goulder's exposition so full, subtle, and complex that it is

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Press, 1985), 325: "We have no reason to suppose documents of the Q type to have been plentiful.... No, in postulating Q we are postulating the unique, and that is to commit a *prima facie* offense against the principle of economy in explanation." It is not clear what Farrer meant by "documents of the Q type." In 1955 Farrer was still likely unaware of the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*; but the Oxyrhynchus fragments had been known for more than half a century. Whether Farrer thought that *P.Oxy.* 1, 654 and 655 were dependent upon the Synoptics should have been irrelevant to his point, since his observations had to do with the *genre* of Q. Moreover, numerous sayings collections were extant in Near Eastern languages, Greek, and Latin. See the survey of these in Max Küchler, *Frühjüdische Weisheitstraditionen: Zum Fortgang weisheitlichen Denkens im Bereich des frühjüdischen Jahweglaubens* (OBO 26; Freiburg/Sw: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Universitätsverlag, 1979); John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 263–316; Helmut Brunner, "Die Lehren," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Erster Band: Ägyptologie. Zweiter Abschnitt: Literatur* (2. Aufl.; ed. Hermann Kees; Leiden and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1970), 113–39; Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Basic Literary Forms and Formulations of Ancient Instructional Writings in Egypt and Western Asia," in *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (ed. Erik Hornung and Othmar Keel; OBO 28; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 235–82.

Goulder (*Luke*, 51) notes the analogy of the *Gospel of Thomas* but dismisses it immediately as a "gnostical revelation of the risen Lord [which] is very different from our hypothetical compound Q." That the *Gospel of Thomas* should be classified as either a "revelation" or "gnostic" is highly doubtful. It appears that Goulder thinks that Thomas and Q are sufficiently different in terms of conceptual content to make comparison problematic. But this confuses form with content. The several sub-genres of sayings collections available in Near Eastern and in Greek, and Latin literature were flexible enough to embrace a wide range of conceptual content, from domestic instructions, to specialized instruction for scribes and retainers of Near Eastern monarchies, to sectarian wisdom, to Pythagorean and gnostic esoteric instructions.

[9] Thus Morton Enslin, *The Prophet from Nazareth* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), 432: "The very existence of this hypothetical source depends solely on the assumption of the independence of Matthew and Luke. If either used the other, there is no need to postulate a Q to explain the so-called 'double tradition'."

accessible only to specialists, Goodacre's argument is clearly structured, careful in its logic, and helpfully illustrated with a few choice Synoptic texts. As will become clear, I do not believe that Goodacre has made the case for Luke's use of Matthew. Nevertheless, his book is perhaps the best presentation to date of the "Mark without Q hypothesis' – a hypothesis which, while underappreciated in Germany and North America, deserves careful consideration by all who take Synoptic studies seriously.

Naming the Hypothesis

Before commenting on Goodacre's arguments, a note about nomenclature. Ropes and Enslin were first to articulate the hypothesis of Markan priority and Luke's direct use of Matthew, but its most prominent advocates have been Farrer, Goulder, and Drury in Britain. For this reason, some have referred to the hypothesis as the "Farrer-Goulder hypothesis" or, less commonly, the "Goulder-Drury hypothesis." Critics have in fact focused most of their attention on Goulder's views, probably because Farrer's 1955 article, while rich in pontification, was weak in its logic and use of evidence and too encumbered by irrelevant theological assumptions to warrant serious engagement. From that point of view at least, the hypothesis would be better called the "Goulder hypothesis," since it was Goulder who placed the hypothesis on a serious footing.

Although Goodacre recognizes that Goulder is a far more able defender of the hypothesis than Farrer, he wishes to distance himself from some of the complexities of Goulder's views, including his theory that each of the Synoptics was composed with a cycle of lectionary readings in mind and Goulder's speculation that in the latter part of his gospel Luke was working *backwards* through Matthew's gospel.[10] Goodacre prefers to call it "the Farrer theory" notwithstanding the fact that [213] the details of Farrer's argument receive hardly any scrutiny in the book. As an alternative designation one might propose the "Ropes-Enslin Hypothesis" to puts things in historical perspective; or the "Goulder-Drury-Goodacre hypothesis." But such names perhaps attach the hypothesis too closely to individual scholars. The "One Gospel Hypothesis" might also be an appropriate name insofar as Mark is posited as the ultimate documentary source for the other two. But the Gries-

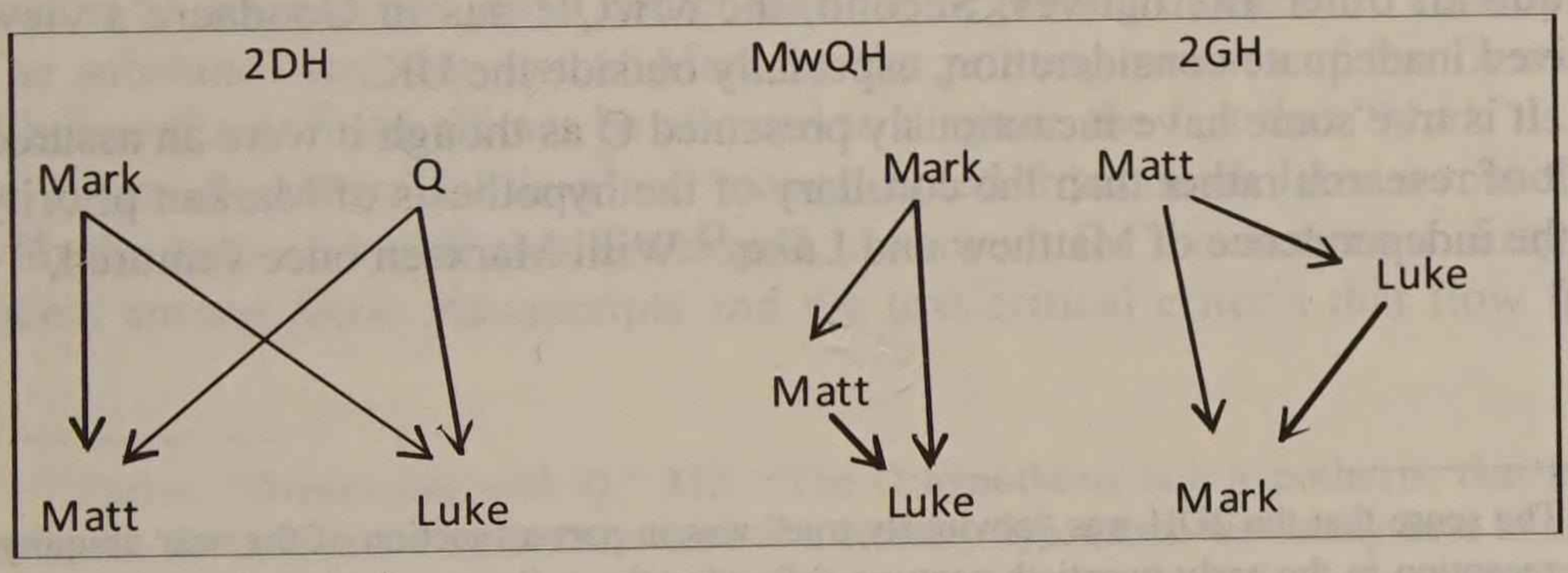
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[10] See Goodacre's critique of Goulder's lectionary theory in *Goulder and the Gospels: An Examination of a New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 133; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1996), 294–362. Goodacre (*Case Against Q*, 118) regards Goulder's thesis that in the latter part of his gospel Luke was working backwards through Matthew's gospel as the "most implausible element in Goulder's thesis." See Goulder, *Luke*, 581–83 and the criticism of this aspects of Goulder's thesis by Robert A. Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem* (BETL 186; Leuven: Peeters, 2005).

bach hypothesis, nowadays styled the "Two Gospel Hypothesis", could equally claim this name since it posits Matthew as the ultimate source for Mark and Luke, and Mark as a conflation of his two predecessor gospels. Perhaps a more apt name is the "Mark-without-Q Hypothesis" (hereafter, MwQH) – indeed, originally the name of Goodacre's website.[11]

Preliminary Arguments

Goodacre's first three chapters lay the groundwork for the main thesis and clarify his position vis à vis the two other dominant Synoptic hypotheses. In agreement with the Two Document hypothesis (2DH), the MwQH affirms Markan priority; but where the 2DH insists on the independence of Luke from Matthew, the MwQH asserts Luke's knowledge of Matthew. In this latter respect, the MwQH concurs with the Two Gospel hypothesis (2GH). But the 2GH views Mark as a tertiary gospel, the product of a conflation of Matthew and Luke. Thus:



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[11] The web address was called "Mark-without-Q Hypothesis" [The site is now part of *The New Testament Gateway* and is called *The Case against Q*. [Ed. Note: In the discussions at the 2008 Oxford Conference on the Synoptic Gospels, it was agreed to refer to the hypothesis as Farrer hypothesis and to abbreviate it as FH, the choice of its proponents at the conference, Mark Goodacre and Eric Eve. This is the abbreviation that was adopted in the publication Paul Foster, et al., *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008. Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett* (BETL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2011).]

There is much with which to agree in these first chapters. Goodacre observes that the 2DH, because it has been embraced by so many for so long has achieved a false aura of received truth. This partly explains the fact that traditional objections to the MwQH are framed in ways that tacitly presuppose the 2DH. Since Goodacre appreciates the challenge from the 2GH as some of his predecessors did not, he also recognizes that Markan priority can no longer be taken for granted and thus mounts a defence of that thesis (chap. 2). I have no quarrel with Goodacre's case for Markan priority and so will pass over this portion of his argument. His first and third chapters on the *status quo* and on traditional objections to the MwQH, however, deserve comment. [**214**]

Challenging the status quo

The need for a thorough defence of the MwQH should be obvious to all involved in the study of the Synoptic Gospels but it is pressing for Goodacre for two reasons. First, the Two Document Hypothesis has, at least in the minds of some, achieved near hegemony, a situation that threatens both wrongly to elevate Markan priority and Q to the status of received truths and perforce to exclude all other alternatives. Second, the MwQH has in Goodacre's view received inadequate consideration, especially outside the UK.

1. It is true some have incautiously presented Q as though it were an assured result of research rather than the corollary of the hypothesis of Markan priority and the independence of Matthew and Luke.[12] Willi Marxsen once ventured,[13]

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[12] The sense that the 2DH was "obviously true" was in part a function of the near ubiquity of its reception in the early twentieth century, following the collapse of the main competitor, the Griesbach hypothesis, after the death of F. C. Baur in 1860. Adolf von Harnack in Berlin (1907), Julius Wellhausen in Göttingen (1905), F. C. Burkitt at Cambridge (1906), Heinrich Julius Holtzmann at Strassburg (1907), B. W. Bacon at Yale (1908) and Kirsopp Lake in Leiden (1909) all pronounced in favour of the 2DH. Holtzmann's statement is typical: "On this point virtually all agree, Germans as well as others, Europeans and Americans, and for the vast majority the Markan hypothesis is no longer just a hypothesis" ("Die Marcus-Kontroverse in ihrer heutigen Gestalt," *ARW* 10 [1907]: 19–20). Holtzmann named as dissenters only Klostermann, Zahn, Hilgenfeld, and Merx, as well as Holsten and Keim, who continued to advocate the views of Baur and Strauss.

[13] Willi Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament: An Approach to Its Problems* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 118. A similar view was expressed much earlier by Albert Schweitzer, Holtzmann's erstwhile student at Strassburg: "The [Markan] hypothesis has a literary existence, indeed it is carried out by Holtzmann to such a degree of demonstration that it can no longer be called a mere hypothesis" (*The Quest of the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* [trans. William Montgomery, with a preface by F.C. Burkitt, new edition 1968] with a new introduction by James M. Robinson; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1910], 202).

[t]his Two-Sources theory [sic] has been so widely accepted by scholars that one feels inclined to abandon the term "theory" (in the sense of "hypothesis"). We can in fact regard it as an assured finding – but we must bear in mind that there are inevitable uncertainties as far as the extent and form of Q and the special material are concerned.

Happily it is now difficult to find similar expressions of rhetorical bravado in favour of the 2DH. Yet it must be pointed out that these sorts of overstatements and the conversion of hypotheses into "facts" by sheer dint of repetition or by logical sleight of hand is not the sole province of advocates of the 2DH; Farrer and Goulder have in fact done the same.[14] It is just as misleading, however, to insist on [**215**] describing Q as "hypothetical" as if it were the only hypothetical construct in scholarship on Christian origins. John P. Meier advises, "I cannot help thinking that biblical scholarship would be greatly advanced if every morning all exegetes would repeat as a mantra: 'Q is a hypothetical document'."[15] Meier's exhortation is well taken but also bespeaks confusion. Q indeed is a hypothetical document. Equally hypothetical, however, are Matthew and Luke's dependence upon Mark, something that Meier (along with Farrer and Goulder) apparently did not think it worthwhile calling "hypothetical." These too might be added to Meier's mantra. For that matter, the text that we call "Mark" is a hypothetical document. It is reconstructed on the basis of dozens of manuscripts, none earlier than the beginning of the third century CE. The substance lent the text of Mark by the printing presses of the Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft should not be allowed to disguise the fact that "Mark" is not an extant *document*, but is a *text* reconstructed from much later manuscripts with the help of hypotheses developed to account for the numerous disagreements among those manuscripts and the text-critical criteria that flow from

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[14] Farrer, "Dispensing with Q," 333: "The Q hypothesis is a hypothesis, that is its weakness. To be rid of it we have no need of a contrary hypothesis, we merely have to make St. Luke's use of St. Matthew intelligible; and to understand what St. Luke made of St. Matthew we need no more than to consider what St. Luke made of his own book. Now St. Luke's book is not a hypothetical entity. Here is a copy of it on my desk." In this curious bit of reasoning Farrer confuses data (the *text* of Luke) with hypotheses and does not seem to realize that Luke's *relationship* to Matthew is a hypothesis.

Goulder declared, "Luke's use of Mark is a fact (or generally accepted as one), while Q is a mere postulate" ("Is Q a Juggernaut?" *JBL* 115, no. 4 [1996]: 670). It is true that Q is a postulate or better, corollary. But it is absurd to claim that widespread acceptance of the *hypothesis* of Markan priority converts it into a "fact." Goulder's observation that "Q is now hardly defended in the University of Oxford" (ibid., 668) is – to adapt his own phrase – both false (since the arrival at Oxford of C. M. Tuckett) and irrelevant. On this, see John S. Kloppenborg, "Is There a New Paradigm?" in *Christology, Controversy, and Community: Essays in Honour of David Catchpole* (ed. David G. Horrell and Christopher M. Tuckett; NovTSup 99; Leiden, Boston and Köln: E.J. Brill, 2000), 23–47 [reprinted as chap. 2 in this volume].

[15] John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume II: Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York, London and Toronto: Doubleday, 1994), 178.

those hypotheses. What we reconstruct as "the" text of Mark is, furthermore, only one in an imaginable series of texts extending from the initial draft(s) of Mark, to some putative "final form" of the gospel, to the texts of Mark used by Matthew and Luke. With the help of an anachronistic analogy of modern publishing, we designate one of that series as the "final" text of Mark and focus our reconstructive efforts on that hypothetical text.

Thus, the first point I should like to make is relatively simple: it is as mistaken to treat the 2DH (and the existence of Q) as an assured result of research as it is to insist on the hypothetical nature of Q and not simultaneously acknowledge the hypothetical character of *all* of the dependency relationships that we posit. Luke's supposed dependence on Mark is not any less hypothetical than Luke's dependence on Q, merely because we have third-century manuscripts of Mark. Still less [**216**] is Luke's use of Mark a "fact" because many scholars find it an effective hypothesis in accounting for the shape of Luke.

Goodacre claims that "it is rare in the recent literature to find a careful account of the origin of the Q hypothesis, at the very least locating the postulation of Q as an element in the discussion of the Synoptic Problem" (p. 4). He refers to J. D. G. Dunn's *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*[16] and to John Dominic Crossan's *The Historical Jesus*[17] as cases in point. Dunn's synthetic treatment of the thought of the early Jesus movement, however, hardly features Q in a substantial way and it seems perverse to demand of such a book that it document each of the many hypotheses concerning early Christian literature upon which it depends. The need to acknowledge the hypothetical character of Q and alternate possibilities is arguably greater in the case of Crossan's book, given the fact that the structure of his argument rests in part on a stratigraphy of the Jesus tradition in which Q figures prominently.[18] The real test of Goodacre's assertion, however, is not literature on the historical Jesus or the theology of the New Testament but rather literature on Q itself. It is true that some of the studies on Q published in the 1970s and 1980s took the existence of Q for granted and did not bother to discuss other Synoptic hypotheses.[19] But thanks no doubt to the prodding of William R. Farmer, Michael

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[16] James D.G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry into the character of earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977).

[17] John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1991).

[18] Goodacre admits that Crossan does discuss the hypothetical character of Q in his *The Birth of Christianity: Discovering What Happened in the Years Immediately After the Execution of Jesus* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1998), 101.

[19] Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972); Paul Hoffmann, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 [2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980]); Athanasius Polag, *Die Christologie der Logienquelle* (Dr. Theol. diss., Trier (1969); WMANT 45; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977) and Kloppenborg, *Formation* all suffer from this

Goulder, and Goodacre himself, this is no longer generally the case.[20] [217] Goodacre of course knows and cites all of this literature, but it is conspicuously

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deficiency. Daniel Kosch (*Die eschatologische Tora des Menschensohnes: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Stellung Jesu zur Tora in Q* [NTOA 12; Freiburg Sw.: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989], 28) states, 'Das Problem der Logienquelle liegt nicht in der Frage ihrer Existenz', citing Athanasius Polag, "Die theologische Mitte der Logienquelle," in *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien. Vorträge vom Tübinger Symposium 1982* (ed. Peter Stuhlmacher; WUNT 28; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), 103 and referring the reader to the defences of the 2DH by Werner Georg Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* (17., wiederum völlig neu bearb. Aufl.; Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1973); Walter Schmithals, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (De Gruyter Lehrbuch; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 215–33, 384–404 and Frans Neirynck, "Recent Developments in the Study of Q," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters, 1982), 31–35. Kosch discusses in more detail the extent of Q and its original sequence.

[20] The hypothetical character of Q is acknowledged and alternative explanations mentioned in Ronald A. Piper, *Wisdom in the Q-Tradition: The Aphoristic Teaching of Jesus* (SNTSMS 61; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 206 n. 50; Arland D. Jacobson, *The First Gospel: An Introduction to Q* (Foundations and Facets: Reference Series; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1992), 5–17; David R. Catchpole, *The Quest for Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), 1–9; Burton L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q & Christian Origins* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 19–22; Ronald A. Piper, ed., *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 1–18; Christopher M. Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh; Peabody, Mass.: T. & T. Clark; Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), chap. 1; Shawn Carruth and Albrecht Garsky, *Q 11:2b-4*, in *Documenta Q: Reconstructions of Q Through Two Centuries of Gospel Research Excerpted, Sorted and Evaluated* (ed. Stanley D. Anderson, James M. Robinson, et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 1996), v-vi, and other volumes in the series; Dale C. Allison, *The Jesus Tradition in Q* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997), 1; *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000), ix + n. 1; John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 11–54, 271-328.

A few recent authors pass over the issue of the Synoptic Problem quickly or do not discuss it at all: Leif E. Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus' First Followers According to Q* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994), 141 n. 30 cites, but does not engage, Bellinzoni's collection of articles on the Synoptic Problem (*Two Source Hypothesis*) and to the bibliography by Thomas R.W. Longstaff and Page. A. Thomas, eds, *The Synoptic Problem: A Bibliography 1716-1988* (New Gospel Studies 4; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1988). He adds, "I obviously assume, therefore, that Q once existed and that, furthermore, the text of Q as used by Matthew and Luke in the composition of their gospels can still be recovered" (p. 7). The comment appears to be directed not at dissenters from the 2DH, but at those who ostensibly adhere to the 2DH but who refuse to accept its logical entailments. Alan Kirk (*The Composition of the Sayings Source: Genre, Synchrony, & Wisdom Redaction in Q* [NovTSup 91; Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1998]) does not discuss alternate synoptic theories, and Richard Horsley and Jonathan Draper (*Whoever Hears You Hears Me: Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in Q* [Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999]) have no discussion of Synoptic Problem and only comment that "many New Testament interpreters do not believe in the existence of Q" (p. 2).

missing or buried in the footnotes when he laments the inattention of scholars to Q's hypothetical character. Surely, some who avail themselves of research on Q do not include all of the qualifications that might in some contexts be appropriate; but recent scholars who write directly on Q have fairly consistently acknowledged its hypothetical nature and the existence of alternate hypotheses.

2. The obverse of the widespread acceptance enjoyed by the 2DH is the general neglect of other hypotheses. Goodacre is right that the MwQH has been undeservedly ignored in Germany and underappreciated in North America. Goulder once complained that in German literature the only alternative to the 2DH to be imagined, if indeed one is imagined at all, is the neo-Griesbach (or Two Gospel) hypothesis. But the situation in Europe is not entirely bleak. Frans Neirynck in Belgium has discussed Goulder's views in very great detail..[21] [**218**] And despite a few mischaracterizations of the MwQH in North America by Craig Blomberg and David Dungan,[22] the hypothesis has been promoted by E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies in the American edition of their *Studying the Synoptic Gospels*,[23] featured in a symposium at Johns Hopkins University,[24] and discussed critically by C.M. Tuckett (*Q and the*

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[21] Frans Neirynck, "Goulder and the Minor Agreements," *ETL* 73, no. 1 (1997): 84–93; "The Minor Agreements and Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 49–72; "Luke 10:25–28: A Foreign Body in Luke?" in *Crossing the Boundaries: Essays in Biblical Interpretation in Honour of Michael D. Goulder* (ed. Stanley E. Porter, Paul Joyce, and David E. Orton; Biblical Interpretation Series 8; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1994), 149–65.

[22] Both Craig Blomberg (*Jesus and the Gospels: An Introduction and Survey* [Nashville, Tenn.: Broadman & Holman; Leicester: Apollos, 1997], 90 n. 27) and David L. Dungan ("The Synoptic Problem: How Did We Get Our Gospels," in *The International Bible Commentary: A Catholic and Ecumenical Commentary for the Twenty-First Century* [ed. William R. Farmer; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1998], 369, 376, 378) confuse the Farrer Hypothesis with the "Augustinian hypothesis" revived by B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

[23] E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London; Philadelphia: SCM Press; Trinity Press International, 1989).

[24] The symposium honouring Goulder was held at Johns Hopkins University in 1999 and published as Christopher Rollston, ed., *The Gospels According to Michael Goulder: A North American Response* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002).

History of Early Christianity, also in an American edition), and by Canadians Robert A. Derrenbacker,[25] Zeba Crook,[26] and J. S. Kloppenborg.[27]

Objections to the MwQH

Next Goodacre turns to three arguments that have been invoked repeatedly against the supposition that Luke used Matthew (and hence in support of the independence of Matthew and Luke), and two positive arguments that have been mounted in favour of Q (noting rightly that the latter are relevant only if the former are valid). Thus he first considers the objections that (1) Luke is ignorant of Matthew's modifications to Mark; (2) Luke seems unaware of Matthew's 'M' additions to Mark; and (3) in the double tradition, sometimes Matthew's [**219**] formulation, and sometimes Luke's seems the more primitive. He then discusses suggestions that (4) Q displays a distinctive profile and character and that (5) in favour of the 2DH is the fact that it is an effective hypothesis that accounts for much of the data of the Synoptic gospels. If these three objections to the MwQH and two arguments in favour of Q can be shown to be without merit, Goodacre will have succeeded in clearing logical space for his own proposals.

1. Matthew's Additions in the Triple Tradition

Detractors of the MwQH regularly note that Luke shows no knowledge of Matthew's additions to Mark in the triple tradition.[28] Goodacre is quick to

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[25] Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices*; "Greco-Roman Writing Practices and Luke's Gospel: Revisiting 'The Order of a Crank'," in *The Gospels According to Michael Goulder: A North American Response* (ed. Christopher Rollston; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002), 60–82; idem and John S. Kloppenborg "Self-Contradiction in the IQP? A Reply to Michael Goulder," *JBL* 120, no. 1 (2001): 57–76.

[26] Zeba A. Crook, "The Synoptic Parables of the Mustard and the Leaven: A Test-Case for the Two-Document, Two-Gospel, and Farrer-Goulder Hypotheses," *JSNT* 78 (2000): 23–48.

[27] John S. Kloppenborg, "The Theological Stakes in the Synoptic Problem," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 93–120 [chap. 1 in this volume]; *Excavating Q*, 38–43; "Goulder and the New Paradigm: A Critical Appreciation of Michael Goulder on the Synoptic Problem," in *The Gospels According to Michael Goulder: A North American Response* (ed. Christopher Rollston; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002), 29–60.

[28] Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Revised English ed.; trans. Howard C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), 64; Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Existence of Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 25; Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28–28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981–85), 73–

point out that this objection is actually formulated from the perspective of the 2DH, for it ignores the Mark-Q overlaps, 'Q' material itself, and the minor agreements, all of which on the MwQH are materials which Matthew added to Mark and which Luke took from Matthew.

Still, the objection cannot be evaded so easily. What the objection normally has in view are the Matthaean additions to Markan pericopae in Matt 3:15; 12:5–7; 13:14–17; 14:28–31; 16:16–19; 19:9, 19b; and 27:19, 24, all of which Luke lacks. Two of these offer no difficulty to the MwQH: Matt 14:28–31 (Peter's maritime outing) and 19:9 (Matthew's qualification of the divorce prohibition with μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείας) are additions to Markan pericopae that Luke omits entirely. Goodacre makes no comment on the Matthaean additions in 12:5–7; 13:14–17; 19:19b; 27:19, 24 and instead focuses his defence on Matthaean additions to Mark at Matt 3:15 and 16:16–19.

Matthew 3:15. It is true that as it stands Luke cannot preserve Matthew's conversation between Jesus and John in his baptism scene because in Luke John is already in prison. But this begs the question of Luke's reasons for the elaborate expedient of incarcerating John prior to Jesus' baptism. If Conzelmann's view of Lukan periodizing, which he based on reading the phrase ὁ νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται μέχρι Ἰωάννου (Luke 16:16) as including John,[29] were to be accepted, one might conjecture that Luke felt compelled to segregate John from Jesus and implicitly to relegate him to a bygone era, despite the fact that Matthew treated John and Jesus as colleagues. But there are difficulties with Conzelmann's version of Lukan periodizing: the striking parallels that Luke created between John and Jesus in the infancy stories, Luke's depiction of John as a prophetic precursor to Jesus in 3:1–2, and in particular his stipulation in Acts 1:21–22 that all of the events from John's baptism until the ascension are *sine qua non* for apostolic witnesses (ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήμφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν) all suggest that for Luke, John belongs to the central period of salvation history and not to the conclusion of the preceding era.[30] The more likely reasons for Luke's incarceration of John in 3:19–20 have to do with the fact that Luke had taken over Mark's description of John's [**220**] baptism as βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν (Mark 1:4 ‖ Luke 3:3) and that Jesus' baptism by John would inevitably raise the issues of Jesus' sinfulness and the status of Jesus vis-à-vis John. It seems doubtful that Luke's incarceration of John would have been necessary had he

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74; W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–97), 1:116; Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 41.

[29] See Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* (trans. Geoffrey Buswell; New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 12–17.

[30] See Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 184. Acts 1:21–22 appears to be an instance of what Goodacre has usefully termed "editorial fatigue." The fact that neither Jesus nor the disciples was present at John's baptism seems to have escaped his grasp when Luke formulated Acts 1:21–22. See Mark S. Goodacre, "Fatigue in the Synoptics," *NTS* 44, no. 1 (1998): 45–58.

been aware that Matthew had solved both problems. By having John expressly acknowledge Jesus as his superior (Matt 3:15) John ceased to be a competitor to Jesus; and by having Jesus describe the purpose of his baptism as πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην Jesus' baptism was no longer associated with the elimination of sin.

Matt 16:16b–19. In accounting for Luke's omission of Jesus' words to Peter in Matt 16:16b–19 Goodacre invokes Farrer's notion of certain elements of Matthew being "Luke pleasing." Thus Luke omitted some elements of Matthew because they were not "Luke pleasing." This is a principle of exceedingly dubious merit. "Luke pleasing" words are simply words that Luke has in common with Matthew. On the 2DH they represent "minimal Q." "Luke displeasing" words are merely points where Matthew and Luke disagree and where, on the 2DH, either Matthew or Luke (or both) have altered Q. Farrer's standard explanation of why Luke took certain materials from Matthew and omitted others is that he was "moved" or "inspired" to do so.[31] But this only takes certain textual features and converts them [**221**] into aesthetic preferences attributed to Luke with the help of the hypothesis that it presupposes. That is, it merely *renames the problem*; it does not offer an *explanation*.

Goodacre realizes that the notion of "Luke displeasingness" must be justified by pointing to certain patterns in Lukan redaction. This is precisely the sort of argument that is needed to render Farrer's bald assertions plausible. Hence, Goodacre avers, Matthew's additions in Matt 16:17–19 would not have appealed to Luke, since "Luke is not as positive about Peter overall as Matthew" and in the narrative development of Acts, Peter progressively recedes (p. 51).

What are we to make of this explanation? In the first place it is slightly inattentive to textual details, for Luke in fact accentuates the role of Peter. Although Luke presumably knew the brief Markan account of the call of Simon and Andrew (Mark 1:16–18) he substituted a version that omitted

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[31] Farrer ("Dispensing with Q," 325) described the contents of Matthew as "rabbinic" ('M') and "non-rabbinic, popular" ('Q') materials; only the latter were "Luke pleasing." Farrer further explained that "St. Luke was not interested in the detail of the anti-Pharisaic controversy and neglects much teaching of Christ which attacks the Pharisees on their own ground" (324-25). But Farrer never defined what he meant by "rabbinic", with the consequence that the principle was empty as an explanatory device. Since Luke preserves anti-Pharisaic sayings from Q or Matthew (11:37–52) and has other anti-Pharisaic sayings of his own (12:1; 16:14–15; 18:10–14), and since he uses *qal weḥomer* arguments (14:5), a typical rabbinic argument, Farrer's attempt to define Luke-pleasingness became tautologous: Luke preserved from Matthew what he preserved (=Luke pleasing) and did not preserve what he did not preserve (=Luke displeasing). Farrer's "explanations" of Luke's inclusion and exclusion of Matthaean materials, Luke's sometimes more primitive-looking formulations, his re-ordering of Matthew, and his separation of double tradition from the triple tradition in Matthew (333–53) simply paraphrase the contents of Luke with the comment that Luke was "inspired" (335) or "moved" (342) to write in this way. Such paraphrases have no explanatory value but merely rename the problem.

Andrew entirely and featured the exchange between Simon and Jesus prominently (5:1–11). The miraculous catch of fish (5:1–11) along with the immediately preceding healing of Simon's mother in law (4:38–39) combine to explain his recognition of Jesus as one endowed with divine power, making him the first disciple to do so and placing this recognition far earlier in the gospel narrative than either Mark or Matthew does. Elsewhere Luke redactionally highlights the role of Peter. At 8:45 he transfers a comment by Mark's disciples (5:31) to Peter, making him a spokesperson; at 12:41 Luke has Peter interject a question that introduces another parable (12:42–46); and at 22:8 Luke identifies Mark's two anonymous disciples (14:13) as Peter and John, the heroes of the first part of Acts. And Luke omits the sharp rebuke of Peter in Mark 8:32b–33.

Second, Goodacre's suggestion runs aground on Luke's treatment of the prediction of Peter's denial in 22:31–34. Not only does Luke preempt the denial by having Jesus announce that his prayer for him will mean that his faith will not fail, but Jesus predicts that Peter will assume a leading function in "strengthening" his friends. Luke thereby assigns to Peter a key pastoral role in the post-Easter church, so that 22:31–34 functions rather as a parallel (though not equivalent) to Matt 16:17–19.

Finally, Goodacre's assertion also runs afoul of the fact that the first half of Acts features Peter's activities prominently, making him a key preacher and apologist, and featuring him in the origins of the Gentile mission. Goodacre rather weakly observes that Peter "progressively recedes" in Acts. Such a statement misleadingly suggests a tendency in Lukan redaction. But such is not the case. Peter appears sixty-one times in the first twelve chapters of Acts and disappears thereafter (except at 15:19) not because Luke is not "positive" about Peter but because Luke's focus has shifted to Paul. The disappearance of Peter is a function of Luke's source material in Acts 13–28 and his interest in Paul, not a symptom of a redactional tendency to eliminate or downplay Peter's role. In Acts 1–12 and the gospel, which after all, is what [**222**] Goodacre must explain, Luke assigns to Peter a key role in church-founding and in the inauguration of the Gentile mission. Had Luke seen Matt 16:17–19, we might well expect that he might him to have rephrased some of it; but given the positive role that Luke assigns to Peter, it seems doubtful that Matt 16:17–19 would have had made no impact at all on Luke.

The notion of "Luke displeasing" elements cannot save the day in the case of Matt 12:5–7 (Matthew's addition to Mark 2:23–28), since Luke has Jesus use a very similar argument at Luke 14:4–6. Nor will it work for Matt 13:14–17 (added to Mark 4:10–12), for in that case we know from Luke 3:4–6 (=Isa 40:3 + 4–6) that Luke elsewhere extends quotations from the Tanak and that Luke adds other Isaian quotations (cf. also Luke 4:18–19 = Isa 61:1–2; 58:6). Moreover, the second part of Matthew's extension of Mark (Matt 13:16–17)

appears elsewhere in Luke (10:23–24). Nor does Farrer's expedient work with Matthew's modifications to the portrait of Pilate, since it is manifest from Luke's own treatment of the passion narrative that he is keen to shift the blame from the Romans to the high priests. Pilate's wife's dream (Matt 27:19, inserting into Mark 15:10–11) and Matthew's hand-washing scene (27:24, added to Mark 15:15) would have served Luke's purposes admirably, especially because the dream declares Jesus to be δίκαιος, which is precisely what Luke's centurion says of Jesus (23:47) and the handwashing scene has Pilate declare Jesus to be innocent, something that Luke has redactionally added to Mark at Luke 23:4, 14, 22.

In these cases it is difficult to account for Luke's omission of Matthaean additions to Mark since Luke is demonstrably interested in precisely those motifs that also appear in the Matthaean additions. That these additions were "Luke displeasing" is manifestly not the case.

2. Luke's Lack of 'M'

Next, Goodacre takes on the objection that Luke lacks 'M' material. Of course this is analytically true: 'M' material is what is present only in Matthew. Responding to a criticism of Robert Stein[32] Goodacre correctly observes again that this objection is framed from the point of view of the 2DH. For although Luke has little of what appears in Matt 1–2 and Matt 28, it is misleading to suggest that Luke [223] passes over the bulk of narrative materials that Matthew added to Mark, for Matthew on the MwQH has added a longer temptation story, the healing of the centurion's serving boy, and John's question from prison, all of which Luke took over.

The key issue for Goodacre remains to define grounds for Luke's omission of the material that he does omit, regardless of where it is found in Matthew. Thus he pleads that Luke's tendency in not having Jesus come into direct contact with Gentiles would have been sufficient grounds for him to have omitted Matthew's story of the magi. But this hardly suffices to account for Luke's neglect of all of Matthew 1–2. So Goodacre argues that Luke does betray knowledge of Matthew's birth account: the mention of Bethlehem, the name of Jesus' father, and the notion of the virginal conception. He even points

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[32] Robert H. Stein, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1987), 102: "If we assume that Luke used Matthew, how are we to explain his great omission of all the narrative material outside of the triple tradition found in Matthew? Why would Luke have omitted such material as the coming of the wise men (Matt 2:1–12)? Would not the presence of such Gentiles at the birth of Jesus have been meaningful for Luke"s Gentile-oriented Gospel? Why would he have omitted the flight to Egypt and the return to Nazareth (Matt 2:13–23); the story of the guards at the tomb (Matt 27:62–66) and their report (Matt 28:11–15); and so on? ... It would therefore appear that Luke's use of Matthew is improbable, due to the lack of his incorporation of the M material into his Gospel."

to the verbal parallels between Matt 1:21 and Luke 1:31 as evidence that Luke saw Matthew, not apparently noticing that the phrases τίκτειν υἱόν and καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ NN are purely formulaic (Gen 16:11; Isa 7:14; 8:3; Hos 1:1–4; 1:6, etc.) and hardly unexpected given the context. None of this special pleading helps with the bulk of Matthaean material that Luke has omitted, including such items as the account of Herod's deeds and the those of his son Archelaus, which one would think would have attracted Luke's attention, who also takes a dim view of the Herodian family.

When it comes to 'M' material outside the birth and resurrection stories, Goodacre relies on the explanation that Luke omits them because they are 'Matthaean'; "there is scarcely a pericope there that one could imagine Luke finding congenial with his interest" (p. 59). Again Farrer's expedient of "Luke-pleasingness" is invoked. One wonders just what is uncongenial about Matt 18:23–35 when Luke has other parables about the conduct of house slaves and stories about forgiveness, or about Matt 20:1–16 when Luke is clearly in support of euergetism (cf. Luke 3:11; 14:16–24), or about Matt 25:31–46 when Luke thinks that the basis of judgment has to do with acts of kindness to the less-privileged (cf. Luke 14:12–15; 16:19–31)?[33]

3. Alternating Primitivity

To the third objection–that sometimes Luke seems to preserve versions of sayings or stories that are more primitive than Matthew–Goodacre raises a counter-objection that the normal procedures for reconstructing Q involve the elimination of Matthaean elements. Hence, 'Q' will invariably appear to be non-Matthaean (and Lukan) and thus Luke will appear to be more primitive. This, as Derrenbacker and Kloppenborg have argued in a reply to Michael Goulder, misstates the usual procedures for reconstructing Q and certainly the procedure of [**224**] the International Q Project (IQP). Matthaean (and Lukan) elements in double tradition pericopae are treated as secondary when there are good statistical grounds for believing that the element in question is Matthaean (or Lukan) *and* when there is no reason to suppose that Luke (or Matthew) would have eliminated it.[34] That is, there is no systematic prejudgment in favour of Lukan formulations in the reconstruction of Q. The resultant text of Q obviously shares some elements with Matthew, but it also has elements that appear in Luke; what it lacks are those features that appear to be Matthaean and Lukan editorializing.

But this really avoids the force of the objection, which is that such items as Luke 6:20b (οἱ πτωχοί), 22–23 (ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρὸν ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου); 11:2–4; 11:20 (ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ); 11:30 (ἐγένετο

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[33] Goodacre (*Case Against Q*, 71) states that Matt 25:31–46 is in direct conflict with Luke's theology but does not explain the basis for this assertion.

[34] Derrenbacker and Kloppenborg, "Self-Contradiction".

Ἰωνᾶς τοῖς Νινευίταις σημεῖον); and 12:8–9 (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁμολογήσει)[35] appear to be more primitive than the corresponding Matthaean saying. Goodacre's response, which sharply distinguishes him from Goulder,[36] is that in the case of 11:2–4 Luke may have had access to an alternate oral tradition. One can agree with this type of explanation in the case of liturgical traditions. But it is not clear at all that it will work for nonliturgical materials. For example, at Luke 11:20, where Matthew has εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια (12:28), Luke has ἐν δακτύλῳ θεοῦ, a rather obscure phrase appearing only in Exod 8:15 (in connection with the plagues) and Exod 31:18 (in connection with the inscribing of the Ten Words). Since Luke connects Jesus' program of liberation and healing with his endowment with the Spirit (4:18), and since he expressly associates Jesus' abilities as an exorcist with the Spirit (Acts 10:38), it seems likely that Luke would have retained Matthew's expression had he seen it. The conclusion is almost unavoidable that Luke's phrase is the *lectio difficilior* and the original and that Matthew has [225] replaced Q's obscure expression. Such a scenario makes sense on the 2DH but not on the MwQH.

It should be stressed that one or two counter-examples do not amount to a disproof of Goodacre's thesis, any more than a few "minor agreements" cause the 2DH to collapse. Every Synoptic theory has to accommodate anomalous data.[37] The force of the objection is to show that problem cannot be solved as simply and cleanly as Goodacre proposes. While the MwQH might be able to account for some of the Synoptic data in an efficient and credible manner, other data present far more difficult challenges.

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[35] See Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Son of Man in Q," in *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (ed. Martinus C. de Boer; JSNTSup 84; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 196–216 and Jan Lambrecht, "A Note on Mark 8.38 and Q 12.8–9," *JSNT* 85 (2002): 117–25 for discussions of the priority of the Lukan version. To argue that Matt 10:32–33 is the more primitive version of the saying runs afoul of the fact that Mark 8:38 also has ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπαισχυνθήσεται αὐτόν against Matthew's first person formulation, and requires one either to suppose (on the MwQH) that Matthew adapted and altered Mark 8:38, rejecting Mark's "son of Man" for "I" at 10:32, but keeping Mark's 'son of Man' at 16:27 in a transformed version of the saying, and that Luke 12:8 used Matt 10:32 but rejected Matthew's alteration in favour of Mark's "son of Man" and preserved Mark 8:38 at Luke 9:26, or (on the 2DH) that the original form of the Q saying had "I" (so Paul Hoffmann, et al., *Q 12:8–12*, in *Documenta Q: Reconstructions of Q Through Two Centuries of Gospel Research Excerpted, Sorted and Evaluated* [ed. Christoph Heil, James M. Robinson, et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 1997], 210–38) and that *both* Mark and Luke (12:8) changed this to "son of Man."

[36] Michael D. Goulder and M.L. Sanderson, "The Composition of the Lord's Prayer," *JTS* 14 (1964): 32–45 argue that Matthew composed the Lord's Prayer from motifs found in Mark and that Luke depends on Matthew.

[37] See Kloppenborg, "Goulder and the New Paradigm".

4. The Coherence of Q

The other part of Goodacre's response to critics take the form of his response to assertions, including those made by this writer, that the 'Q' material displays a coherence and structure that does not derive from the redaction of Matthew and Luke.[38] The argument is not, as Goodacre seems to think, that prominent features of Q – the announcement of judgment, references to the Coming One, allusions to the Lot cycle, and the deuteronomistic view of history[39] – are not related to elements in Matthew and Luke; of course they are, since Q is extracted from its successor documents. It is even the case, as Goodacre points out, that Matthew may have imitated some Q-locutions such as the taunt, "brood of vipers" (Q 3:7; Matt 23:33). For that matter, Luke imitated Q's use of gender pairing.[40] But the point is that the elements that appear to be key in the organization of Q *are not* the key elements of Matthaean (or Lukan) redaction: Q is not programmatically interested in Jesus as Torah-observant and as a fulfillment of Torah, nor as a messianic shepherd, nor in Lukan themes such as Jesus' piety, meal settings, reconciliation, or euergetism. Conversely, the Lot cycle and deuteronomistic theology are not the key organizing elements of either Matthew or Luke. The logical point is that the double tradition (along with a few Mark-Q overlaps) exhibits a thematic coherence that does not derive from Matthew's redactional interests. Nor is it plausible to argue that Luke's principles of selection of [**226**] the M+Q material in Matthew created such coherence. On the contrary the Q material looks like a coherent document because it represents a coherent document.

5. Brauchbarkeit

That the 2DH is an effective hypothesis – making sense of a good deal of synoptic data – is a consideration that has been invoked in its favour.[41] Goodacre rightly comments that one should distinguish between Markan priority and the supposition of the existence of Q, for in the case of the Markan material one can ask whether the assumption of Matthew and Luke's redaction

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[38] Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 163–4. Compare Farrer's statement: "There are ... possible cases in which the hypothesis of a lost and unevidenced source might compete on equal terms with the hypothesis of simple borrowing. Suppose, for example, that the passages common to A and B have a strong distinctive flavor, unlike the remaining parts of either A or B. Suppose further that the common passage, once we have extracted them, cry aloud to be strung together in one order rather than in any other, and that being so strung together they make up a satisfyingly complete little book, with beginning, middle and end. Then indeed we might postulate the existence of a common source, without waiting to prove that B cannot derive directly from A, nor A from B" ("Dispensing with Q," 324).

[39] For a discussion, see Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 118–22.

[40] See Derrenbacker and Kloppenborg, "Self-Contradiction," 72.

[41] E.g., Graham N. Stanton, *Gospel Truth? New Light on Jesus and the Gospels* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 35; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1:65; Jacobson, *First Gospel*, 5.

of Mark yields coherent editorial patterns. In the case of the double tradition, there is obviously circularity involved, since one has no independent access to the wording or sequence of Q. One cannot say with much certainty, "Faced with a particular word or concept in Q, Matthew (or Luke) tends to do *x*', since that word or concept must be reconstructed in Q by assuming a particular redactional tendency in Matthew (or Luke). Moreover, as I have suggested elsewhere, the 2DH, because of its dominance, has replicated and entrenched itself in all sorts of other suppositions, from the dating of the gospels to the probable lines of christological, eschatological, and ecclesiastical development to suppositions of what the evangelists were able to do as editors.[42] In any event, the argument from *Brauchbarkeit* is hardly a compelling one and no one, I should think, would accept the 2DH *merely* because it is useful. It is an argument that is more telling in its negative form: a hypothesis that is not successful in making sense of the data – that is, is *unbrauchbar* – ought to be abandoned or modified.

Unscrambling the Egg

Having shown some of the typical objections to the MwQH to be problematic, Goodacre turns to the heart of his case in the last six chapters, rendering plausible Luke's use of Matthew. Chapter 6, "The Synoptic Jesus and the Celluloid Christ," offers a novel approach to the problem, arguing that cinematic depiction of the Sermon on the Mount evidence the same sort of modifications that Luke has, *ex hypothesi*, effected on Matthew.[43] Since this has already had a learned response by F. Gerald Downing,[44] I shall pass over it here. Likewise, I shall omit consideration of Goodacre's Chapter Eight on the Minor Agreements, for two reasons. First, [227] this is a topic that has already has a massive literature and one cannot hope to do it justice in a few comments. Second and more pertinently, the minor agreements have a ready solution under the MwQH as points where Matthew's reformulations of Mark have influenced Luke. As such they do not represent a problem for the MwQH.

A major challenge for the MwQH concerns its necessary supposition that Luke re-ordered the Matthaean "double tradition." Famously, Luke has drastically abbreviated Matthew's Sermon on the Mount in Luke 6:20–49 and distributed other portions of it throughout Luke 11–16. In other instances, Luke would have disengaged 'Q' sayings from the Markan setting that Matthew had given them, and used them elsewhere. For example, Matthew uses the saying

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[42] Kloppenborg, "Theological Stakes," 96–7 [pp. 11–38 in this volume].

[43] This chapter appeared earlier as "The Synoptic Jesus and the Celluloid Christ: Solving the Synoptic Problem Through Film," *JSNT* 80 (2000): 31–43.

[44] F. Gerald Downing, "Dissolving the Synoptic Problem Through Film?" *JSNT* 84 (2001): 117–19.

about having faith as a mustard seed in a Markan pericope (Mark 9:14–29 || Matt 17:14–21), but Luke, who uses the Markan pericope in Markan sequence (Luke 9:37–43) relocates the saying to Luke 17:6. The phenomenon is observed with Matthew's Twelve thrones saying (19:28), inserted into a Markan pericope that Luke also uses (Matt 19:23–30 || Mark 10:23–31 || Luke 18:24–30); Luke, however, moves the saying to 22:28–30. R. H. Fuller once characterized Luke's procedure on the MwQH as "unscrambling the egg with a vengeance"[45] and it is this phrase that Goodacre chooses as a title for his Chapter Four.

Goodacre's answer to Fuller depends on three assumptions. First, that Luke knew and used Mark long before coming to know Matthew and hence his use of the latter was determined by his basic decision to employ Mark as a backbone. Since in most cases Luke had already used the Markan version as his primary source, he had to fit in Matthew's additions to Mark where best he could, which usually meant relocating them. Second, he observes that Luke shortened Mark's parable discourse (Mark 3:1–34; Luke 8:4–18) and Mark 9:33–50 (Luke 9:46–48, 49–50), and generalizes from this that Luke preferred short speech units of twelve to twenty verses. Finally, he asserts that the second part of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount is a miscellany or a "rag bag." Hence Luke, confronted by an overly-long and rather disjointed Matthaean sermon justly thought it prudent to shorten it, preserving only the "Luke-pleasing" elements and redistributing some of them to other parts of the gospel.

Obviously, the first assumption – that Luke used Mark as his primary guide – is not capable of proof or disproof, but is a reasonable belief given the *prior* supposition that Luke used both Mark and Matthew and the way in which Markan and non-Markan materials are actually deployed in Luke. If the other two assumptions could be rendered credible, the MwQH might indeed offer a plausible accounting for Luke's arrangement. But there are two problems. First, that Matt 6:19–7:27 is a "rag bag" is repeatedly asserted but not defended beyond citing [**228**] a comment of Graham Stanton.[46] Such is hardly the view of most Matthaean commentators: Bornkamm related the structure of Matt 6:19–7:6 to individual petitions of the Lord's Prayer and in this is followed (with some modifications) by Lambrecht and Guelich.[47] Others see the Lord's Prayer as the centre of an extended chiastic structure (Grundmann; Luz); others still divide Matt 6:19–7:12 into one (Gnilka) or two (Hagnar) topically arranged

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[45] Reginald H. Fuller, *The New Testament in Current Study* (New York: Scribner, 1962), 87.

[46] Graham N. Stanton, *The Gospel for a New People* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 298. Later, Goodacre (p. 113) refers to a comment of Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 629 to the same effect.

[47] Günther Bornkamm, "Der Aufbau der Bergpredigt," *NTS* 24 (1977–78): 419–32; Jan Lambrecht, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Good News Studies 14; Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1985); Robert Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Foundation for Understanding* (Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1982).

units before the concluding section (Matt 7:13–27). With an even finer analysis, Dale Allison sees Matt 6:19–34 as divided into four "paragraphs" and unified by a common theme, and 7:1–12 as the "structural twin" of 6:19–34.[48] Matt 7:13–27 likewise displays a deliberate structure controlled formally by the contrast of the two ways (7:13–14, 24–27) and thematically by contrast between superficial adherence to Jesus' teaching and full adherence and the respective consequences.

Of course one might argue that Luke failed to perceive the design of Matthew's sermon. But once editorial misperception becomes part of a scenario, the explanatory power of such a thesis is diminished. This is because directional arguments ("it is more likely that $x \rightarrow y$ than the reverse") normally involve either (a) the supposition of a competent editor improving x by augmentation, revision, or omission or (b) the appeal to mechanical transcriptional errors (haplography, dittography) that produce an incoherence in y. But if Goodacre assumes, as it seems he must, that Luke did not perceive Matthew's structure in Matt 6:19–7:27, then his contention that Luke shortened the Sermon by creating smaller clusters of sayings in Luke 12:22–32, 33–34 (Matt 6:35–34 + 9:19–21), Luke 11:2–13 (Matt 6:9–13 + 7:7–11), and Luke 13:24–30 (Matt 7:13–14 + 7:22–23) is no more probable, and indeed less probable, than the view of the 2DH, that Matthew collected related sayings into the Sermon on the Mount. Goodacre himself concedes that it is difficult to know why Luke moved Matt 6:22–23 to its Lukan location (11:34–36). And one wonders why on Goodacre's view Luke did not maintain the connection between [229] Matt 6:24 (serving God or Mammon) and 6:25–34 (an admonition to rely on, and to seek, God rather than possessions) instead of moving the former to 16:13 where it contradicts the point of Luke 16:8, 9–12. Luke's procedure in 13:24–30 also seems rather odd, since he begins with a Matthaean saying about a *narrow* gate that is difficult to enter and then continues with another Matthaean saying (25:10–12) that concerns *locked* doors, concluding with another Matthaean saying (8:11–12) that concerns persons being *thrown out* of a house, evidently to destruction, a motif Luke ignored in his reproduction of Matt 7:13–14. One might reply, of course that on the 2DH Luke 13:24–29 represents Q's sequence and these odd shifts in imagery belong to Q.[49] While this is true, it must be noted that on the 2DH, Luke is merely

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[48] Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 1:625–7. Compare Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7* (Continental Commentaries; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989), 211–3, who sees a ring structure to the Sermon, with 5:3–16 balancing 7:13–27; 5:17–20 balancing 7:12; 5:21–48 balancing 6:19–7:11; 6:1–6 corresponding to 6:16–18, and the Lord's Prayer at the centre. See also Kari Syreeni, *The Making of the Sermon on the Mount: A Procedural Analysis of Matthew's Redactoral Activity. Part 1: Methodology & Compositional Analysis* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 44; Helsinki: Suomalaien Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 168–84, who stresses the function of 5:17 and 7:12 (both referring to the Law and the Prophets) in structuring the central section of the Sermon.

[49] The International Q Project reconstructs the sequence of Q at this point as: 13:24, 25,

taking over a sequence from Q, while on the MwQH, Luke has seen a coherent sequence in Matthew, prefaced by the Two Ways saying (7:13–14), featuring sayings that contrast the outward appearance of prophetic figures with their inner reality (7:15–20) and verbal assent with deeds (7:21), and concluding with a description of the fate of those charismatic figures (7:22–23). Luke has created from this a *less* coherent sequence.

Second, Goodacre's argument is premised on the assumption that Luke dislikes long speeches. But this generalization seems faulty. Luke indeed shortens two of Mark's discourses. On the other hand Luke not only has a 52 verse speech in Acts 7, but he typically associates large bodies of speech material with a single discursive occasion, strung together with brief indications of Jesus' various addressees. Luke 12:1–13:9 is a single discursive event, set outdoors and introduced by ἐν οἷς ἐπισυναχθεισῶν τῶν μυριάδων τοῦ ὄχλου ... ἤρξατο λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ (12:1) and concluded with Jesus' movement into a synagogue (13:10). The body of the speech is subdivided by indications of shifting addressees:

εἶπεν δέ τις ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου αὐτῷ (Luke 12:13) ... ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ (Luke 12:14)
εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς (Luke 12:15)....
εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ (Luke 12:22)....
εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος (12:41)... καὶ εἶπεν ὁ κύριος (Luke 12:42)....
ἔλεγεν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις (Luke 12:54)....
παρῆσαν δέ τινες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ ἀπαγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν Γαλιλαίων ὧν τὸ αἷμα Πιλᾶτος ἔμιξεν μετὰ τῶν θυσιῶν αὐτῶν. καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς (Luke 13:1–2)....

The crowd of 12:1 is the same crowd from which a question is put (12:13), and the same crowd addressed in 12:54 and 13:1–2. Thus Luke imagines Jesus as alternately addressing the disciples (12:1–12, 22–53) and the crowd (12:13–21, 54–59; 13:1–9). In all, [**230**] Luke has 69 verses of speech material, more than twice the length of his Sermon on the Plain.

On another occasion while eating at another Pharisee's house, Jesus delivers a long set of teachings, variously addressed to the invitees (14:7), then Jesus' host (14:12), then one of the guests (14:15), then to a crowd that had somehow materialized (14:25), then to a group of Pharisees and scribes (15:2–3), then to his disciples (16:1), again to Pharisees (16:15), and finally to the disciples (17:1). Only at 17:11 is there an indication of a scene change. That Luke leaves unexplained the presence in a Pharisee's house of a crowd, including tax collectors (15:1), only underscores the fact that Luke can tolerate such implausibilities. He merely subdivides these 112 verses by having Jesus alternately address various persons and groups present.

26–27, 29, 28, 30. See James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 406–19.

Of course Luke *might* have broken up Matthew's Sermon. But the arguments that Goodacre provides do not give us sufficient reason to think that Luke had an intolerance to long swaths of speech; on the contrary, faced with the Sermon on the Mount one might more reasonably expect Luke simply to insert some transitional phrases, which is precisely what he has done at 6:39 (εἶπεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς) whether one presupposes the 2DH or the MwQH.

The Coherence of Lukan Redaction

The success of Goodacre's case for Luke knowing Matthew depends on his ability to discern intelligent organization in the re-located bits of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount. In this he is largely persuasive (chap. 5). The combination of Luke 11:2–4 (Matt 6:9–13), 11:5–8 (L), and 11:9–13 (Matt 7:7–11) produces a coherent unit on prayer, appropriately positioned after Jesus' own reference to the Fatherhood of God (10:21–22). Likewise Luke 12:13–34 (Luke 12:13–21 [L] + Matt 6:25–32 + Matt 6:19–21) uses Matthaean material at least as coherently as Matthew does in his Sermon to illustrate reliance on God's providential care.

Goodacre also devotes a chapter (7) to showing that one might account for Luke's transformation of Matthew's "blessed are the poor in spirit" into "blessed are you poor" (6:20b) if one takes into account Luke's redactional interest in the poor and eschatological reversal elsewhere in his gospel, and the narrative logic of Jesus blessing the poor disciples (6:20a) right after they have "left everything" to follow (5:11; 5:28).

Goodacre sees the "advantage" of studies of Lukan redaction predicated on the MwQH in that they would inevitably have to attend much more keenly to Luke's literary creativity and artistry, since Luke's editorial activity entails not simply the alternating use of Mark and Q, with occasional insertion of L materials, but the large-scale reworking and rearrangement of Matthew. The value in Goodacre's argument is to point out the logic in Luke's arrangement of Matthaean (or 'Q') [231] materials – a point that is not, of course, new to Lukan critics. It also underscores the degree to which aesthetic judgment is part of arguments about the Synoptic Problem. Directional arguments are often based on claims that the arrangement or grammar or theology of *y* is superior to that of *x*, and hence it is preferable to conclude that $x \rightarrow$ y than the reverse. But as those current with the history of argumentation know, it is all to frequent to find aesthetic arguments invoked in support of mutually exclusive theses. Goodacre stresses Matthew's unartistic arrangement and Luke's superiority; but Matthaean commentators such as Allison and Davies, working on the assumption that it is Matthew who has engaged in large scale reworking of Mark and Q, find superior artistry in Matthew. I would not wish to claim that

the Synoptic Problem comes down to aesthetic preferences that cannot be further justified. On the contrary, I wish only to point out that there is an irreducible aesthetic component in Synoptic arguments. That there is thematic coherence in Luke 11:1–13 or Luke 12:13–34, or that Luke 6:20b has a "place" in Luke's gospel by being related to other Lukan and pre-Lukan elements should not surprise anyone. As a competent editor Luke tried to make sense of the material he used, whether he received it from Matthew or from Q. That intelligent organization can be seen in both Matthew and Luke does not assist in deciding directions of dependence. Hence we are driven back to Goodacre's argument about Luke's tendency to shorten and abbreviate, where Goodacre has not made his case.

Petering Out

Goodacre's final chapter, "Narrative Sequence in a Sayings Gospel?", is perhaps the most innovative and challenging. He begins by conceding for the sake of argument the existence of Q and the observation, make by this author and others, that the first part of Q has a proto-narrative sequence and several progressions that hold Q 3–7 together. There is a geographical progression from the Jordan Valley (3:2), to the wilderness (4:1–13), to Nazara (4:16), and finally to Capernaum (7:1), with later references to Khorazin and Bethsaida (10:13) and Jerusalem (13:34). Corresponding to this geographical progression is a series of transitional editorial markers (Q 3:2; 3:21–22; 4:1, 16; 7:1; 7:18). Second, the first half of Q is bound together by a logical progression from John's preaching of repentance associated with his baptizing activities, to his prediction of the Coming One's baptism, to Jesus' baptism,[50] to John's question as to whether Jesus might be the Coming One (7:18–23).[51] This "narrativizing direction" of Q sets it off from the *Gospel of Thomas*. [**232**]

Goodacre then recalls an aphorism of Farrer's that towards its end Q "peters out into miscellaneous oracles"[52] and offers an ingenious way of making sense of this. Rather than supposing that there was a Q that was well organized at the

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[50] Although the IQP has voted to include the baptism of Jesus, I have dissented from the judgment of my colleagues. See Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 18–21; Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 93 and Neirynck, "The Minor Agreements and Q," 67.

[51] See Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 122–4; Elisabeth Sevenich-Bax, *Israels Konfrontation mit den letzten Boten der Weisheit: Form, Funktion und Interdependenz der Weisheitselemente in der Logienquelle* (Münsteraner Theologische Abhandlungen 21; Altenberge: Oros, 1993).

[52] Farrer, "Dispensing with Q," 273. As I noted elsewhere, Farrer was able to make this observation only because he did not investigate other gnomic collections. Prov 1–9 is highly structured, but most of Prov 10–22.14 is not; *Ankhsheshonq* and the *Sentences of Secundus* both begin in a quasi-biographical way but continue and conclude with miscellaneous sayings. See Kloppenborg, "Theological Stakes," 118 n. 90 [p. 35 n. 91 in this volume].

beginning and miscellaneous towards the end, Goodacre argues that the appearance of structure is the result of Luke's editorial decision to draw on Matthew 3–11 for his two non-Markan blocks (Luke 3:7–4:16; 6:20–7:35). Thus Luke inadvertently took over elements of Matthew's non-Markan framework: geographical references to the circuit of the Jordan (Matt 3:5 || Luke 3:3), to Nazara just before the Sermon (Matt 4:13 || Luke 4:16) and to Capernaum just after it (Matt 8:5 || Luke 7:1b).[53] One could add that on this view the logical progression that begins with John's prediction of a Coming one (Luke 3:16) and ends with the question of John's disciples (7:18–23) is result of Luke taking over Matthew's addition to Mark at Matt 11:2–6.

According to Goodacre, while Matthew had rearranged Mark in Matt 3–11 but followed Mark in Matt 12–25, Luke did just the opposite, following Matthew in Luke 3–7 and "departs from Mark altogether (p. 181).[54] Thus "the presence of a narrative sequence for some Q material at the beginning of the Gospel, and the absence of a narrative sequence in the Q material throughout the rest of the Gospel, is simply a source-critical inevitability" (p. 181).

Goodacre's argument might be emended somewhat. Contrary to what he says, the narrative sequence does not "dissipate" at Q 7:35; a new progression begins with Q 9:57–58 (the volunteering of some disciples) and continues through to at least 10:21–22 (23–24), which is said to take place "in that very hour" (10:21a). On the MwQH this represents the remnants of non-Markan framework materials in Matt 8:18–22; 9:37–10:42; 11:20–24, 25–27.

But all is not well with this general approach. For while, *ex hypothesi*, Luke departed from Matthew's Markan structure in Matt 12–25 (p. 181), he nonetheless took over several non-Markan Matthaean blocks: Matt 23:4–39; 24:23, 26–28, 37–51; and 25:14–30. Yet Luke betrays no awareness of the particular ways that Matthew [**233**] attached these to Mark's framework. Luke's woes against the Pharisees (11:37–54) are delivered in the house of an anonymous Pharisee who lived outside of Judaea. Matthew's woes, delivered to a crowd, are attached to Mark's attack on the scribes (12:37b–40), posed out-of-doors in Jerusalem. Since Luke later took over Mark's attack on the scribes (12:37b–40 = Luke 20:45–47), one might conjecture that Luke deliberately eschewed Matthew's Jerusalem setting for the woes on the scribes and Pharisees, knowing that he would later use Mark 12. But Luke's motives for disengaging Matt 23 from its Markan location and setting are still very far

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[53] Goodacre, *Case Against Q*, 181.

[54] This comment is somewhat imprecise but seems to refer to the fact that on the MwQH, after using Matt 11.2–19 to conclude the Sermon-Centurion-John the Baptist sequence, Luke abandoned Mark since he had already used Mark 2:23–3:12 (|| Matt 12:1–21) *prior* to the Sermon (Luke 6:1–19). Then, after adapting Mark 14:3–9 (Luke 7:36–50) and inserting Luke 8:1–3, Luke returned to Mark (4:1) and followed Mark up 6:44, omitting only Mark 4:26–29, 30–32 (relocated to 13:18–19), 33–34; 6:1–6a (relocated to 4:16–30), and 6:17–29 (relocated to 3:19–20).

from clear. And in the case of the Jerusalem word (13:34–35), Luke has also eschewed its Matthaean setting (in Jerusalem), placing it in some nameless location in Samaria in response to the comments of more extra-Judaean Pharisees (13:31–33). It might be tempting to think that the presence of Pharisees in 13:31–33 is an echo of Matthew 23. But in that case, Luke has completely reversed the characterization of the Pharisees, who in 13:31–33 seem to be friendly to Jesus. And in the case of 13:34–35 one cannot appeal to a later Markan parallel in order to account for Luke's separating the Jerusalem saying from its Matthaean setting. Luke's procedure on the MwQH is at the very least puzzling.

Similarly, Luke's apocalyptic materials in Luke 12:39–59; 17:23–37; and 19:11–27 betray no influence of the fact that Matthew has them spoken to the disciples on the Mount of Olives. Instead, Luke 17:23–37 is framed as speech in Samaria (17:11–19) where again, Pharisees are present (!) (17:20). Luke 12:39–59 belongs to discourses delivered to growing crowds somewhere in the Galilee or Samaria (12:1). Luke 19:11–27 is also moved backward to a point where Jesus is between Jericho and Bethany (rather than in Jerusalem) and spoken in response to the comments of some anonymous interlocutors. In short, Luke has not only consistently altered the geographical settings that Matthew gave to this material, but he has also consistently changed the addressees. If Luke knew Matthew, he has curiously not retained any of the framing elements of Matthew's version.

If Goodacre wishes to derive 'Q's narrative structure from Matthew for the 'Q' material in Luke 3–7 on the grounds that 'Q' there reflects elements of Matthew's geographical framing, then one should by Goodacre's own principles conclude that for the 'Q' material in Luke 11–13, 17 and 19 Luke was *not* using Matthew at all, but some other non-Markan, non-Matthean source.

The other part of Goodacre's argument is equally ingenious: that 'Q' betrays knowledge of Matthaean elements not present in 'Q' and thus is better seen as a subset of Matthaean material rather than a discrete document. Thus Q 3:7–8 *assumes* a connection between John's baptism and repentance that is made explicit in Matthew's editing of Mark, where John is made to anticipate Jesus' call to repentance (3:2 = 4:17) and where John's baptism is said to be εἰς μετάνοιαν. Jesus' question, τί ἐξήλθατε εἰς τὴν ἔρημον θεάσασθαι; (7:24) presupposes Matthew's description of John's wilderness locale; Q 7:18–19 assumes that John is [234] in prison, something that is only narrated by Matthew (in dependence on Mark); Q 7:18–23 assumes that Jesus has performed an entire range of wonders from healing eyes, ears and limbs to raising the dead, even though only one wonder has actually been narrated up to this point in Q; and Q 7:34 takes for granted that Jesus ate with "toll collectors and sinners" even though this detail is narrated only in material that Matthew derived from Mark. One might add to Goodacre's argument that the wonder in

Q 7:1–10 does not obviously belong to the list of wonders in 7:22 since the patient in Q 7 is only vaguely described as κακῶς ἔχων. And while Q 6:20 directs the Sermon to disciples, Q never indicates how Jesus had acquired those disciples (or those sent out in Q 10:3), something that is already explained by Matt 4:18–22 (|| Mark 1:18–22).

Closer inspection of these arguments, however, casts doubt on their force. Jesus' question in Q 7:24 hardly needs a Markan explanation when Q places John and those coming to see him in the circuit of the Jordan (3:2, 7a).[55] Moreover, in Q the question makes more sense than it does in Matthew. Given Q's primitive narrative and geographical framework, it is pointless to ask whether the crowds of Q 3:7a are the same as those of Q 7:24a, since Q uses ὄχλος as a stock foil for the pronouncements of John and Jesus (Q 3:7; 7:24; 11:14, 27, 29, 39; 12:54). However in the case of Matthew, who has a highly developed topographical outline, the question in Matt 11:7 makes sense only if one assumes that the crowd addressed in 11:7 is the same as that mentioned in Matt 4:25, comprising people from Jerusalem, Judaea and the trans-Jordan as well as from Galilee and the Decapolis, and the same crowd as that mentioned in 9:36 and that it includes some of the persons mentioned in Matt 3:5 (|| Mark 1:6). In the context of Matthew's elaborate geographical scenario this seems improbable. Matthew use of the crowd in 11:7 thus seems more likely explained as the result of Matthew taking over Q's more limited sequence involving John's initial activities in Q 3:2–17 and his disciples' question in 7:18–35.

There a no strong reason to suppose that Q 7:18 imagines John to be in prison and hence no reason to suppose that Q betrays knowledge of Matt 4:12 or 14:3–12. In a culture as conscious of honour and status as first century Mediterranean culture, there are more obvious reasons for an influential individual to employ envoys for communication than that he or she is physically prevented from direct communication. The Fourth Gospel imagines as normal that disciples or agents function as go-betweens for John and Jesus (1:35–37; 3:25–27) and for the temple authorities and John (1:19, 24), even though the gospel also places Jesus and John together on one occasion (1:29–34) and imagines them to be active [**235**] at the same time (John 4:1–3). As to Q's assumption that baptism and repentance belong together, one can only point to Josephus *Ant.* 18.117, where the connection between baptism and moral reform is taken for granted.

The other features to which Goodacre calls attention are perhaps more interesting. "Q's statements about Jesus' dining habits and the variety of his wonders seem to take for granted what is expressly narrated by Mark. But what is the source-critical significance of this? It should be noted that Mark narrates

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[55] Q situates John in η περίχωρο[( )] τοῦ Ἰορδάνου (Q 3.2) and has the crowds "coming" to him (εἶπεν τοῖς ἐρχομένοις ὄχλοις βαπτισθῆναι). See Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 6–8.

the call of a single τελώνης (2:14) and relates a chria in which Jesus dines with τελώναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί and is criticized for this. But neither pericope implies that this was a normal practice for Jesus. It is the clearly editorial comment in Mark 2:15 (ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοὶ καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ) that suggests that the discrete events of 2:14 and 2:16–17 instantiated a much more general pattern. But must we then seek a *prior* narrative to account for what Mark 2:15 claims to be the case? Hardly. Mark 2:15 seems simply to be *Mark's* inference, although he does not have any further narratives to relate about Jesus and the toll gatherers. But if one were seeking the genesis of Mark's editorializing, Q 7:34 is a good candidate. On this scenario, Mark has narrativized the accusation recorded by Q.

Finally, there is the list of wonders in Q 7:22. On the 2DH the specific wonders of sight to the blind, mobility to the lame, cleansing of lepers, speech and hearing restored, resuscitation of the dead and evangelization of the poor provided the reason for Matthew manoeuvering stories that correspond to (and hence anticipate) each of the items mentioned in Matt 11:5: the healing of two blind men (9:27–31 || Mark 10:46–52); the healing of a paralytic (9:1–8 || Mark 2:1–12); the cleansing of a leper (8:1–4 || Mark 1:40–45); restoration of hearing and speech (9:32–34; Q); a resuscitation (9:18–26 || Mark 5:21–43) and preaching to the poor (5:3–12; 9:35–10:42 [Q + Mark 6:34]). Luke, who had not rearranged Markan miracles, had Jesus conjure some miracles on the spot to please John's envoys (7:21). On the MwQH Matt 11:5 (Q 7:22) is a summary of the wonders that have already occurred in Matthew to this point. Luke evidently did not recognize Matthew's expedient even though he had already related Mark 1:40–45; 2:1–12 and the Sermon on the Plain and had added a resuscitation of his own (Luke 7:11–17).

But one hardly needs Matt 5–10 to account for the list of wonders in Q 7:22,[56] especially when we now have a remarkably similar text from Qumran, 4Q521, which describes the deeds of an Elijah-like Messiah, including freeing captives, restoring sight, raising up those who are bowed down, healing wounds, reviving [**236**] the dead and evangelizing the humble.[57] Q's pastiche of texts from Isaiah, Psalm 146 and 1 Kings 5:1–9 appears to belong to the same view of the eschatological hero (though Q does not use the term "Messiah").

To conclude. Although Goodacre has presented an interesting case defending the possibility of Luke's direct dependence on Matthew, none of his

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[56] An analogy is offered by Matt 11:21 || Luke 10:13, which refers to wonders performed in Khorazin and Bethsaida, despite the fact that no wonders have been narrated at Khorazin at all, and both Matthew and Luke have omitted Mark's story of the blind man at Bethsaida (8.22–26). It should be obvious that early Christian writers did not feel obliged to narrate all of the events to which they might refer *en passant*.

[57] See Émile Puech, "Une apocalypse messianique (*4Q521*)," *RevQ* 15, no. 60 (1992): 475–522 + plates. On the Elijianic character of this messiah, see John J. Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1, no. 1 (1994): 98–112.

arguments can be considered to be sufficiently weighty to displace the alternate scenario, which is at least as plausible, that Luke and Matthew independently drew on Q. Goodacre's account of Luke's omissions of Matthaean redactional additions to Mark, though it is a significant advance on Farrer's vacuous notion of "Luke displeasingness", is still unpersuasive; Luke's elimination of Peter is hardly intelligible given the role that Luke assigns to him. Goodacre's effort to deal with primitive elements in Luke is perhaps a step beyond Goulder, but his solution is not any more efficient an explanation than that offered by the 2DH. The attempt to account for the fact that Luke's Sermon on the Plain is much shorter than Matthew's Sermon is fraught with difficulties, and the argument that the "double tradition" in Luke betrays knowledge of Matthew's editorial constructions can be turned against Goodacre's case.

In concluding that Goodacre has not made his case, I do not wish to leave the impression that a case might not be made or that the venture is doomed from the outset. On the contrary, those engaged in Synoptic Problem research ought to acknowledge that all hypotheses remain open to fair and careful discussion – a discussion that, regardless of its outcome, ought to aim at clarifying the real points of agreement and disagreement and at vetting compositional scenarios that might shed further light on the processes that went into the composition of the Synoptics.[58]

Addendum

Goodacre's monograph also elicited a substantial review by Paul Foster ("Is It Possible to Dispense with Q?" *NovT* 45, no. 4 [2003]: 313–37). Alex Damm's monograph, *Ancient Rhetoric and the Synoptic Problem: Clarifying Markan Priority* (BETL 252; Leuven: Peeters, 2013) examined chriae in the Synoptics, and offered an important way to test possible synoptic relationships by employing not modern aesthetic categories of "what seems to be an improvement" of *x* by *y* but rather the ancient rhetorical virtues of clarity (σαφήνεια/*perspecuitas*) and propiety (τὸ πρέπον/*aptum*) for assessing which direction of dependence and transformation seems the most likely. His results are on unequivocal, but favour Markan priority over Markan posteriority, and the non-dependence of Luke upon Matthew. A similar approach, with similar results focussing on miracle narratives is offered by Duncan Reid, "Miracle Tradition, Rhetoric and the Synoptic Problem" (Ph.D. diss., The Toronto School of Theology, 2013).

Other important literature that engages Goodacres thesis include David J. Neville, "The Demise of the Two Document Hypothesis? Dunn and Burkett on the Gospel Source," *Pacifica* 19 (2006): 78–92; Delbert Burkett, *Rethinking the Gospel Sources,*

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[58] I am grateful to Leslie Hayes (Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Claremont) and to the anonymous reviewer for *NTS* for comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper.

Volume 2: The Unity and Plurality of Q (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), especially pp. 3–4; and Francis Watson, *Gospel Writing: A Canonical Perspective* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2013), esp. Chap. 3 ("The Coincidences of Q").

Chapter 4

Variation in the Reproduction of the Double Tradition and an Oral Q?[1]

One of the data sets – but only one of data sets – that strongly suggests that a now-lost document is the source of the non-Markan material common to Matthew and Luke is the fact that many of the pericopae that Matthew and Luke share display a very high degree of verbatim agreement. One finds, for example, extremely high verbal correspondence between the two Synoptists in a significant number of instances: Matt 6:24 || Luke 16:13 (98%),[2] Matt 12:43–45 || Luke 11:24–26 (93%), Matt 11:20–24 || Luke 10:13–15 (90%), Matt 3:12 || Luke 3:17 (88%), Matt 12:27–32 || Luke 11:19–23 (88%), Matt 23:37–39 || Luke 13:34–35 (85%), Matt 3:7–10 || Luke 3:7–9 (85%). In the last-named pericope, Matthew has 76 words in Greek, 61 or 80% of which are identical with Luke in lexical form and inflection. This would rise to 63 or 83% if καρπόν and ἄξιον are included as agreements. Luke's version has 72 words in Greek, 61 or 85% are identical with Matthew, 63 or 87.5% if καρπούς and ἀξίους are counted as agreements.

On most accountings, the extraordinarily high degree of verbatim agreement between Matthew and Luke in these non-Markan sections makes inevitable the conclusion that the second Synoptic source, Q, had documentary form, for it is impossible to account for such levels of verbatim agreement in the absence of mnemonic, formulaic, or rhythmic features in Q by an appeal to the alleged faithfulness of oral tradition.[3] The recent efforts to revive the notion of an oral Q by Richard Horsley and Jonathan Draper,[4] or, in a more disciplined fashion,

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[1] [First published as "Variation in the Reproduction of the Double Tradition and an Oral Q?" *ETL* 83, no. 1 (2007): 49–79. ©Uitgeverij Peeters. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.]

[2] The figures are based on the number of common words divided by the total number of Lukan words. Slightly different percentages would obtain if the Matthaean word total were used. See Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse* (Zürich and Stuttgart: Gotthelf, 1971), 258–61.

[3] See John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 42–51.

[4] Richard A. Horsley and Jonathan A. Draper, *Whoever Hears You Hears Me: Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in Q* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999).

by James D. G. Dunn[5] and Terence [54] Mournet,[6] founder on pericopae such as those listed above. Indeed, both Dunn and Mournet concede that high-agreement pericopae must depend on a written text of Q.[7]

As Charles Carlston and Dennis Norlin noted in their 1971 article, the 'Q' material is reproduced, relatively speaking, more faithfully by Matthew and Luke than equivalent material in Mark.[8] [54]

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[5] James D.G. Dunn, "Altering the Default Setting: Re-Envisaging the Early Transmission of the Jesus' Tradition," *NTS* 49, no. 2 (2003): 139–75. Without dichotomizing orality versus literacy or arguing that Q was not a document, Dunn concludes, "For if much of the shared Matthew/Luke material attests *oral* dependency rather than *literary* dependency, then *the attempt to define the complete scope and limits of Q is doomed to failure*" (172, emphasis original). But Dunn has not demonstrated that *much* of the double tradition exhibits the characteristics of orality: he mentions only four pericopae where Matt-Luke agreement is relatively low: Luke 6:29–30 par.; 12:51–53 par.; 14:26–27 par.; and 17:3–4 par. In offering a reconstruction of Q, the International Q Project was perfectly aware of the possibilities of 'false' agreements – of Matthew and Luke agreeing in minor details and creating the illusion of a Q text – and the possibility that some double tradition sayings were transmitted orally rather than in written form. For this reason, a large number of double tradition pericopae have a 'zero variant', i.e., a judgment whether the saying or story in question belongs to Q in the first place. See James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), e.g., on Q 4:1–13, 16; 6:24–26, 32, 33, 35a–b, 39, 40, 46; 7:1a, 10, 20–21, 29–30; 9:61–62; 10:7a, 25–28; 11:1–4, 5–8, 21–22, 27–28, etc. and including 17:3–4. Moreover, Dunn misunderstands the goal of the IQP. It is hardly to define "the complete scope and limits of Q"; the IQP is prepared both to acknowledge that some of Q might be irretrievably lost, because both Matthew and Luke have omitted some sayings, that some of the Matt-Luke agreements do not derive from written tradition, and that some *Sondergut* might in fact come from a written text. Dunn has also reduced the options to oral or written (notwithstanding his mantra that it is exceedingly difficult to distinguish the two). He does not seriously entertain the possibility – indeed, likelihood – that a text of Q existed *alongside* oral performances of Q which exerted an influence on the writers Matthew and Luke and accounted for differences in their reproduction of the text.

[6] Terence C. Mournet, *Oral Tradition and Literary Dependency: Variability and Stability in the Synoptic Tradition and Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 195; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2005).

[7] James D.G. Dunn, "Jesus and Oral Memory: The Initial Stages of the Jesus Tradition," in *Society of Biblical Literature 2000 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP 39; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 287–326, here 314; "Q1 as Oral Tradition," in *The Written Gospel* (ed. Markus N.A. Bockmuehl and Donald A. Hagner; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 45–69, here 51, 52, 59, 63; Mournet, *Oral Tradition and Literary Dependency*, 208.

[8] Charles E. Carlston and Dennis Norlin, "Once More – Statistics and Q," *HTR* 64 (1971): 59–78, here 71. Carlston and Norlin's statitistics have been criticized by John J. O'Rourke, "Some Observations on the Synoptic Problem and the Use of Statistical Procedures," *NovT* 16 (1974): 272–77 and Sharon L. Mattila, "A Problem Still Clouded: Yet Again – Statistics and Q," *NovT* 36 (1994): 313–29. See the reply by Charles E. Carlston and

Triple Tradition	Matt	Luke	Avg.	Double Trad.	Matt	Luke	Avg.
Narrative	50.2%	46.9%	48.5%		55.7%	51.8%	53.7%
Words of Jesus	63.5%	68.3%	65.8%		69.5%	73.6%	71.5%
Misc. words	56.7%	60.6%	58.5%		87.5%	80.9%	84.1%
Average	56.0%	56.0%	56.0%		69.8%	72.2%	71.0%

In the wake of some criticism, Carlston and Norlin adjusted their agreements downward by not counting synonyms as agreements as they had done earlier. Nonetheless, the *relative difference* between the double and the triple tradition remained similar.[9] These statistics suggested to Carlston and Norlin that Matthew and Luke valued Q at least as highly as they did Mark, also a documentary source.

Exact verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke is of enormous help in rendering at least some of Q's wording transparent. Where the agreement is high but not exact, it is still usually simple to glimpse the wording of Q by taking into account the redactional habits of Matthew and Luke. Where there is low agreement, however – for example, the parable of the Entrusted Money (Q 19:12–27: 22%) or the parable of the Great Feast (Q 14:16–24: 14%) or the saying on divisions (Q 12:51–53: 11%) – and where we might suspect either redaction by both Matthew and Luke or the influence of (other) oral performances of these sayings (or both), reconstruction of Q is very difficult. In these cases legitimate doubt has been raised whether there is a Q text at all; the minimal agreements of Matthew and Luke might result from their use of quite independent bits of tradition that coincidentally have some resemblances one to another.

Recently the exclusively documentary model for understanding the double tradition has been challenged by James D.G. Dunn and his student, Terence Mournet, who argue that while some of the double tradition undoubtedly derives from a written document ('Q'), a significant portion – at least the high variation sections – is better traced to the evangelists' reliance on 'oral tradition' ('q'), or that alongside the text of Q there existed oral versions of the sayings which influenced one or both of the evangelists' reproduction of the saying.

Dennis Norlin, "Statistics and Q – Some Further Observations," *NovT* 41, no. 2 (1999): 108–23, which shows that O'Rourke's criticisms are either based on mis-readings of the data, or amount to insignificant qualifications of Carlston and Norlin's numbers. In response to Mattila, Carlston and Norlin have adjusted their way of counting agreements, but the general result – that Matthew and Luke reproduce double tradition material in all categories more faithfully than Mark – remains intact. The rejoinder by Sharon L. Mattila, "Negotiating the Clouds Around Statistics and 'Q': A Rejoinder and Independent Analysis," *NovT* 46, no. 2 (2004): 105–31 does nothing to alter Carlston and Norlin's general conclusion.

[9] Carlston and Norlin, "Statistics and Q," 117.

This model, at least in the abstract, is appealing. It is generally acknowledged now that the level of reading and writing literary in Jewish Palestine was very low,[10] which implies that most persons in Jewish Pales[56]tine knew what they did of the Bible or other traditions because they had heard them orally. It has also been recognized from Augustine's comments about Ambrose that reading itself normally had an oral component to it; indeed it would be difficult to read a text *scripta continua* without vocalizing it. This means at the very least that the chirographic culture of antiquity was surrounded by orality: acts of composition occurred in the context of a largely oral/aural culture, and (at least some) documents functioned rather like scripts to be performed rather than texts to be read privately.

Six Models

The issue of whether and to what extent 'Q' was oral or written cannot, however, be settled in the abstract. Key to the consideration of the problem are (a) the phenomenon of high variability in Matthew and Luke's reproduction of the double tradition, and (b) what can be known, if anything, of the scribal habits of ancient writers in reproducing their source material.

Alan Kirk's useful survey of efforts to deal with the problem of variability in agreement within the double tradition offers several models[11]:

1. John C. Hawkins was clear to reject an exclusively 'oral theory' as the sole explanation of the relationship among the Synoptics,[12] but he was prepared to admit the influence of oral tradition, especially in high-variation pericopae.[13] This model, in fact, does not differ qualitatively from that proposed by Dunn and Mournet.

2. A second model, however, gave little room to oral tradition. One of Hawkins' collaborators, William Sanday – significantly trained and published

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[10] Meir Bar-Ilan, "Illiteracy in the Land of Israel in the First Centuries C.E," in *Essays in the Social Scientific Study of Judaism and Jewish Society. Volume II* (ed. Simcha Fishbane and Stuart Schoenfeld; Hoboken, NJ: Ktav, 1992), 46–61 estimates 3–5% literacy; Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 81; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 498 agree with Bar-Ilan's figure, noting that this is well below the 10% estimated by William V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989).

[11] Alan Kirk, "Synoptic Scholarship on Agreement and Variation in the Double Tradition," paper presented at the Q section, Society of Biblical Literature, Washington, DC, November 18–21 (2006). I am grateful to Prof. Kirk for a copy of this paper.

[12] J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae: Contributions to the Study of the Synoptic Problem* (2nd ed; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909 [repr. 1968]), 54.

[13] Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, 216–17; idem, "Probabilities as to the So-Called Double Tradition of St. Matthew and St. Luke," in *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (ed. William Sanday; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), 95–140, esp. 100, 108.

as a text critic[14] – accounted for high variations on the model of a manuscript copyist: these were due to slips of memory when one of the evangelists did not have then exemplar within focal distance or when the copyist had read an entire paragraph and then trusted his memory to convey its substance.[15] B. H. Streeter in 1911 also adopted a purely scribal model. In considering the differences in wording between Matthew's parable of the Talents and Luke's parable of the Entrusted Money, Streeter [57] tried to posit an editorial policy that would account for high-variation passages[16]:

> [A]n editor would feel justified in taking more liberties with a parable than with a "commandment" of the Master, since its bearing lay not in its precise wording but in its general effect, and again more liberties than with the account of an action or scene in His life, drawn from Mark, since the scene of action of the parable was not supposed to be the description of an actual occurrence and therefore to vary the details was not to distort history.

Implicit in this explanation is a largely untested assumption that the evangelists were concerned with historicity and a close reproduction of commands of Jesus. Examination of, for example, Q 6:27–36, where Matthew and Luke display agreement in only 41% of the Matthaean words and 38% of Luke's words, would have shown Streeter that such an explanation cannot coherently be applied to the double tradition in general.

Although Sanday treated memory as a source of error, the role of memory can be seen in a different light. C. B. R. Pelling, commenting on how Plutarch composed, concluded that an ancient author[17]

> would generally choose just one work to have before his eyes when he composed, and this work would provide the basis of his narrative.... Items from the earlier reading would more widely be combined with the principal source, but a writer would not normally refer back to that reading to verify individual references, and would instead rely on his memory, or on the briefest of notes.

Reliance on memory might account for the important fact, observed by Robert Derrenbacker, that "as Matthew deviates from Q's order, *he is less inclined to follow the wording of Q*."[18] As Ulrich Luz has argued, Matthew sometimes

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[14] John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 336–37.

[15] William Sanday, "The Conditions Under Which the Gospels Were Written, in Their Bear Upon Some Difficulties of the Synoptic Problem," in *(Oxford) Studies in the Synoptic Gospels* (ed. William Sanday; Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), 1–26, here 18.

[16] B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1924), 185–208, here 197.

[17] Christopher B.R. Pelling, "Plutarch's Method of Work in the Roman Lives," *JHS* 99 (1979): 74–96, here 92. Similarly, Jocelyn P. Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), 179–81.

[18] Robert A. Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices and the Synoptic Problem* (BETL 186; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 238 (emphasis added).

uses a 'block technique' (*Blocktechnik*) where he takes over entire paragraphs of Q. At other times he excerpts Q (*Exzerpttechnik*), incorporating an individual Q saying into his own context.[19] If this heuristic distinction is adopted, and if one assumes that when he is excerpting Q he is doing it from memory, sayings such as Matt 15:14 (Q 6:39: 47% agreement of Matthew's words with Luke's); 10:24–25 (Q 6:40: 25%); 12:33–35 [**58**] (Q 6:44–45: 44%); Matt 5:13 (Q 14:34–35: 46%); and 7:13–14 (Q 13:24: 14%), would be instances where Matthew did not have visual contact with the text of Q but inserted a Q saying into another context from memory. An examination of sayings that Matthew has apparently dislocated from their Q context does not, however, show a consistent pattern of lower Matthew-Luke agreement,[20] and so reliance on memory can at best be a partial explanation of the phenomenon of high variation.

3. Another model for accounting for variation in agreement between Matthew and Luke in the double tradition is to posit two recensions of Q, Q^{Matt} and Q^{Luke}, a model first mooted by C. S. Patton.[21] The model has been invoked extensively by Migaku Sato, both to explain differences in wording and differences in the extent of the apparent 'Q' material reproduced by Matthew and Luke.[22] But this kind of hypothesis, despite its initial appeal, only pushes back the problem of variation onto another hypothetical intermediary between the evangelists and Q and risks explaining *obscurius per obscuriorem*. In *The Four Gospels* (1924) Streeter could only imagine this as a solution if Q^{Matt} and Q^{Luke} represented two divergent *oral* traditions. But since in his view "the majority of the parallels between Matthew and Luke are so close as to demand... the fixity

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[19] Ulrich Luz, "Matthäus und Q," in *Von Jesus zum Christus – Christologische Studien: Festgabe für Paul Hoffmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Rudolf Hoppe and Ulrich Busse; BZNW 93; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 201–16, here 209.

[20] As Derrenbacker (*Ancient Compositional Practices*, 238) notes: Matt 6:24 (Q 16:13: 98%) is apparently moved from its Q location but shows a high agreement. One can add, Matt 13:16–17 (= Q 10:23–24: 61%) and Matt 8:19–22 (Q 9:57–60: 75%). Conversely, as Derrenbacker also notes, at points where Matthew might have visual contact with Q (e.g., 4:13 = Q 4:16), the agreement with Luke is low (4%). Of course, logically speaking, the source of the variation might not be Matthew, but Luke in these cases. Since we have no independent access to Q there is no sure way to determine which evangelist varied Q's wording.

[21] Carl S. Patton, *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels* (University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series 5; New York: Macmillan, 1915 [repr. New York: Johnson Reprint, 1967]), 123–65 argued on the basis of translations variants in Matthew and Luke's double tradition that two recenions of Q must have existed. He reasoned, further, that since Matthew and Luke generally reproduced Mark's sayings of Jesus closely, and they often agreed closely in reproducing some of the Q material, those sayings where the two diverge point to two difference recensions of Q (p. 165).

[22] Migaku Sato, *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988).

of writing in a common source," two oral Qs are excluded.[23] All he could countenance was the possibility that in the case of low-agreement pericopae, "at least one of the two versions did *not* stand in the common source."[24] Either one version stood in Q and the other came from oral tradition or some other documentary source, or neither stood in Q. But Streeter is clear that these latter options may be invoked only when one cannot find a reasonable editorial or scribal explanation for the differences between Matthew and Luke. [**59**]

4. One of Streeter's options was developed by Vincent Taylor, who tried to account for such low-agreement pericopae as the Woes with an elaborate documentary solution, arguing that the Matthaean version came from M, which partially overlapped Q (11:42–44, 46–52) and that Luke likely derived 11:37–41 and 11:53–54 from L.[25] Manson proposed similarly complex solutions for Q 6:39–40; 11:2–4; 13:24–27; 14:16–24, and in the case of the parable of the Entrusted money simply posited two separate sources.[26] Kirk aptly remarks that this kind of explanation is invoked *ad hoc* and results in a utilization pattern that is "extraordinarily difficult given ancient media constraints."[27]

5. A fifth model worth noting is that proposed by Wilhelm Bussmann in 1929 and in a much revised form, by Thomas Bergemann in 1993. Both solutions accept that the high-agreement pericopae derive from a *Greek* document common to Matthew and Luke, but argue that the low-agreement pericopae represent independent translations of an Aramaic document.[28] Bussmann tried to isolate discrete lexical and conceptual profiles for the two documents, but could do so only by attributing some high-agreement pericopae to 'R', the putative Aramaic source, and some low-agreement pericopae to a Greek 'T' (the *Täuferquelle*).[29] Bergemann's thesis was more restricted, concerning only the source of Q 6:20–49 which, he urged, derived not from Q but from an Aramaic *Grundrede* available to Matthew and Luke in differing recensions.[30]

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[23] Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 237.

[24] Streeter, *Four Gospels*, 237.

[25] T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1949 [repr. 1971]), 96.

[26] Manson, *Sayings of Jesus*, 57 [6:39–40], 167 [11:2–4], 124 [13:24–27], 128 [14:16–24], 313 [19:12–27].

[27] Kirk, "Variation in the Double Tradition."

[28] Wilhelm Bussmann, *Synoptische Studien: 2. Heft. Zur Redenquelle* (Halle [Saale]: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1929); Thomas Bergemann, *Q auf dem Prüfstand: Die Zuordnung des Mt/Lk-Stoffes zu Q am Beispiel der Bergpredigt* (FRLANT 158; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993). See the review of Bergemann by Adelbert Denaux, "Criteria for Identifying Q-Passages: A Critical Review of a Recent Work by T. Bergemann," *NovT* 37 (1995): 105–29.

[29] John S. Kloppenborg, "Tradition and Redaction in the Synoptic Sayings Source," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 34–62, esp. 35–36.

[30] Bergemann, *Q auf dem Prüfstand*. An earlier version of this thesis was esposed by Ernest DeWitt Burton (*Some Principles of Literary Criticism and Their Application to the Synoptic Problem* [The Decennial Publications. First Series 5; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904], 34–53), who rejected the simple form of the 2DH on the grounds that

He pointed to the relatively low verbal [**60**] agreement between Matthew and Luke in these sections, and argued that it was quite unlikely that Matthew and/or Luke would have edited a common (Greek) document in such a way as to arrive at so divergent wordings.

As I pointed out in *Excavating Q* and as Kirk reiterates, Bergemann misunderstands and therefore misrepresented the basis for positing Q in the first place.[31] If the positing of Q were simply a function of the existence of high-agreement pericopae in Matthew and Luke, *and* if one assumes that Matthew and Luke would always utilize their sources in approximately the same manner, then Bergemann's problematizing of the material in Q 6:20–49 might follow. However, the positing of Q as a written document is also based on the phenomenon of order – that Matthew and Luke agree in placing the double tradition in the same position relative to other bits of double tradition, notwithstanding the fact that they do not agree in placing it at the same *Markan* locations (except up to Q 4:13, where the common sequence is controlled by Mark' description of John followed by the Temptation account). Were it the case that Matthew and Luke tended to register low agreements where they *also* did not agree in the relative sequence of double tradition material, as is the case, for example, with Luke 7:29–30 || Matt 21:28–32, or Luke 14:34–35 || Matt 5:13, doubts can be (and have been!) raised as to whether these sayings come from a single Greek text. In the case of the most of the material from the inaugural sermon, however, Matthew and Luke agree in relative sequence. Seven of the eleven components are in the same order, and Matthew and Luke agree in putting the sermon prior to Q 7:1–10 and after Q 4:1–13, 16:

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it did not account for the entirely independent infancy narratives and it could not explain the disagreements in wording and order of the common Matt-Luke material (34–35). In place of Q, Burton posited (a) a "Peraean" document, containing the common Matt-Luke material in Luke 9:51–18:14; 19:1-28 (in Lukan order); and (b) a "Galilean" document containing Luke 3:7–15, 17–18; 4:2b–13 (14–15) 16–30; 5:1–11; 6:20–49; 7:1–8:3. In addition, Matthew used a Matthaean document, identified with Papias's *logia*, containing the special Matthaean sayings in Matthew 3–26. See also Ernest de Witt Burton, "Some Phases in the Synoptic Problem," *JBL* 31 (1912): 95–113. Burton's division of Q into two sub-documents rests on the assumption that Matthew and Luke would have treated each source document more or less uniformly and, hence, that variations in the degree of verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke is attributable not to differing usages but to the use of different documents – this in spite of the fact that Burton also admits that neither evangelist hesitated to modify his sources (p. 98).

[31] Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 64–66.

Matt	Luke	% Matt	% Luke
‖ 5:3–12 (34::107)	6:20b–23 (34::73)	31	47
‖ 5:38–48 (57::139)	6:27–30, 32–36 (57::149)	41	38
7:12 (8::23)	6:31 (8::11)	34	72
‖ 7:1–2 (9::18)	6:37–38 (9::37)	50	24
15:14 (7::15)	6:39 (7::15)	47	47
10:24–25 (10::39)	6:40 (10::14)	25	71
‖ **7:3–5 (57::64)**	**6:41–42 (57::69)**	**89**	**83**
‖ 7:15–20 (14::77)	6:43–44 (14::34)	18	41
12:33–35 (32::72)	6:44–45 (32::48)	44	67
‖ 7:21 (4::26)	6:46 (4::11)	15	36
‖ 7:24–27 (39::94)	6:47–49 (39::83)	41	47
Average (261::674)	(261::544)	39	48 [**61**]

It will be noticed that Matthew's agreement with Luke ranges from 15–89% of Matthew's word total, while Luke's agreement with Matthew ranges from 24–83% of Luke's word total, with an average of 38 and 48% respectively, *even in the pericopae which appear in the same relative sequence and therefore must be ascribed to a Q*.[32] That is, contrary to Bergemann's assumption, Matthew and Luke *do not* evidence a uniform editorial policy when it comes to reproducing Q material (or, more accurately, at least *one* of the evangelists does not have a uniform policy).

It should also be noted that Q 6:41–42 and 6:44–45 display relatively high verbatim agreement, an embarrassment to Bergemann, who must then posit *two* versions of the Sermon, one in a Greek text of Q (containing the sayings about trees and fruit, the warning against false prophets, and saying about treasures) and another in the *Grundrede* (containing only the first two components). Luke combined the Q version with the *Grundrede*, while Matthew used the *Grundrede* version in Matthew 7 and a shortened version of Q in Matthew 12. Similarly, he must suggest that Q 6:41–42 was found in both sources and that Matthew and Luke coincidentally preferred Q to the *Grundrede* version and coincidentally interpolated it *at the same point* in the *Grundrede*.[33]

We have, then at least five models to account for the phenomenon of high variation in agreement in the double tradition: the interference or influence of oral tradition (Hawkins; Dunn; Mournet); purely scribal accounts which trace

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[32] The statistics are my own, based on the gross word count of the verses enumerated above, and the agreements registered by either bold (agreement in inflection) or underscored (agreement in dictionary form) in John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988).

[33] Bergemann, *Q auf dem Prüfstand*, 236–48.

variation either to the copyist's decision to vary wording (Streeter), or to memory, whether conceived as a source of copyists' errors (Sanday) or as part of the necessary mechanics of composition (Pelling; Derrenbacker); the existence of two recensions of Q (Patton; Sato); the interference/influence of documents overlapping Q (Manson); and the partitioning of the double tradition into Greek and Aramaic sub-documents, the latter available in multiple and divergent versions (Bussmann; Bergemann).

6. There is at least one other possibility: that since the process of composition occurred in a largely oral/aural context, Matthew and/or Luke were sometimes influenced by *reoralizations* of Q texts. Two practices might account for the influence of reoralized texts. First, in rhetoric a common practice was the emulation of predecessor texts, a practice that could involve modest verbal transformation, or complete paraphrase, expansion, contraction, or elaboration. Hence, rather than supposing that 'oral tradition' ultimately going back to Jesus existed alongside written [**62**] text, one might also conjecture that texts generated varying oral re-performances which then influenced later transcriptions of Q.[34] I have argued elsewhere that James has used Q and that this is precisely an instance of rhetorical re-performance and transformation – what rhetoricians called *aemulatio*.[35]

Second, there is good evidence from writers such as Pliny indicate that as a second compositional moment an author might well read a draft of a work before a small company of friends,[36] listen to their criticism and reactions, and on that basis formulate a second draft, to be heard by a larger group.[37] Commenting on a text from Fronto (*Ad Caesarem* 1.7.4), Myles McDonnell summaries the process of composition[38]:

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[34] This process is assumed on a somewhat smaller scale by Raymond F. Person, "The Ancient Israelite Scribe as Performer," *JBL* 117, no. 4 (1998): 601–9: "When we take seriously the possibility that even the literate activity of copying texts was influenced by an oral mentality, we may begin to understand more clearly how 'careful' scribes in ancient Israel produced texts with what appears to us to be 'variants'. Rather than copying the texts verbatim in a good literate manner (what we expect of ourselves), the ancient Israelite scribes performed the texts faithfully for their communities in their act of copying, often without changing what they would understand as a 'word'. However, their understanding of 'word' and ours differ; therefore, they produced texts with what we perceive as 'variants'" (609).

[35] John S. Kloppenborg, "The Reception of the Jesus Tradition in James," in *The Catholic Epistles and the Tradition* (ed. Jacques Schlosser; BETL 176; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 93–139; "Emulation of the Jesus Tradition in James," in *Reading James with New Eyes* (ed. Robert L. Webb and John S. Kloppenborg; Library of New Testament Studies 342; London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2007), 121–50.

[36] Pliny, *Epistula* 3.15; 5.3. See F. Gerald Downing, "Word-Processing in the Ancient World: The Social Production and Performance of Q," *JSNT* 64 (1996): 29–48.

[37] J.B. Poynton, "Books and Authors," *G&R* 3, no. 8 (1934): 94–104, esp. 100; Downing, "Word-Processing".

[38] Myles McDonnell, "Writing, Copying, and Autograph Manuscripts in Ancient Rome," *CQ* 46 (1996): 484–86, here 486.

Once we understand that the three terms – *manu scribere, emendare*, *describere* – and the persons associated with them, represent three distinct types of scribal activities, the structure of Fronto's response to Marcus becomes clear. For the sequence in which Fronto presents the scribal activities corresponds to the way in which literary works were produced and distributed in ancient Rome. The process was informal and essentially private and therefore varied considerably, but in general there were three stages. First there was production of a draft copy. To indicate this stage, Fronto had *manu scripta e{xemp}la* and his list of famous scholar-copyists.... Second, there was a stage of correction, criticism, and revision undertaken first with assistants or close friends, then by a somewhat larger group of friends. Fronto represented this stage with *exempla... a Tirone emendata*. Third, at last, multiple copies were made of the final, polished version by the author's own scribes, or if he was lucky, by a friend's *librarii* who had a reputation for producing good and accurate copies. [**63**]

The second stage, that of performance before associates and friends, naturally resulted in an oralization of a written text which, given the pervasiveness of rhetorical training among the literate classes, likely produced slightly differing forms of what had been written. If these oral forms were eventually judged to be superior to the draft version, or if on reflection more felicitous formulations could be found, these would be incorporated into the 'final' form of the text. This is *not* 'oral tradition' as the term has been used by New Testament critics, as a way of preserving avenues of access to Jesus, but rather 'composition in performance' and re-oralization.[39] The kind of variation that exists between Matthew's beatitudes and Luke's might easily be traced to two varying performances of Q's four beatitudes, resulting in expansions, rewordings, and reorderings of some of the elements.

The Problem of High Verbatim Agreement

While attention has been focussed on Matthew and Luke's failure to reproduce Q verbatim – as if that were the ideal of verbal art – , almost no attention has been paid to the *anomaly* of high-agreement pericopae in the double tradition. If we compare the ways in which sources were utilized by other ancient writers, it is clear that Matthew and Luke used Q far more 'woodenly' than other writers employed their sources.

In several instances, we are in a position to assess the usage of sources by ancient authors, since we have independent access to their sources. One instance is provided by a papyrus fragment of a historical work, probably by Ephoros (ca. 405–330 BCE),[40] who was one of Diodorus' sources.[41] In some

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[39] For a useful illustration of composition in performance, see Ellen B. Aitken, *Jesus' Death in Early Christian Memory: The Poetics of the Passion* (NTOA 53; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004).

[40] B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XIII* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1919), 106 concluded that *P.Oxy.* XIII 1610 (=*FGrH* 70 F 191) was a copy of the work of Ephoros. This identification has been accepted by Catherine R. Rubincam, "A Note on Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1610," *Phoenix* 30 (1976): 357–66 and A.

cases, Diodorus shows some verbal agreement with his source, as in this fragment dealing with Themistocles (the verbatim agreements are italicized): **[64]**

P.Oxy. XIII 1610 = *FGrH* 70 F191 fr. 3–5	Diodorus Siculus 11.59.3
ἐκ[εῖνον] μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλε[ως] ἠτιμασμένον, τ[ὴν] δὲ πόλιν διὰ τ[ὰ]ς ἐκείνου πράξ̣ε̣[ι]ς τῆς μεγίστης τιμῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιωθεῖσαν· ἢ μεγάλην [ἡγεμονί]αν (?) οἷον ... *σο]φ[ωτάτην καὶ]* [δικαι]οτ̣ά̣[την (?) κ̣[αὶ *χαλεπ]ωτάτην [γενομένη]ν̣ πρὸς ἐκε[ῖνον.* οἱ δ᾽ ὑ]πολαμβάνου[σιν ὅτι εἴ]περ ἐβουλή[θη ἐκδο]ῦναι (?) τὴ[ν ἡγεμονία]ν ᾰ̣π̣ᾰ̣[····	διόπερ ὅταν τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ θεωρήσωμεν, καὶ σκοποῦντες τὰ κατὰ μέρος εὕρωμεν *ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἠτιμασμένον, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διὰ τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις* ἐπαιρομένην, εἰκότως τὴν δοκοῦσαν εἶναι τῶν ἁπασῶν πόλεων *σοφωτάτην καὶ* ἐπιεικεστάτην *χαλεπωτάτην πρὸς ἐκεῖνον* εὑρίσκομεν *γεγενημένην.*
while such a man suffered disgrace from his city, the city was held in the highest honour by the Greek because of his deeds; (the city)... great empire... *wisest and* most just in its dealings *was* also *the harshest towards him*. Some suppose that he wished to surrender command over all...	Consequently, when we survey the magnitude of his deeds, and examining them individually, we find that *while such a man suffered disgrace from his city, the city* rose to greatness *because of his deeds*, and we conclude that the city which is thought to be the *wisest and* most equitable in its dealings *was the harshest towards him*.

Ephorus' fragment has forty-one words, Diodorus' paragraph has forty-three. Diodorus shares a string of thirteen words in the same sequence and inflection, then a second string of eight words with one substitution and one extra word, for a total of nineteen, or slightly less than half of Ephoros' words. Since the Ephoros fragment begins in the middle of Diodorus' first sentence, we cannot know whether Diodorus had copied some or all of the first fourteen words, but it is clear that Diodoros simply cribbed phrases from Ephoros.

Andrewes, "Diodorus and Ephorus: One Source of Misunderstanding," in *The Craft of the Ancient Historians* (ed. J.W. Eadie and J. Ober; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1985), 189–97 but challenged by Thomas D. Africa, "Ephorus and Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1610," *AJPh* 83 (1962): 86–89. I am here indebted to the work of Derrenbacker, *Ancient Compositional Practices*, 90–91.

[41] Ephorus is mentioned as a source in 1.9.5, 37.4, 39.7; 4.1.3; 5.1.4, 64.4; 12.41.1; 13.41.3, 54.5, 60.5, 80.5; 14.11.1, 22.2, 54.6; 15.60.5; 16.14.3, 76.5, 76.6.

A similar pattern can be seen in Diodorus' recounting of Cimon's triumph over the Persians in 470 BCE, where he has borrowed a few of Ephoros' phrases. But he also expanded on them greatly:

P.Oxy XIII 1610 = *FGrH* 70 F191 fr. 8–10	Diodorus Siculus 11.60.4–5, 6
	πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου πρὸς τὴν Καρίαν, τῶν *παραθαλαττίων πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπῳκισμέναι*, ταύτας *παραχρῆμα συνέπεισεν* ἀποστῆναι τῶν [**65**] Περσῶν, ὅσαι δ' ὑπῆρχον δίγλωττοι καὶ φρουρὰς ἔχουσαι Περσικάς, βίαν προσάγων ἐπολιόρκει. προσαγαγόμενος δὲ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Καρίαν πόλεις, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ πείσας προσελάβετο. παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀεὶ προστιθεμένων συμμάχων προσλαβόμενος ναῦς ἐπὶ πλέον ηὔξησε τὸν στόλον....
Κίμων πυνθανόμενος τὸ]ν τ[ῶν Περσῶν στόλο]ν περὶ [τὴν Κύπρον συ]ντετά[χθαι,	*Κίμων* δὲ *πυνθανόμενος τὸν στόλον τῶν Περσῶν* διατρίβειν *περὶ τὴν Κύπρον*, καὶ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐναυμάχησε *διακοσίαις* καὶ *πεντήκοντα* ναυσὶ *πρὸς τριακοσίας καὶ τετταράκοντα*. γενομένου δ' ἀγῶνος ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τῶν στόλων ἀμφοτέρων λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζομένων, τὸ τελευταῖον ἐνίκων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ *πολλὰς μὲν* τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς *διέφθειραν*, πλείους δὲ τῶν *ἑκατὸν* σὺν *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλον*. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν νεῶν καταφυγουσῶν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, οἱ μὲν ἐν αὐταῖς ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπεχώρησαν, αἱ δὲ νῆες κεναὶ τῶν βοηθούντων οὖσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγενήθησαν ὑποχείριοι.
διακοσί]αις πεν[τήκοντα π]ρ[ὸς] τρια-[κοσίας κ]αὶ τετταρ[άκοντα].	
παραταχ[θείσ]ας δὲ πολὺν χρόνο[ν] *πολλὰς μὲν* τῶν κ[ιν]δυνευουσῶν βαρβα[ρι]κῶν νεῶν *διέφθε[ιρ]εν, ἑκατὸν δ' αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλε* ζωγρή[σας τ]ὸν π[·····]ων.	[60.4] And sailing with the entire fleet to Caria, *he persuaded the coastal cities that had been settled from Greece immediately to revolt* against the Persians, but as for the cities whose inhabitants spoke two languages and still had Persian garrisons, he used force and laid siege to them; then after he had brought over to his side the cities of Caria, he also won over the Lycian cities by persuasion. 5 By taking additional ships
he persuaded the so-called *coastal cities that had been settled from Greece immediately to revolt...*	

When Cimon learned that the Persian fleet was in battle array *off Cyprus*,

two hundred and fifty (ships) against three hundred and forty.

Having been arrayed in battle for a considerable time, *he destroyed many* of the barbarian ships that ventured forth, *and captured one hundred* taking prisoner *their crews*...

from the allies who were continually being added, he still further increased the size of his fleet....

[61.6] *When Cimon learned that the Persian fleet* was lying *off Cyprus*, he sailed against the barbarians and engaged them, pitting *two hundred and fifty ships against three hundred and forty*. There was a hard battle with [**66**] both fleets fighting brilliantly, but in the end the Athenians were victorious, having *destroyed many* of the enemy ships *and captured* more than *one hundred* together with *their crews*. The other ships escaped to Cyprus, where their crews abandoned them and took to the land, and the ships, with the crews, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Owing to the fragmentary nature of the papyrus text, it is difficult to know precisely where Diodorus is copying and where he is paraphrasing or expanding Ephoros. Diodorus' paragraph has 150 words; Ephoros has only forty-seven words in three fragments. From the first of these fragments Diodorus has taken eleven words *seriatim* with only one abridgment, then a sequence of fifteen words, substituting διατρίβειν for συ]ντετάχθαι and expanding modestly, and finally a sequence of eight words, expanded modestly and preserving Ephoros' μὲν...δέ construction, the aorist of διαφθείρειν (but using the plural), and his mention of one hundred captured ships. Thus thirty-two of Ephoros' forty-seven words appear in Diodorus, but Diodorus' account is over three times as long as the Oxyrhynchus fragments.

Although Diodorus was capable of borrowing whole phrases from his source, he also engaged in generous paraphrase and expansion, as is evidenced by the latter portion of the Cimon fragment, and by his summary of the beginnings of Cimon's leadership. Here, his verbal debt to Ephoros is very much diminished, even if the conceptual debt remains (the verbatim agreements are in italics; agreement in lexical forms are underscored):

P.Oxy. XIII 1610 = *FGrH* 70 F 191 fr. 6

Ἀ[θη]ναῖοι [δ]ὲ <u>Κ[ί]μωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου</u> στρατηγοῦντος ἐκπλεύσαντες ἐκ Βυζαντίου μετὰ <u>τῶν συμμάχων</u> *[Hι]όνα* τὴν ἐπὶ Στρ[υμό]νι Περσῶν ἐχόν[τω]ν

Diodorus Siculus 11.60.1–2

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων *Ἀθηναῖοι* στρατηγὸν ἑλόμενοι <u>Κίμωνα τὸν Μιλτιάδου</u> καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον παραδόντες, ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὴν παράλιον τῆς Ἀσίας βοηθή-

εἶλον καὶ *[Σκῦρο]ν*, ἣν νῆσ[ο]ν[42] [...

When Cimon son of Miltiades was the strategos the *Athenians* put to sea from Byzantion with their allies, and seized Eïon on the Strymon from the Persians, and Scyros, which is an island...

σοντα μὲν <u>ταῖς συμμαχούσαις</u> πόλεσιν, ἐλευθερώσοντα δὲ τὰς Περσικαῖς ἔτι φρουραῖς κατεχομένας. οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὸν στόλον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, καὶ κατα[**67**]πλεύσας ἐπὶ πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ἠιόνα, ταύτην μὲν Περσῶν κατεχόντων ἐχειρώσατο, Σκῦρον δὲ Πελασγῶν ἐνοικούντων....

In this year, the *Athenians* elected Cimon son of Miltiades as strategos and giving him a considerable force sent him to the coast of Asia to aid the allied cities, freeing those that were still held by Persian garrisons. Taking the fleet that was at Byzantion and putting in at the city called Eïon, he first seized it from the Persians who were holding it, and then captured Scyros, which was inhabited by Pelasgians...

Of Diodorus' fifty-four words only *Ἀθηναῖοι* is taken unchanged from Ephoros, and "Cimon son of Miltiades" and "their allies" appear in Diodorus in different inflections. The remainder is a paraphrase, but one that clearly comes from Ephoros' account.

Hence, one can observe a significant variability in the use of Diodorus' sources, from the second fragment where Diodorus uses more than two-thirds (68%) of his source's words, to the first fragment where about one-half of the words are taken over, to the third, where paraphrase replaces simple copying.

When we turn to Josephus' use of source material the picture is even more dramatic. André Pelletier's study of Josephus' use of Ps-Aristeas shows that he rarely copied verbatim from with his source; the few agreements that exist with Ps-Aristeas are mainly limited to four or five words in a row, with two sequences reaching twelve and thirteen words.[43] An examination of Josephus' account of the death of Saul illustrates even more starkly how disinclined he is to repeat his sources, even when both sources – 1 Samuel and 1 Chronicles – agree substantially:

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[42] The last phrase is from Thucydides 1.98.1–2: πρῶτον μὲν Ἠιόνα τὴν ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι Μήδων ἐχόντων πολιορκίᾳ εἶλον καὶ ἠνδραπόδισαν, Κίμωνος τοῦ Μιλτιάδου στρατηγοῦντος. ἔπειτα Σκῦρον τὴν ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ νῆσον, ἣν ᾤκουν Δόλοπες, ἠνδραπόδισαν καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτοί.

[43] André Pelletier, *Flavius Joséphe, adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée: une réaction atticisante contre la Koine* (Études et Commentaires 45; Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1962), 221.

1 Sam 31:1–7	Josephus, *Ant.* 6.368–73	1 Chron 10:1–7
Καὶ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐπολέμουν ἐπὶ Ισραηλ,	Τῶν δὲ Παλαιστίνων συμβαλόντων καὶ καρτερᾶς μάχης γενομένης νικῶσιν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν ἐναντίων, Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παραβόλως διακινδυνεῦσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς ὅλης αὐτοῖς δόξης ἀποκειμένης, οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτου περισσότερον εἶχον, ἐπιστρέφουσι πᾶσαν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγα καὶ περικυκλωθέντες ἀποθνήσκουσι πολλοὺς τῶν Παλαιστίνων κατα βαλόντες. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἰωνάθης *καὶ Ἀμινάδαβος καὶ Μέλχισος*. τούτων πεσόντων τρέπεται τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος καὶ ἀκοσμία καὶ σύγχυσις γίνεται καὶ φόνος ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων. Σαοῦλος δὲ φεύγει τὸ καρτερὸν ἔχων περὶ αὐτόν, καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπιπεμψάντων ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοξότας πάντας μὲν ἀποβάλλει πλὴν ὀλίγων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβών, ὡς μηκέτι διακαρτερεῖν μηδ' ἀντέχειν ταῖς πληγαῖς, ἀποκτεῖναι	*Καὶ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς Ισραηλ,*
2 *καὶ* συνάπτουσιν *ἀλλόφυλοι τῷ Σαουλ καὶ* τοῖς υἱοῖς *αὐτοῦ,*		*καὶ ἔφυγον* ἀπὸ *προσώπου ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ* ἔπεσον *τραυματίαι ἐν ὄρει Γελβουε.* [**68**]
καὶ τύπτουσιν ἀλλόφυλοι τὸν Ιωναθαν καὶ τὸν Αμιναδαβ		2 *καὶ* κατεδίωξαν *ἀλλόφυλοι* ὀπίσω *Σαουλ καὶ* ὀπίσω υἱῶν *αὐτοῦ,* *καὶ* ἐπάταξαν *ἀλλόφυλοι τὸν Ιωναθαν καὶ τὸν Αμιναδαβ*
καὶ τὸν Μελχισα υἱοὺς Σαουλ.		*καὶ τὸν Μελχισουε υἱοὺς Σαουλ.*
3 *καὶ βαρύνεται ὁ πόλεμος ἐπὶ Σαουλ,* *καὶ* εὑρίσκουσιν *αὐτὸν οἱ* ἀκοντισταί, ἄνδρες τοξόται, *καὶ* ἐτραυματίσθη εἰς τὰ ὑποχόνδρια.		3 *καὶ ἐβαρύνθη ὁ πόλεμος ἐπὶ Σαουλ,* *καὶ εὗρον αὐτὸν οἱ* τοξόται ἐν τοῖς τόξοις καὶ πόνοις, *καὶ* ἐπόνεσεν ἀπὸ τῶν τόξων.
4 *καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ* πρὸς τὸν αἴροντα *τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ·*		4 *καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ τῷ* αἴροντι *τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ·*

σπάσαι τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου καὶ ἀποκέντησόν με ἐν αὐτῇ, μὴ ἔλθωσιν οἱ ἀπερίτμητοι οὗτοι καὶ ἀποκεντήσωσίν με *καὶ ἐμπαίξωσίν μοι. καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο ὁ αἴρων τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐφοβήθη σφόδρα: καὶ ἔλαβεν Σαουλ τὴν ῥομφαίαν καὶ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν. 5 καὶ εἶδεν ὁ αἴρων τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ὅτι τέθνηκεν Σαουλ, καὶ ἐπέπεσεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέθανεν* μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ.

6 *καὶ ἀπέθανεν Σαουλ καὶ* οἱ *τρεῖς υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ* καὶ ὁ αἴρων τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ* κατὰ τὸ αὐτό.

7 *καὶ* εἶδον οἱ ἄνδρες *Ισραηλ* οἱ ἐν τῷ πέραν τῆς κοιλάδος καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου *ὅτι* ἔφυγον οἱ ἄνδρες *Ισραηλ καὶ ὅτι* τέθνηκεν *Σαουλ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ* καταλείπουσιν *τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ* φεύγουσιν.

μὲν αὐτὸν ἠσθένει, κελεύει δὲ τὸν ὁπλοφόρον σπασάμενον *τὴν ῥομφαίαν* ταύτην αὐτοῦ διελάσαι, πρὶν ζῶντα συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους. μὴ τολμῶντος δὲ τοῦ ὁπλοφόρου κτεῖναι τὸν δεσπότην, αὐτὸς τὴν ἰδίαν σπασάμενος καὶ στήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ῥίπτει κατ᾽ αὐτῆς ἑαυτόν: ἀδυνατῶν δὲ μήθ᾽ ἵστασθαι μήτ᾽ ἐπερείσας διαβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιστρέφεται, καὶ νεανίσκου τινὸς ἑστῶτος πυθόμενος τίς εἴη καὶ μαθὼν ὡς Ἀμαληκίτης ἐστὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἐπερείσαντα τὴν ῥομφαίαν διὰ τὸ μὴ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτὸν δύνασθαι παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τελευτὴν ὁποίαν αὐτὸς βούλεται. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περιελόμενος τὸν περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν στέφανον ἐκποδὼν ἐγένετο. θεασάμενος δ᾽ ὁ ὁπλοφόρος Σαοῦλον ἀνῃρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν ἑαυτόν· διεσώθη δ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔπεσον περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Γελβουὲ ὄρος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων οἱ τὴν κοιλάδα πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰς πόλεις ἔχοντες, ὅτι Σαοῦλος πέπτωκε *καὶ οἱ* παῖδες

σπάσαι τὴν ῥομφαίαν σου καὶ ἐκκέντησόν με ἐν αὐτῇ, μὴ ἔλθωσιν οἱ ἀπερίτμητοι οὗτοι

καὶ ἐμπαίξωσίν μοι. καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο ὁ αἴρων τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐφοβεῖτο σφόδρα: καὶ ἔλαβεν Σαουλ τὴν ῥομφαίαν καὶ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτήν. 5 καὶ εἶδεν ὁ αἴρων τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν Σαουλ, καὶ ἔπεσεν [**69**] *καί γε αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέθανεν.*

6 *καὶ ἀπέθανεν Σαουλ καὶ τρεῖς υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ*

ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀπέθανεν.

7 *καὶ* εἶδεν πᾶς ἀνὴρ *Ισραηλ* ὁ ἐν τῷ αὐλῶνι

ὅτι ἔφυγεν *Ισραηλ καὶ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν Σαουλ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ* κατέλιπον *τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν καὶ* ἔφυγον.

αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀπόλωλε, <u>καταλιπόντες</u> *τὰς* ἑαυτῶν *πόλεις* εἰς ὀχυρωτάτας <u>ἔφυγον</u>.	

Although he renders virtually every narrative detail found in 1 Samuel and 1 Chronicles, Josephus does so in a nearly-complete paraphrase.[44] Where Josephus could have taken over the entirely unobjectionabe phrase Σαουλ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ in the final sentence, Josephus substituted Σαοῦλος... καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, and offered πέπτωκε where the LXX had ἀπέθανεν. Not even the speech of Saul is preserved; on the contrary it is rendered in indirect discourse. Josephus preserves only the [70] LXX's καταλείπειν τὰς... πόλεις and φύγειν, albeit in a different grammatical formulation.

One might expect Josephus to adopt a more conservative practice when dealing with speech material, especially the speech of the deity. But not so. Josephus' rendition of the Decalogue again displays his penchant for paraphrase:

Διδάσκει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, ὅτι θεός ἐστιν εἷς καὶ τοῦτον δεῖ σέβεσθαι μόνον· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος κελεύει μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζῴου ποιήσαντας <u>προσκυνεῖν</u>· ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ φαύλῳ τὸν θεὸν ὀμνύναι· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος παρατηρεῖν τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἀναπαυομένους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος γονεῖς <u>τιμᾶν</u>· ὁ δὲ ἕκτος ἀπέχεσθαι φόνου· ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος μὴ <u>μοιχεύειν</u>· ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος μὴ κλοπὴν δρᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἔνατος μὴ <u>ψευδομαρτυρεῖν</u>· ὁ δὲ δέκατος μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνειν. (*Ant*. 3.91–91)

The underscored words – only four – are lexemes that Josephus' account shares with those of Exodus 20 and Deuteronomy 5. The other seventy-three words are Josephus' paraphrase.

Arguably, the practices of a historian such as Diodorus might not be the appropriate comparator for the Synoptists' use of their sources and Josephus may represent too 'literary' a figure. But *1QapGen ar* also offers an example of high variability in the use of source material. In the section paralleling Gen 12:10–13:2 (*1QapGen ar* xix 10–xx 33) the writer departed significantly from the Hebrew of Genesis:

Gen 12:10–11	1QapGen ar xix 10–11
וַיְהִי רָעָב בָּאָרֶץ וַיֵּרֶד אַבְרָם מִצְרַיְמָה לָגוּר שָׁם כִּי־כָבֵד הָרָעָב בָּאָרֶץ: 11 וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר הִקְרִיב לָבוֹא מִצְרָיְמָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־שָׂרַי אִשְׁתּוֹ הִנֵּה־נָא יָדַעְתִּי כִּי אִשָּׁה יְפַת־מַרְאֶה אָתְּ:	והוא כפנא בארעא דא כעלא ושמעת די ע[בו]רא ה[וא] במצרין ונגדת 11 ל[מעל] לארע מצרין

[44] See further, F. Gerald Downing, "Redaction Criticism: Josephus' *Antiquities* and the Synoptic Gospels (I)," *JSNT* 8 (1980): 46–65, esp. 61–64.

Now there was a *famine in the land*. So Abram went down to Egypt to sojourn there, for the famine was severe in the land. When he was about *to enter Egypt*, he said to Sarai his wife, "I know that you are a woman beautiful to behold...."

However, *a famine* occurred *in* this whole *land*. I heard that there was grain in Egypt and left to [*enter*] the land of *Egypt*.

In col. xxi–xxii – the account of the kidnapping of Lot – the agreement with the Hebrew text is somewhat stronger, though hardly attains the level of agreement seen in Matthew and Luke's use of Q: [71]

Gen 14:11–14

11 וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־כָּל־רְכֻשׁ סְדֹם וַעֲמֹרָה וְאֶת־כָּל־אָכְלָם
וַיֵּלֵכוּ׃
12 וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת־לוֹט וְאֶת־רְכֻשׁוֹ בֶּן־אֲחִי אַבְרָם וַיֵּלֵכוּ
וְהוּא יֹשֵׁב בִּסְדֹם׃
13 וַיָּבֹא הַפָּלִיט וַיַּגֶּד לְאַבְרָם הָעִבְרִי וְהוּא שֹׁכֵן
בְּאֵלֹנֵי מַמְרֵא הָאֱמֹרִי אֲחִי אֶשְׁכֹּל וַאֲחִי עָנֵר וְהֵם בַּעֲלֵי
בְרִית־אַבְרָם׃
14 וַיִּשְׁמַע אַבְרָם כִּי נִשְׁבָּה אָחִיו וַיָּרֶק אֶת־חֲנִיכָיו
יְלִידֵי בֵיתוֹ שְׁמֹנָה עָשָׂר וּשְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת וַיִּרְדֹּף עַד־דָּן׃

[11] So the enemy took *all the property of Sodom and Gomorrah*, and all their provisions, and went their way; [12] they also took *Lot, the son of the brother of Abram, who was living in Sodom*, and his goods, and departed.

[13] Then *one who had escaped* came, and told *Abram* the Hebrew, who was living by the oaks of *Mamre* the Amorite, brother of *Eshkol* and of *Aner*; these were allies of Abram.

1QapGen ar xxi 33–xxii 8

33 ובז מלך עילם כול נכסיא די סעדם ודי
[עו]מר[ם] ... [...] ... ושבו לוט בר אהוי 1 די
אברם די הוא יתב בסודם כחדא עמהון וכול
נכסוהי ואתה חד מן רעה 2 ענה די יהב אברם
ללוט די פלט מן שביא על אברם ואברם באדין
הוא 3 יתב בחברון וחויה די שבי לוט בר אחוהי
וכול נכסוהי ולא קטיל ודי 4 נגדו מלכיא ארחא
חלתא רבתא למדיתון ושבין ובזין ומחין וקטלין
ואזלין 5 למדינת דרמשק ובכא אברם על לוט בר
אחוהי ואתחלם אברם וקם 6 ובחר מן עבדוהי
גברין בחירין לקרב תלת מאא ותמניאת עשר
וערנם 7 ואשכול וממרה נגדו עמה והוא רדף
בתרהון עד דבק לדן ואשכח אנון 8 שרין בבקעת
דן.

[33] The king of Elam pillaged *all the property of Sodom and of* [34][Go]mor-[rah]...
and they captured *Lot, the son of the brother* [1] *of Abram, who was living in Sodom*, together with them and all his cattle. One of the shepherds of [2] the flock which Abram had given Lot, *who had escaped*, came to Abram – at that time Abram was [3] living in Hebron – and told him that Lot, the son of his brother and all his flocks had been captured, but that he was not dead, and that [4] the kings had taken the road of the Great Valley towards their territory, taking prisoners, ravaging, smiting, killing and proceeding [5] as fas as the city of Damascus. Abram wept for Lot,

[14] When Abram heard that his kinsman had been taken captive, he led forth his trained men, born in his house, *three hundred and eighteen* of them,

and went in pursuit
as far as *Dan*.

the son of his brother. Abram braced himself, stood up [6] and chose from among his servants those fit for war; *three hundred and eighteen*. *Arnem*, [7] *Eshkol* and *Mamre* were with him. He went in pursuit of them until he reached *Dan* and found them [8] camped in the Valley of Dan.

A fourth text where is it possible – though rather more difficult – to assess the use of written sources, is Ps-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum biblicarum*. There are, of course, problems, since *LAB* is extant only in Latin, but appears to be based ultimately on a Hebrew version (which differed somewhat from the Masoretic text) mediated by a Greek translation.[45] There are speech materials comparable to the Q material now embedded in the narratives of Matthew and Luke. But again it is clear that the writer of *LAB* is free in his paraphrase. Take Samuel's speech to the people after they request a king[46]:

1 Sam 12:1–5; Num 16:15, 32	LAB 57.1–3
1 וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל אֶל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי בְקֹלְכֶם לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־אֲמַרְתֶּם לִי וָאַמְלִיךְ עֲלֵיכֶם מֶלֶךְ:	Et misit Samuel et congregavit omnem populum et dixit ad eos: ecce vos et rex vester; ego autem in medio vestri sum,
2 וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה הַמֶּלֶךְ מִתְהַלֵּךְ לִפְנֵיכֶם וַאֲנִי זָקַנְתִּי וְשַׂבְתִּי וּבָנַי הִנָּם אִתְּכֶם וַאֲנִי הִתְהַלַּכְתִּי לִפְנֵיכֶם מִנְּעֻרַי עַד־הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה:	sicut preceperat mihi Deus. et ideo dico vobis ante conspectum regis vestri, sicut dominus meus Moyses famulus Dei dixit patribus vestris in heromo quando
Num 16:15 אל־מִנְחָתָם לֹא הֲמוֹר אֲחַד מֵהֶם נָשָׂאתִי וְלֹא הֲרֵעֹתִי אֶת־אַחַד מֵהֶם	synagoga Chore surrexit adversus eum; scitis quia non accepi quiequam de
Num 16:32 וַתִּפְתַּח הָאָרֶץ אֶת־פִּיהָ וַתִּבְלַע אֹתָם וְאֶת־בָּתֵּיהֶם וְאֵת כָּל־הָאָדָם אֲשֶׁר לְקֹרַח וְאֵת כָּל־הָרְכוּשׁ:	vobis, nec nocui aliquem vestrum. Et quoniam mentiti sunt tunc et dixerunt. Accepisti, deglutivit illos terra.
3 הִנְנִי עֲנוּ בִי נֶגֶד יְהוָה וְנֶגֶד מְשִׁיחוֹ אֶת־שׁוֹר מִי לָקָחְתִּי וַחֲמוֹר מִי לָקָחְתִּי וְאֶת־מִי עָשַׁקְתִּי אֶת־מִי רַצּוֹתִי וּמִיַּד־מִי לָקָחְתִּי כֹפֶר וְאַעְלִים עֵינַי בּוֹ וְאָשִׁיב לָכֶם:	Et nunc voc, inpuniti a Domino, respondete in conspectu Domini et in conspectu christi eius, si pro hoc petistis regem eo quod ego male tractaverim

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[45] Daniel J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," in *Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judaeo-Hellenistic Works* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985), 297–377, esp. 299, 301.

[46] Text: Daniel J. Harrington, ed., *Pseudo-Philon, Les Antiquités bibliques* (trans. Jacques Cazeaux; SC 229–230; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1976), 1:358–60; transl. Daniel J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo".

4 וַיֹּאמְרוּ לֹא עֲשַׁקְתָּנוּ וְלֹא רַצּוֹתָנוּ וְלֹא־לָקַחְתָּ
מִיַּד־אִישׁ מְאוּמָה:
5 וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם עֵד יְהוָה בָּכֶם וְעֵד
מְשִׁיחוֹ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה כִּי לֹא מְצָאתֶם
בְּיָדִי מְאוּמָה וַיֹּאמֶר עֵד:

1 And Samuel said to all Israel: behold I have listened to your voice in all that you have said to me, and have made a king over you. 2 And now, behold, the king walks before you; and I am old and gray, and my sons are with you; and I have walked before you from my youth until this day.

Num 16:15 And Moses was very angry, and said to the LORD, 'Do not respect their offering. I have not taken one ass from them, and I have not harmed one of them'.

Num 16:32 and the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up, with their households and all the men that belonged to Korah and all their goods.

3 Here I am; answer me before the LORD and before his anointed. Whose ox have I taken? Or whose ass have I taken? Or whom have I defrauded? Whom have I oppressed? Or from whose hand have I taken a bribe to blind my eyes with it? Testify against me and I will restore it to you'. 4 They said, 'You have not defrauded us or oppressed us or taken anything from any man's hand'. 5 And he said to them, 'The LORD is witness against you, and his anointed is witness this day, that you have not found anything in my hand'. And they said, 'He is witness'.

vos, et dominus erit testis vobis. Si autem iam verbum Domini completum est, ego excusatus sum et domus patris mei.

And Samuel sent and gathered all the people and said to them: Behold you and your king. But I am in your midst [73] as god has commanded me. And so before your king I say to you as my lord Moses the servant of God said to your fathers in the wilderness, when the company of Korah rose up against him,

'You know that I have not taken anything from you, nor have I harmed anyone of you'.

And because they lied then and said, 'You have taken', the earth swallowed them up.

And now you, who have not been punished by the Lord, answer before the Lord and before his anointed, if you have sought a king because I have treated you badly;

and the LORD will be the witness for you.

But if now the word of the Lord has been fulfilled, I and the house of my father are free from blame.

LAB's paraphrase of 1 Samuel is not complete. The writer takes over 'answer before the Lord and before his anointed', and also incorporates two citations from Numbers, apparently prompted by Samuel's challenge, "Whose ox have I taken...?," which recalled Moses' similar challenges in Num 16:15. The writer generalizes Num 16:15, substituting 'anything' for 'donkey', and abbreviates

the description of the deaths of the family of Korah. There is very little verbatim adoption of the wording of the biblical text, even though it is clear that the writer is using that text as a source.

It should be clear by now that if Diodorus, Josephus, *1QapGen ar* or Ps-Philo represent a range of standard practices in the use of sources by Greek and Hebrew historians, Matthew and Luke are dramatically out of step, even with the relatively conservative practices of Diodorus in the second fragment discussed above. Were Matthew and Luke using Q (or Mark) as Diodorus, Josephus, *1QapGen ar* or Ps-Philo used their sources, we should expect almost no verbatim agreement, since *both* would some[74]times paraphrase generously and, because they would have done so independently, the likelihood of coincidental agreement in *not* changing Q would be exceedingly low.

These data also suggest that the conclusion of Dunn and Mournet, that low-agreement pericope point to reliance on oral tradition, is both premature and scarcely inevitable. If Diodorus could use Ephoros in a variety of ways, sometimes, taking over a high proportion of his words, and sometimes paraphrasing nearly completely; further, if the *norm* of verbal reproduction of a source document is closer to, say, 30–40% than to 70–80%; further, if rhetorical paraphrase rather than wooden copying was the ideal, then it hardly follows that in the Synoptics low-agreement pericopae point to the presence of an oral tradition existing alongside written sources. I do not say that oral tradition did not exist, or that it might not have influenced the reproduction of Q; what I do say is that the conclusion of Dunn and Mournet is far from self-evident as a compelling scenario, once one sees compositional procedures in the light of an actual examination of texts.

High Agreement Copying

There are instances of high-agreement copying but often in documents of a scriptural, legal, regulatory, or instructional nature, where one might reasonably expect a high degree of verbal continuity between copies.

Judith Sanderson's analysis of *4QpaleoExod*^{m} (4Q22) notes the fact that the scribe, while in general quite faithful to the text of Exodus, also felt free to supplement Exodus with pericopae taken from elsewhere in Exodus, pericopae from Deuteronomy that were parallel to the Exodus texts, and other texts from Deuteronomy.[47] Thus, this kind of copying involved both reordering of Exodus

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[47] Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExodm and the Samaritan Tradition* (Harvard Semitic Studies 30; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986), 271: "It seems, then, that the *words* of revelation were treated with more care than the *form* and *structure* of revelation. *Words* from Deuteronomy could be brought into Exodus even if they were out of their revealed *position*. Apparently the scribe attributed greater revelatory significance to exactness of wording than to the structure of a pericope or of a scroll. This

and the occasional conflation of material from other sources, just as Matthew has rearranged Q and fused Q with Mark. But the scribal practice of the scribe of *4QpaleoExod*^{m} was far more conservative than that of Matthew, who also reworded and elaborated on Q and Mark[48]: [75]

> [T]he scribe or scribes involved exercised *freedom* in their work, but a strictly limited freedom. The freedom of other writers felt to add from their own imagination to the text, as exhibited, for example, in the Genesis Apocryphon, was certainly not exercised by the scribes involved in the traditions represented in [*4QpaleoExod*^{m}].

Another example of parent and successor texts that display a high degree of verbatim agreement is offered by a series of fragments of *Serek hayaḥad* (hereafter S) from Qumran Caves 1 and 4. That 1QS is composite has been clear since early investigations of the rule.[49] The publication of fragments from Cave 4 have strengthened this conclusion, since some represent shorter versions of S. Thus, we ought to consider the available fragments of S not as *copies* of a single text but rather as witnesses to various stages in the *composition* and *development* of what eventually became 1QS. This development included expansion of a core of materials, the introduction of other versions of penal rules, and the addition of materials not intrinsically related to that core – for example, liturgical instructions (i 1–iii 12), the Two Spirits section, (iii 13–iv 26) now almost universally recognized as pre-Qumranic in origin,[50] and a series of hymns (x 5–xi 22). Although the composition history of *Serek* is still controverted,[51] a comparison of 4QS^{b,d} with 1QS shows certain redactional

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freedom extended even to a certain disregard for time and place in narratives. If Yahweh had ever at any time in Moses' life promised a prophet to come (or commanded the building of an altar on Gerizim), then those words could be placed during the theophany at Sinai." (I am indebted to Moshe Bernstein for this reference.)

[48] Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran*, 274.

[49] Although Pierre Guilbert, "Le plan de la Règle de la Communauté," *RevQ* 1 (1959): 323–44 argued for the essential unity of 1QS, the more widespread view is that the rule is the product of gradual expansion of a core of materials. See, e.g., Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la *Règle de la Communauté*," *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49; Jean Pouilly, *La Règle de la communauté de Qumrân. Son évolution littéraire* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 17; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1976) and, for a survey, Robert A.J. Gagnon, "How Did the Rule of the Community Obtain Its Final Shape?" *JSP* 10 (1992): 61–79.

[50] Dale C. Allison, "The Authorship of 1 Q S III,13 – IV,14," *RevQ* 10, no. 38 (1980): 257–68.

[51] See Philip S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh Ha-Yaḥad:* A Proposal," *RevQ* 17, no. 65–68 (1996): 437–56 who argues for the priority of 1QS, and Sarianna Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emmanuel Tov, and James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Shrine of the Book, 2000), 377–84; Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah 21; Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1997), who argues that 4QS^{b,d} represent earlier forms of the rule. See also Markus N.A. Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in The *Rule of the Community*," *RevQ* 18, no. 72 (1998): 541–60.

features: the addition in 1QS of the quotation of Isa 40:3 and the interpolation of the entire Two Spirits section. But the comparison also displays remarkably close verbal agreement between parallel sections of the two recensions of the rule. Since my point here is not to discuss redaction history, but rather to illustrate the practices of utilization of source materials, I am not obliged to decide whether $4QS^{b,d}$ represent earlier or later recensions than [76] 1QS. The point, rather, is that the practice of source-utilization is very different that that observed in Diodorus or Josephus or Ps-Philo. *Disagreements* between the two recensions are underscored:

1QS viii 11–14	$4QS^{d}$ vi 4–8 = 4QS 258
11 בהכון אלה ביסוד היחד שנתים ימים	4 בכון אלה בי]סוד היחד שנתים ימים
בתמים דרך יבדלו קודש בתוך עצת אנשי היחד	5 [בתמים דרך יבדלו קודש בתוך עצת אנש]י היחד
וכול דבר הנסתר מישראל ונמצאו	[וכל דבר ה]נ[סתר מי]שראל ונמצא
לאיש 12 הדורש אל יסתרהו מאלה מיראת רוח נסוגה	6 לאיש[הדורש אל יסתרהו מאלה מיראת רוח נסוגה]
ובהיות אלה ביחד בישראל 13 בתכונים האלה	ובהיות אלה[בישראל] יבדלו מ[תוך מושב]
יבדלו מתוך מושב אנשי העול ללכת למדבר	7 אנשי[העול ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרכו
לפנות שם את דרך	
הואהא 14 כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך ***	
ישבו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו	
15 היא מדרש התורה אשר צוה ביד מושה	היא מדרש התור]ה אשר צוה בי[ד משה לע]שות כל[הנגלה]
לעשות ככלול הנגלה	
עת בעת 16 וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קדשו.	8 ע[ת בעת וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קדשו

[11] When these things have been established in the foundation of the Yahad for two full years in perfect behaviour, they will be segregated (like) holy ones in the midst of the council of the men of the *Yaḥad*. And every matter hidden from Israel but which has been found out by [12] the Interpreter, he should not keep hidden from them for fear of a spirit of desertion. And when these have become a Yahad in Israel, [13] in compliance with these arrangements they are to be segregated from within the dwelling of the men of sin to walk to the desert in order to open there His path. [14] As it is written, «In the desert prepare the way of ***, straighten in the steppe a roadway for our God». [15] This is the study of the Torah which he commanded through the hand of Moses,

[When these things have been established in the fou]ndation of the Yahad for two full years [5] [in perfect behaviour, they will be segregated (like) holy ones in the midst of the council of the me]n of the *Yaḥad*. [And every matter hidden from I]srael but which has been found out [6] by the Inter[preter, he should not keep hidden from them for fear of a spirit of desertion.] And when these things exist [in Israel],

they are to be segregated from [within the dwelling] [7] of the men of [sin to walk to the desert in order to open there His path.

This is the study of the Tor]ah which he commanded through the ha[nd of Moses,

in order <u>to do</u>]	in order <u>to act in compliance with</u> all that has been revealed from age to age, [16] and according to what the prophets have revealed through the holy spirit.
[all that has been revealed] [8] from a[ge to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed through the holy spirit...]	

This pattern of rather 'wooden' usage could be further illustrated by a complete comparison of all the *Serek* fragments from Qumran, but this instance, taken more or less at random, shows that the large majority [77] of words from the parent text (whichever it is) are simply reproduced verbatim (orthographic variations aside) in the successor.

Another instance of such wooden borrowing is found in the textual history of the Two Ways document, found both in a Latin translation in the *Doctrina Apostolorum* and in the *Didache* (1.1–2a; 2.1–6.1). The *Didache* is much longer than the *Doctrina*, containing additional instructions on baptism and eucharist, on the reception of traveling figures, on the appointment of leaders, and a brief apocalypse. In the Two Ways section itself, a comparison of the two documents indicates that the branch of transmission represented by the *Didache* and, later, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, is more developed than the *Doctrina*, with a catena of sayings of Jesus (*Did.* 1.3b–2.1) and *Did.* 6.2–3.[52] But where the *Didache* and the *Doctrina* overlap, there is near identity in content and wording of sayings, indicating that large swathes of text from a Greek archetype were simply copied unchanged or with minimal changes. The practices of the *Serek* and *Didache* writers might best be described as 'compilation', where predecessor documents were taken over nearly unchanged and extra materials simply interpolated and appended to a core.

The Social Location of the Synoptic Copyists

The Sayings Gospel Q is not, of course, easily comparable to an instructional manual such as *Serek haYaḥad*, which one would expect to be copied quite exactly, or a catechetical tractate like the *Didache*, still less a scriptural text such as Exodus which a scribe would be loath to reword. Of course Matthew and Luke attain the level of verbatim reproduction that is evidenced in these documents. Nevertheless, Matthew and Luke come closer to the wooden copying techniques of *Serek haYaḥad* than they are to the practices of other historians or biographers, whose verbal indebtedness to their sources would

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[52] See John S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 1.1–6.1, James, and the Torah," in *Trajectories Through the New Testament and the Apostolic Fathers* (ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 195–96 and the literature cited there.

rarely exceed 40% of their sources' words in any instance, and for whom generous paraphrase was a more common likely practice.

Where might we locate the compositional practices of the Synoptic writers? At the lowest end of book production in antiquity, *scribae* or copyists, in the Roman world usually slaves or freedmen, worked in the shops of booksellers, producing copies of the latest literary works. Although high-speed commercial copying was undoubtedly responsible for various errors creeping into copies, the ideal of copying was naturally an error-free and unadulterated copy of the exemplar.[53] The copying of [78] manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible might have aspired to this standard, but at least in the case of *4QpaleoExod*^{m} and *1QS* the scribes evidently did not function as mere copyists. To invoke Cicero's distinction, they sometimes rose above what is implied in *describere* (to copy) but they hardly attained to what Cicero meant by *scribere* (to compose), where free and full adaptation of sources would be the norm. An example of the latter practice in Jewish Palestine can be found in Sirach, clearly indebted to both Proverbs and the Torah as predecessor texts, but who adapts and paraphrases these texts,[54] engaging in what rhetoricians like Theon called ἀπαγγελία (recitation)[55] or Quintilian, *aemulatio*.[56]

The synoptic transcription of Q more closely approximates the practices of the *librarius* or archivist/scribe, whose role included both simple transcription and a degree of genuine composition. These were engaged in producing docu-

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[53] Poynton, "Books and Authors"; Raymond J. Starr, "The Circulation of Literary Texts in the Roman World," *CQ* 37 <new series> (1987): 213–23.

[54] Richard J. Bauckham, *James: Wisdom of James, Disciple of Jesus the Sage* (New Testament Readings; London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 74–83; "The Wisdom of James and the Wisdom of Jesus," in *The Catholic Epistles and the Tradition* (ed. Jacques Schlosser; BETL 176; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 73–92.

[55] Theon, *Progymnasmata* (Spengel 2.101; Walz 210; Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Volume 1: The Progymnasmata* [SBLTT Vol. 27.9, Graeco-Roman Religion Series; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986], 94–95; George A. Kennedy, *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* [Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003], 19). Compare also Quintilian 1.9.2–3: Students of rhetoric "should learn to paraphrase Aesop's fables ... in simple and restrained language and subsequently to set down the paraphrase in writing with the same simplicity of style; they should begin by analyzing each verse, then give its meaning in different language, and finally proceed to a freer paraphrase in which they will be permitted now to abridge and now to embellish the original, so far as this may be done without losing the poet's meaning.... He should also set to write aphorisms (sententia), chriae, and delineations of character (ethologiae), of which the teacher will first give the general scheme, since such themes will be drawn from their reading. In all of these exercises the general idea is the same, but the form differs." For a discussion of paraphrase, see Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1998), sec. 1099–1121.

[56] Paraphrase, according to Quintilian, was not merely an explication of the original. "Its duty," says Quintilian, "is rather to rival and vie (*aemulatio*) with the original in the expression of the same thoughts" (10.5.5).

mentary texts where exact transcription was a virtue. Many forms of debt instruments and leases for example involved an inner and an outer copy, which ideally, though not always in fact, had identical texts. Scribes also produced archival copies, presumably identical with the forms held by the creditor or lessor. But the skill of such scribes was also to craft petitions, deeds, leases, and loans, where set formulae were typically employed, but where the scribe also had to adapt predecessor documents and models to the situations at hand.[57]

There is good reason to think that at least since the beginning of Ptolemaic control, Palestine witnessed a steady increase in the [79] size of the 'paper trail':[58] if Egypt during this period is a guide, the use of a variety of documents – lease agreements, loan agreements, tax receipts, receipts for customs dues paid, census lists, attestation of liturgical duties performed, letters, petitions, etc. – steadily increased. It may not be that the overall level of literacy increased, but the status and prestige attached to literacy did in what Keith Hopkins terms "conquest by book."[59] Naturally, the increased demand for documents was accompanied by an increased demand for scribes, not only élite scribes operating at the top levels of society, but hundreds of lesser scribes servicing towns and villages. In the early Roman period Martin Goodman points to the increased availability of papyri and parchment[60] and the Babatha archive illustrates the high importance attached to maintaining documentary records, some of which incidentally were produced by two named *librarii*, who were probably attached to the Roman army stationed in the vicinity.

The scribe's role ranged from low-level bureaucratic operations and copying, to basic composition and compilation, to the formulation of teaching materials.[61] Teachers like as Sirach produced new literary or religious works based on predecessor texts. It seems likely that the degree of freedom that a scribe might exercise vis à vis predecessor texts was a function of the scribe's own training and social status. The practices of the Synoptic writers suggests that, if they can be classed as scribes, they were scribes of relatively modest

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[57] An interesting example is *P. Mich.* XII 634 (Arsinoite nome, 25/26 CE), where the scribe wrote the draft of a farm lease but was unsure of certain details (the party responsible for payment of granary fees and who would have the right of execution), and so left 'both of them' in the draft. Presumably, these details were adjusted and corrected in the final text.

[58] Seth Schwartz, "On the Autonomy of Judaea in the Fourth and Third Centuries BCE," *JJS* 45 (1994): 157–68.

[59] Keith Hopkins, "Conquest by Book," in *Literacy in the Roman World* (ed. J.H. Humphrey; Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series.3; Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1991), 133–58 Also Dorothy J. Thompson, "Literacy and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 67–83.

[60] Martin Goodman, "Babatha's Story," *JRS* 81 (1991): 169–75, here 173.

[61] Martin Goodman, "Texts, Scribes and Power in Roman Judaea," in *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (ed. Alan K. Bowman and Greg Woolf; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 99–108.

accomplishment and status, though of course not without some degree of sophistication. They did on occasion rise to the level of rhetorical paraphrase of sources, and were capable of other elegant touches, even if on the whole their copying technique was rather wooden.

The phenomenon to which Dunn and others have pointed – variability in the agreement of Matthew and Luke in the double tradition material – is in fact susceptible of various explanations, only one of which is the perdurance of oral tradition alongside written sources. When one examines the practices of writers in antiquity, a more proximate explanation of such variability is found in the widespread practice of rhetorical paraphrase of sources, or the practice of authors revising their own works following private oral performances of those works before a select group of [**80**] associates, which assisted them in crafting more persuasive or felicitous formulations. As it turns out, the real problem to be explained in the Synoptists reproduction of Q is not their use of paraphrastic technique, but the instances of high verbatim repetition, which places them in the rather interstichal position between the *librarius*-copyist and the genuine historian or biographer.

Addendum

The statistical analysis of the Synoptic Problem has recently attracted considerable attention by statisticians: Andris Abakuks, "A Statistical Study of the Triple-Link Model in the Synoptic Problem." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 169, no. 1 (2006): 49–60; idem, "A Modification of Honoré's Triple-Link Model in the Synoptic Problem." *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 170, no. 1 (2007): 841–50; V. Choulakian, Sylvia. Kasparian, Mika Miyake, Hiroyuki Akama, Nobuyasu Makoshi, and M. Nakagawa, "A Statistical Analysis of the Synoptic Gospels," *Journées internationales d'Analyse statistique des Données Textuelles* 8 (2006): 281–88.

See also John C. Poirier, "Statistical Studies of the Verbal Agreements and Their Impact on the Synoptic Problem." *Currents in Biblical Research* 7, no. 1 (2008): 68–123; Delbert Burkett, *Rethinking the Gospel Sources, Volume 2: The Unity and Plurality of Q* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009), 93–112; William E. Arnal, "The Collection and Synthesis of 'Tradition' and the Second-Century Invention of Christianity." *MTSR* 23, no. 3 (2011): 193–215; Mark S. Goodacre, *Thomas and the Gospels: The Case for Thomas's Familiarity with the Synoptics* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2012), esp. 44–45.

Alan Kirk ("Orality, Writing, and Phantom Sources: Appeals to Ancient Media in Some Recent Challenges to the Two Document Hypothesis," *NTS* 58, no. 1 (2012): 1–22) has engaged this article, and Burkett's appropriation of it, to advance the issue of models for source-usage: "Kloppenborg's taxonomy is illuminating: besides showing that ancient authors were perfectly capable of using their written sources inconsistently it leaves little doubt that Matthew and Luke conceive their task as

being one of copying and compiling their sources. The difficulties lie in his inferences to level of scribal competence and provenance. Neither the 'wooden copying' nor the 'rhetorical paraphrase' case studies he adduces display the curiously mixed patterns of variation and agreement emblematic of the synoptics. These strains upon the analogy, as well as the categorical construal of the compositional alternatives, induce Kloppenborg finally to equivocate, to impute both 'wooden copying' and 'rhetorical paraphrase' to the scribes of the double tradition" (17). Kirk calls for "further research on scribes whose training made them capable of functioning as tradents, that is, competent not just in transmission but in cultivation of a written tradition." "Though doubtless random or autonomous factors also are at work, much variation arises because scribal transmission of the tradition occurs not in isolation but in reciprocal contact with the social, historical, and theological realities of particular tradent communities. Given the contingent nature of those realities, this relationship will affect the tradition differentially, placing new interpretative demands upon some elements, leaving the received form of other elements intact. Redaction is the means by which written tradition is articulated for new or altered contexts of reception; its wide range may be understood as the effect of the persistence of oral practices and habits into the scribal cultivation of the written tradition in a mixed media cultural environment of pervasive orality. However it is important not to exaggerate the play of these factors within the written tradition. As Burkett shows, Matthew and Luke's utilization of Mark and Q is a matter of consolidation, with much variation due to solving technical problems of coherent integration of two normative written sources. Moreover, when we contemplate Mark and Q and then Matthew and Luke, we must probably think less of a continuum of constant redactional modifications of the written tradition and more in terms of a very few but programmatic redactions that mark great crisis and transitional moments in early Christianity, turning points that have called forth fresh consolidations and re-articulations of the tradition. Validating this approach, however, requires not just a thorough, differentiated analysis of scribal function in antiquity to locate and describe more accurately the scribes of the Jesus tradition, but also close, piecemeal analysis of the tradition itself" (22).

Chapter 5

Synopses and the Synoptic Problem[1]

Commenting on Thomas Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*,[2] Margaret Masterman observed that in the genealogy of new paradigms in science, it is often not the formal theory which first arrives on the scene to replace the old paradigm, but what she calls a "trick, or an embryonic technique, or picture, and an insight that is applicable to the field."[3] The "technique" or "insight" sparks the elaboration of an explicit theory, which in turn emerges as a new explanatory paradigm. In physics, for example, the discovery that light had particle-like properties raised the possibility that particles might have wave-like properties. So in 1927 Davidson and Germer directed a beam of electrons through a diffraction device, which had been used for a more than a century to diffract visible light. They were able to show that electrons behaved as if they too possessed wave properties. This application of diffraction techniques to particles then became fundamental to the eventual elaboration of quantum mechanical theory.

The late eighteenth century witnessed an important paradigm shift, in which the investigation of the literary relationships among the gospels and their sources became a major focus of attention, displacing an older quest which sought to create a harmonized life of Jesus from disparate gospel accounts. Instrumental in the collapse of the older paradigm was Hermann Samuel Reimarus' devastating critique of the gospels.[4] Reimarus showed that the differences among the gospel accounts were of such a quality that harmonizing

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[1] First published as "Synopses and the Synoptic Problem," in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, edited by Paul Foster, Andrew Gregory, John S. Kloppenborg, and Joseph Verheyden. BETL, vol. 239, 51–85. Leuven: Peeters, 2011. ©Uitgeverij Peeters. Reprinted with permission.

[2] Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (2d ed, enlarged; 1962; repr., International Encyclopedia of Unified Science. Foundations of the Unity of Science 2/2; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[3] Margaret Masterman, "The Nature of a Paradigm," in *Criticism and the Growth of Knowledge: International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science, London, 1965* (ed. Imre Lakatos and Alan Musgrave; Proceedings of the International Colloquium in the Philosophy of Science 4; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 69.

[4] Hermann Samuel Reimarus, *Von dem Zwecke Jesu und seiner Jünger* (ed. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing; Fragmente des Wolfenbüttelschen Ungenannten; Braunschweig: C.A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1778) [ET: Hermann Samuel Reimarus, *Fragments* (trans. Ralph S. Fraser; ed. Charles H. Talbert; Lives of Jesus Series; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970)].

was intellectually indefensible. Reimarus' contribution came at a critical juncture, but did not offer any way of resolving the contradictions among the gospels, except to suggest that their authors were engaged in large-scale fraud. It took a new tool to provide the technical basis for the articulation of a new paradigm, and this came in the form of Johan Jakob Griesbach's synopsis, first printed in 1774 as part of [52] his *Libri Historici Novi Testamenti Graece* and two years separately as *Synopsis Evangeliorvm Matthaei, Marci et Lucae textum Graecum*.[5]

Griesbach did not invent the idea of a synoptic display of the four gospels. Ever since Jean Calvin's 1555 *Harmonia ex tribus evangelistis composita*,[6] gospel pericopae had been aligned in parallel columns.[7] As Marijke de Lang observed, although the purpose of Calvin's synopsis was mainly exegetical, all of the synopses which followed Calvin's synopsis and predated Griesbach's were really harmonies parading as synopses. Their function was to facilitate the construction of a life of Jesus through harmonization. Because of variations in the relative sequence of parallel episodes, editors had to decide which gospel should be designated as the lead text. In many cases the text chosen as lead text was John, which resulted in large-scale dislocations of synoptic pericopae.[8] Griesbach, however, made clear that his purpose was neither to harmonize the

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[5] Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Synopsis Evangeliorvm Matthaei, Marci et Lucae textum Graecum: ad fidem codicum versionum et patrum emendavit et lectionis varietatem adiecit* (Halle: J.J. Curtius, 1776 [2. Aufl. 1797; 3. Aufl. 1809; 4. Aufl. 1822]).

[6] Jean Calvin, *Harmonia ex evangelistis tribus composita, Matthaeo, Marco, et Luca* (Genevae: Eustathii Vignon, 1555). Later published as August Tholuck, ed., *Ioannis Calvini in harmoniam ex Matthaeo, Marco et Luca compositam commentarii ad editionem Amstelodamensem accuratissime exscripti* (Berlin: Eichler, 1833).

[7] [In fact the idea of a synoptic display of texts, facilitated by the invention of the codex form, is at least as old as Origen's *Hexapla* and Eusebius' *Chronicon* which was likely created with the inspiration of Origen's Hexapla. On the relation of Origen and Eusebius, see Timothy D. Barnes, *Athanasius and Constantius: Theology and Politics in the Constantinian Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), 120. On the *Chronicon*, see Anthony Grafton and Megan Hale Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).]

[8] Marijke H. de Lang, "De opkomst van de historische en literaire kritiek in de synoptische beschouwing van de evangeliën van Calvijn (1555) tot Griesbach (1774)," proefschrift (diss.), Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden (Leiden: [S.n.], 1993); "Gospel Synopses from the 16th to the 18th Centuries and the Rise of Literary Criticism of the Gospels," in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and New Literary Criticism* (ed. Camille Focant; BETL 110; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1993), 599–607. For example, in Joannes Clericus' 1699 synopsis (*Harmonia evangelica, cui subjecta est historia Christi ex quatuor evangeliis concinnata* [Amsterdam, 1699]), John's imprisonment (Matt 14:3–5 || Mark 6:17–20) was placed parallel to Luke 3:19a, 20, 19b. Luke's genealogy is relocated to Luke 2:20/21.

gospels nor to reconstruct a the life of Jesus. Rather, it was to display the gospels in parallel and in each of their canonical sequences.[9]

> Authors of harmonies have principally tried to determine the time and sequence in which the events written down by the evangelists happened; but this lies far outside my purpose. For I freely admit – and I wish to draw the reader's attention to this – that 'harmonia' in the literal sense of the word is not the aim of this book. For although I am not unaware of how much trouble very learned men have taken to build up a well-ordered harmony according to self-imposed rules, yet I still think not only that out of this minute care small advantage may be obtained, or even practically none at all that my synopsis would not also offer; but further I have serious doubts that a harmonious narrative can be put together from the books of the evangelists, one that adequately agrees with the truth in respect of the chronological arrangement of the pericopes and which stands on a solid basis. For what [is to be done], if none of the evangelists followed chronological order exactly everywhere and if there are not enough indications from which could be deduced which one departs from the chronological order and in what places? Well, I confess to this heresy!

With this, the modern synopsis was born. [53]

Since Griesbach's time, it is safe to say that every study of the synoptic problem has relied on the tool of the synopsis. The modern three- or four-gospel synopsis in a complex tool, displaying not only the texts of the gospels for comparison, but often including an *apparatus criticus* with text-critical data, and other *apparatus* with indications of citations of or allusions to the Hebrew Bible (rarely an actual display of the text in Hebrew and Greek), parallel texts drawn from the Pauline epistles, patristic writers, and extra-canonical gospels (rarely, however, displayed *in parallel* with the synoptic texts), section titles, and a *conspectus locorum*. Not all of these features of the synopsis are oriented to the same task: some assist in the close verbal comparison of the texts of the Synoptics; others facilitate seeing the role of harmonization in the textual tradition of the gospels; others allow the user to see the variations in gospel texts as they are variously performed in the Synoptics, patristic writers and extracanonical gospels; and still other features are designed to display the varying degrees of indebtedness that gospels texts have to the Hebrew Bible.[10]

The modern synopsis, then, has multiple functions, with the inevitable result that not all synopses are equally suited to every task.[11] My interest in this paper is not to offer a general survey of synopses and to comment on their advantages and disadvantages for a variety of critical operations, but instead to focus on

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[9] Johann Jakob Griesbach, *Synopsis Evangeliorum Matthaei, Marci et Lucae, una cum iis Joannis pericopis, quae historiam passionis et resurrectionis Jesu Christi complectuntur* (Editio 2. emendatior et auctior; Halle: J.J. Curtii Haeredes, 1797), v–vi.

[10] See the survey of synopses by Guy Lasserre, *Les synopses: élaboration et usage* (Subsidia Biblica 19; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1996).

[11] See the survey by J. K. Elliott ("Which is the Best Synopsis?" *ExpTim* 102, no. 7 [1991]: 200–204) who agrees that the choice of synopsis depends on one's purpose, but nonetheless suggests that, if pressed to recommend one synopsis, he would recommend Huck-Greeven.

the issue, raised by Bernard Orchard, David Dungan, and others, as to whether synopses are in principle 'neutral' in regard to synoptic source theories.[12] [54]

I. Neutrality in Synopses?

The issue of neutrality can be discussed at various levels, including the nature of the Greek text employed in a synopsis, the order of columns and the designation of a 'lead text', the division of pericopae, and the alignment of pericopae. The quality of the Greek text employed is of considerable importance, and a survey of synopses – Griesbach, Tischendorf, Huck[1–2], Aland[15], Boismard-Lamouille, and Huck-Greeven – reveals stronger or weaker agreements in parallel pericopae, greater and lesser degrees of harmonization, and fewer or more numerous 'minor agreements', all depending on which Greek text is used.[13] Each of these factors has some effect on the plausibility of various solutions to the Synoptic Problem. Greek texts which minimize the number of minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark are more congenial with synoptic solutions that require the independence of Matthew and Luke; texts that maximize those agreements are convenient for solutions which require a direct relationship of Luke to Matthew in Markan contexts, where one ought to expect some Matthaean contamination of the pericopae that

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[12] Robert Morgenthaler, *Statistische Synopse* (Zürich and Stuttgart: Gotthelf, 1971), 26–27; William R. Farmer, "A Response to Robert Morgenthaler's *Statistische Synopse*," *Bib* 54 (1973): 417–33; Bernard Orchard, "Are All Gospel Synopses Biassed?" *TZ* 34 (1978): 157–61; "The 'Neutrality' of Vertical-Column Synopses," *ETL* 62 (1986): 155–56; David L. Dungan, "Theory of Synopsis Construction," *Bib* 61 (1980): 305–29; "Synopses of the Future," *Bib* 66 (1985): 457–92; Frans Neirynck, "The Order of the Gospels and the Making of a Synopsis," *ETL* 61 (1985): 161–66; Frans Neirynck, "Once More: The Making of a Synopsis," *ETL* 62 (1986): 141–54; "Synopses of the Future," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 317–47; Lasserre, *Les synopses*, 22–25; Angelico Poppi, "La questione sinottica oggi e la neutralità delle sinossi," *RivB* 44 (1996): 75–112; H.C. van Zyl, "Objective Display or Textual Engineering? Hermeneutical Aspects in Making and Using a Synopsis of the Synoptic Gospels," *Neot* 31, no. 2 (1997): 361–88.

[13] For a discussion, see Gordon D. Fee, "A Text-Critical Look at the Synoptic Problem," *NovT* 22 (1980): 12–28; Frank Wheeler, "Textual Criticism and the Synoptic Problem: A Textual Commentary on the Minor Agreements of Matthew and Luke Against Mark," Ph.D. diss., Baylor University (1985); J. K. Elliott, "The Relevance of Textual Criticism to the Synoptic Problem," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990), 348–59; "Printed Editions of Greek Synopses and Their Influence on the Synoptic Problem," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 337–57.

Luke has taken from Mark. As important as the Greek text of the synopsis may be, however, this issue merits a study on it own. In what follows, I will focus on the remaining issues of the order of columns and the identification of the 'lead text', the division of pericopae, and the alignment of pericopae.

The first two editions of Huck's *Synopsis* were conceived as an *Ergänzungsheft* to H. J. Holtzmann's *Die Synoptiker* ([2]1892)[14] and as such were designed to illustrate Holtzmann's source theory. Huck used Mark as the lead text, placing it in the first column. He rearranged Matthew and Luke according to Markan sequence, inserting double tradition and *Sondergut* where (apparently) he thought it best fit.[15] The reasons for Huck's displacements appear in some cases to be based on the thematic similarities of *Sondergut* to Markan stories – Luke 13:10–14 and 14:1–6, two Sabbath [55] healings, are inserted after Mark 3:1–6 –, and in other cases, 'Q' or *Sondergut* is placed where it best seems to fit Mark's biographical outline. For example,

Return of Apostles	Mark 6:30	–	Luke 9:10a
I saw Satan falling	–	–	Luke 10:17–20
The *Jubelruf*	–	Matt 11:25–27	Luke 10:21–22
"Come unto me"	–	Matt 11:28–30	

Huck's arrangement allows one to follow a continuous text of Mark in Huck[1–2], but because of dislocations of the kind illustrated above it is impossible to see a continuous text of either Matthew or Luke. In this sense Huck[1–2] was a step backwards from Griesbach's synopsis and seems still to be based on the life-of-Jesus interests of earlier harmonies, or designed to illustrate Holtzmann's own life of Jesus, based on his 'A' (Ur-Markus) source.[16]

By the fourth edition, Huck moved Mark to the second column, arranged the synopsis so that each gospel was printed in its natural order, with parallel pericopae from other gospels displayed wherever needed. Huck argued that his presentation was now disconnected from any source theory[17]:

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[14] Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, *Die Synoptiker und Apostelgeschichte* (2d. ed. 1892; repr., Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament I/1; Freiburg im Breisgau: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1889).

[15] Albert Huck, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien* (Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1892).

[16] See Heinrich Julius Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangelien: Ihr Ursprung und geschichtlicher Charakter* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1863), 468–96 and John S. Kloppenborg, "H.J. Holtzmann's Life of Jesus According to the 'A' Source. Part 1," *JSHJ* 4, no. 1 (2006): 75–108; "H.J. Holtzmann's Life of Jesus According to the 'A' Source. Part 2," *JSHJ* 4, no. 2 (2006): 203–23.

[17] Albert Huck, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien* (5. Aufl. Hierzu als Anhang: Die Johannesparallelen; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1916), iii (Vorwort zur 3. Auflage). In his revision of Huck (1935) Lietzmann made a similar claim: "the form [of the synopsis] is independent of any particular theory about sources and can be readily used for studies from any angle" (Albert Huck, *Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* [9th ed.; revised by Hans Lietzmann, trans. F.L. Cross; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1957], iii).

Der Anschluß an den Hand- oder überhaupt irgendeinen Kommentar oder eine synoptische Theorie ist aufgegeben worden. Leitend war nur der Gedanke: die einzelnen Evangelien möglichst in ihrer natürlichen Ordnung und in ihrem Zusammenhang zu belassen und doch das Gemeinsame am gleichen Orte zu bieten, um eine synoptische Behandlung zu gestatten.

Professions of neutrality continued. Heinrich Greeven's survey of synopses from 1776 to the present concluded that[18]

it is not worthwhile to prepare a synopsis designed from the beginning to prove a particular [synoptic] theory, but that, on the contrary, continuous, untiring attention is needed to avoid this if the usefulness of the instrument [**56**] is not to suffer. The most convincing example for this point is Griesbach himself. His Synoptic Theory is today overwhelmingly rejected, but his synopsis has dominated the field with respect to intention and conception.

Greeven's own revision of the Huck synopsis maintained the claim of neutrality[19]:

Theories formerly widely accepted are being questioned anew and as this book was long ago, so it is today concerned to maintain a strict neutrality before the various suggested solutions of the Synoptic problem. For the few instances in which it appears otherwise (simply because each possible arrangement seems to favour a particular theory) I expressly declare that no such attempt to preempt the solution is intended. Even the arrangement of the columns (Mt, Mk, Lk) merely follows the order of the Gospels which is customary today.

A similar claim of neutrality as far as source critical theories are concerned is found in Kurt Aland's *Synopsis*[20]:

The Synopsis can be used, however, apart from all theories of source criticism, for the text of each of the four Gospels has been reproduced in its continuity.

Frans Neirynck has not used the word 'neutral' but rather 'objective'[21]:

Modern synopses [have as] their basic principle... to present the text of each gospel in its consecutive order and to repeat gospel sections out of order as often as the parallelism with the other gospels may require. This principle is clear enough and it should normally result in an objective tool for the comparative study of the gospels.

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[18] Heinrich Greeven, "The Gospel Synopsis from 1776 to the Present Day," in *J. J. Griesbach, Synoptic and Text Critical Studies, 1776–1976* (ed. Bernard Orchard and Thomas R.W. Longstaff; SNTSMS 34; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 22–49, here 48.

[19] Albert Huck and Heinrich Greeven, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien: mit Beigabe der johanneischen Parallelstellen. Synopsis of the First Three Gospels* (13. Aufl.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1981), v.

[20] See the preface to the first (1963) edition, in Kurt Aland, ed., *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum: locis parallelis evangeliorum apocryphorum et patrum adhibitis* (13th ed., revised; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1985), xi.

[21] Frans Neirynck, "The Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel Synopsis," *ETL* 52 (1976): 350 (repr. as "The Sermon on the Mount in the Gospel Synopsis," in *Evangelica [I]: Gospel Studies – Études d'Évangile: Collected Essays* [ed. Frans Van Segbroeck; BETL 60; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982], 729–36).

Greeven appears to conceive the issue of neutrality to be connected with the sequence of the columns in the synopsis and had in mind the first two editions of Huck (1892; 1898) which placed Mark in the first [57] column. According to Huck (in later editions), Aland and Neirynck, the claim of neutrality or objectivity is connected to the printing of the full text of each gospel in its natural order. They have in mind, presumably, not only the older harmonies, but such synopses as Huck$^{1-2}$ and Tischendorf, which freely rearranged one or more of the gospels, rendering a continuous reading of all three gospels impossible.

II. The Sequence of Columns

Bernard Orchard challenged the first of these claims, arguing that the choice to place Mark in the middle (Figure 1, no. 1) is not simply a matter of innocent convention as Greeven claims but hides a 'deeper reason'[22]:

> Now if we take *Mk* as the *Mean*, it is clear for all to see that this order is strongly suggestive, and visually supportive of, two well known hypotheses, the Augustinian and the Markan Priority (sic).

Orchard, however, also opined that placing Matthew in the middle, as Rushbrooke,[23] Huck$^{1-2}$ and Larfeld's synopses did (Figure 1, no. 2),[24] ought to have suited advocates of the Two Document hypothesis, since it would visually illustrate Markan priority and, if Q were imagined to be present, Matthew and Luke's use of Mark and Q. Placing Luke in the middle and Mark on the right would suit the Two Gospel hypothesis (Figure 1, no. 3), and this is in fact that arrangement adopted by Orchard in his Greek and English synopses.[25]

Orchard concedes that Griesbach himself appears to have been satisfied with the Matt-Mark-Luke sequence and that none of Griesbach's supporters departed from this convention. But he speculates that the failure to develop another synopsis may have been the 'root cause' of the abandonment of the Griesbach hypothesis at the end of the nineteenth century.[26] The latter suggestion appears to me [58] incorrect, for two reasons. First, the focus of Gries-

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[22] Orchard, "Gospel Synopses," 151.

[23] W.G. Rushbrooke, *Synopticon: An Exposition of the Common Matter of the Synoptic Gospels* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1880), ii: "St. Mark's version, which stands in the left-hand column, apart from other considerations, seemed best fitted by its brevity to be adopted as the standard. It has therefore been printed at full length without deviation from its order."

[24] Wilhelm Larfeld, *Griechisch-deutsche Synopse der vier neutestamentlichen Evangelien nach literarhistorischen Gesichtspunkten und mit textkritischem Apparat* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1911).

[25] Bernard Orchard, *A Synopsis of the Four Gospels, in a New Translation* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1982); *A Synopsis of the Four Gospels in Greek: Arranged According to the Two-Gospel Hypothesis* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1983).

[26] Orchard, "Gospel Synopses," 158–59.

bach's source theory, as an examination of his *Commentatio* confirms, was not the relationship of Luke to Matthew but the relation of Mark to his two predecessors. For this purpose, a medial Mark appropriately illustrates Mark's conflation of Matthew and Luke (Figure 1, no. 1c). Second, the failure of the Griesbach hypothesis after the death of Baur in 1860 was a complex matter, involving defections from the Tübingen school and (hence) the failure of its defenders to answer the incisive critiques of the Griesbach hypothesis leveled by Bernard Weiss and H.J. Holtzmann. These criticisms focussed on Griesbach's view of Mark rather than the Matthew-Luke relationship.[27] There is nothing to suggest that the failure of the Griesbach hypothesis in the nineteenth century flowed from an inability to render the Matt → Luke relationship credible; in fact, neither Griesbach nor his critics paid much attention to this aspect of the theory. Both supporters and detractors were concerned with Mark and for this purpose the standard Matt-Mark-Luke sequence of the synopsis was perfectly serviceable.

Orchard later conceded that the Matt-Mark-Luke order could serve the 2GH view of Mark, although the 2GH view of Luke requires that Luke be placed alongside Matthew.[28] In fact in order properly to illustrate the 2DH, one would need two synoptic displays, one which placed Luke beside Matthew, in order to illustrate Luke's use of Matthew, and a second which placed Mark between Matthew and Luke to illustrate Mark's conflation of and alternating use of Matthew and Luke. [**59**]

This implies that, contrary to Orchard's suggestion, the order of columns is not a decisive factor in inclining the user to a particular source hypothesis. It is not the sequence of columns that is decisive, but the division of pericope and, in particular, the arrangement of parallels.[29]

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[27] E.g., Karl Lachmann, "De ordine narrationum in evangeliis synopticis," *TSK* 8 (1835): 570–90, ET: N. Humphrey Palmer, "Lachmann's Argument," *NTS* 13 (1966–67): 372: on the GH, Mark was a "bungling dilettante, unsure of his way, borne hither and thither between Matthew's and Luke's Gospel by boredom, desire, carelessness, folly or design"; similarly, Christian Hermann Weisse, *Die evangelische Geschichte: Kritisch und philosophisch bearbeitet* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1838), 1:39; Bernhard Weiss, "Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der drei synoptischen Evangelien," *TSK* 34 (1861): 680–87; Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangelien*, 113–26. See my discussion in *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 283–94.

[28] Orchard, "Neutrality," 156: "...since the peculiar 'zigzag' effect can be seen more clearly by placing Mk between Mt and Lk, as in Allan Barr's *Diagram of Synoptic Relationships*, there is also a good case to be made out for the inclusion of the synopsis with the Mt-Mk-Lk order to illustrate this facet of the problem.... the Aland and Huck-Greeven synopses should theoretically be able to illustrate better *the manner in which Mk has used both Mt and Lk,* though in fact for other reasons they seldom do so satisfactorily" (emphasis original).

[29] Similarly, Neirynck, "Order of the Gospels," esp. 163–65 who notes that with a few small adjustment the Huck-Greeven synopsis would illustrate well Griesbach's solution

III. Pericope Division

It is obvious from a superficial comparison of synopses that the division of each gospel text into pericopae varies considerably. Huck-Greeven has 275 pericopae, Aland has 310, Boismard-Lamouille has 348 synoptic pericopae, and Orchard has 338 synoptic pericopae.[30] Of course some synopses have more repeated sections – Aland has separate displays of the Sermon on the Mount (§§50–76) and Sermon on the Plain (§§77–83), while Boismard-Lamouille has a single display (§§58–84). Some tend to smaller divisions of pericopae: Boismard-Lamouille and Orchard treat Mark 4:1–2 and Mark 4:3–9 as separate pericopae, while Huck, Lagrange, Aland, and Huck-Greeven treat Mark 4:1–9 as a single pericope and Tischendorf presents Mark 4:1–25 as one unit.

More important than the sheer number of divisions are the divisions themselves. In some instances the division of pericopae is controlled by the *one* of the parallels and the imposition of this division on the parallel texts violates the integrity of the parallels. For example, in almost all of the synopses I have surveyed, Luke 3:18 is treated as the concluding summary of 3:15–17 (parallel to Matt 3:11–12 || Mark 1:7–8), while Luke 3:19–20 is presented as a separate pericope.[31] Yet this division interrupts the μέν...δέ construction of Luke's version. A display that better preserves both the integrity of Luke's syntax and the summarizing function of v. 18 would be: [**60**]

Matt 3:11–12	Mark 1:7–8	Luke 3:15–20
... αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί· [12] οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.	... αὐτὸς δὲ βαπτίσει ὑμᾶς ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.	...αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί· [17] οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ διακαθᾶραι τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ συναγαγεῖν τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ. [18] πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕτερα παρακαλῶν εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν· [19] ὁ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ὁ
14:3–4 ὁ γὰρ Ἡρῴδης κρατήσας τὸν Ἰωάννην ἔδησεν	6:17–18 αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἀποστείλας ἐκράτησεν τὸν	

articulated in his *Commentatio qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum esse monstratur* (Jena: J.C.G. Goepferdt, 1789–90).

[30] In the case of four-gospel synopses (Aland, Boismard-Lamouille, Orchard) I have excluded pericopae containing exclusively Johannine material or displayed merely to illustrate specifically Johannine settings of material.

[31] Thus Tischendorf §§16, 25a; Lagrange §§19, 34; Huck [1–2]; Huck-Lietzmann §§5–6; Boismard-Lamouille §§19–20; Aland §§16–17; Orchard §§20–21. Only Huck-Greeven §§16–17 divides Luke 3:15–17 || 18–20 and hence does not break up the μέν...δέ construction.

[αὐτὸν] καὶ ἐν φυλακῇ ἀπέθετο διὰ Ἡρῳδιάδα τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ·	Ἰωάννην καὶ ἔδησεν αὐτὸν ἐν φυλακῇ διὰ Ἡρῳδιάδα τὴν γυναῖκα Φιλίππου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὴν ἐγάμησεν·	τετραάρχης, ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Ἡρῳδιάδος τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν πονηρῶν ὁ Ἡρῴδης, [20] προσέθηκεν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πᾶσιν [καὶ] κατέκλεισεν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐν φυλακῇ.
[4] ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάννης αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν αὐτήν.	[18] ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ Ἡρῴδῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἔξεστίν σοι ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου.	

At a minimum it seems that the usual division between Luke 3:15–18 and 3:19–20 implies that Luke can be decomposed into two constituent units, and thus presupposes either Markan priority (the 2DH or FH) or Matthaean priority (the 2GH). In either case Luke has secondarily shifted Mark 6:17–18 or Matt 14:3–4 to a point earlier in his gospel. My point here is not to advocate for Lukan priority, but merely to observe that the division of Luke *according to principles derived from parallel texts* not only violates the integrity of Luke's text but already presupposes an editorial scenario in which Luke is secondary to one of the other gospels.

Another problematic division of pericopae is found in all synopses surveyed except Boismard-Lamouille.[32] The conventional way to display Matt 3:7–10 and Luke 3:7–9 is in two columns:

Matt 3:7–10	Luke 3:7–9
ἰδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;....	ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ὄχλοις [61] βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;....

On the 2DH this division encourages the view that behind Matt 3:7a ‖ Luke 3:7a lurks a Q text which used some form of a verb of speaking, ἔρχομαι or ἐκπορεύομαι, and a reference to baptism. Harnack, for example, who produced his own synoptic display for reconstructing Q, relied heavily on Matt 3:7a (ἰδὼν [Ιωάννης] πολλοὺς [or: τοὺς ὄχλους]... ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα εἶπεν αὐτοῖς.[33] Polag combined Matthaean and Lukan elements: ἔλεγεν δὲ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐρχομένοις ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ, and in the apparatus recognized that

[32] Tischendorf's pericope (§14) included Matt 3:1–10 ‖ Mark 1:1–6 ‖ Luke 3:1–14, but most later synopses printed Matt 3:7–10 ‖ Luke 3:7–9 as a separate pericope: Huck [1-2]; Huck-Lietzmann §2; Aland §18; Orchard §18; Frans Neirynck, *Q Parallels: Q Synopsis and IQP/CritEd Parallels* (Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia 20; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 6–7.

[33] Adolf von Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu: Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas* (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament 2; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907), 88.

Luke's βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ was due to Mark 1:5.[34] Schenk's German reconstruction likewise combined Matthew and Luke, but in a way different from Polag: "(Johannes) sagte zu den Leuten, die er zur Taufe kommen sah."[35]

On the 2DH, it was Matthew who added his favourite construction, ἰδὼν δέ + a finite verb,[36] and the 'Pharisees and Sadducees', also likely redactional.[37] On the FH Luke took over the oracle that Matthew added to Mark, but rewrote Matthew's introduction, avoiding the 'Pharisees and Sadducees' and substituting ἐκπορεύομαι for Matthew's ἔρχομαι. Standard synoptic displays do not, however, indicate the source of Luke's verb. For the 2GH the choice of display is less relevant, since Mark has omitted both Matt 3:7–10 and Luke 3:7–9.

In my view a preferable display is provided by Boismard-Lamouille §§16–17[38] [**62**] :

§16 Matt 3:1–6	Mark 1:1–6	Luke 3:1–7a
...	...	...[7] ἔλεγεν οὖν τοῖς ἐκπορευομένοις ὄχλοις
[5] τότε ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰεροσόλυμα	[5]καὶ ἐξεπορεύετο πρὸς αὐτὸν	
καὶ πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία	πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα καὶ οἱ Ἱεροσολυμῖται πάντες,	
καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου,		
[6] καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο	καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο	βαπτισθῆναι
ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ	ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ	ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ,
ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ	ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ	
ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ		
ἐξομολογούμενοι	ἐξομολογούμενοι	
τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.	τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.	
	[6] καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰωάννης ἐνδεδυμένος δέρριν καμήλου	

[34] Athanasius Polag, *Fragmenta Q: Textheft zur Logienquelle* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 28–29.

[35] Wolfgang Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelien: Q-Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1981), 17.

[36] Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1982), 644.

[37] Gundry, *Matthew*, 648; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 70–71.

[38] Both John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988), §3 and James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 8–9 print Matt 3:7–10 in parallel with Luke 3:7–9 but also print Mark 1:5 in another column parallel with Luke 3:7a to indicate shared vocabulary.

καὶ ἐσθίων ἀκρίδας
καὶ μέλι ἄγριον.

§17 Matt 3:7–10	Luke 7:7b–9
Ἰδὼν δὲ πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων ἐρχομένους ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;....	γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν, τίς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς;....

On the 2DH, Boismard's display of the parallels suggests that most of the Lukan introduction to John's oracle is Markan in origin, with the possible exception of ἔλεγεν τοῖς ὄχλοις. Since Q 3:7b–9 is the first speech in Q, it must have had some introduction and given the tone of the speech, there must have been some indication of the audience. The IQP, whose synoptic display recognized the Markan parallel to Luke 3:7a, has reconstructed Q 3:7a by relying on a combination of Matthaean and Lukan elements: ⟦εἶπεν⟧ τοῖς ⟦ἐρχ⟧ομένο‹ι›ς ⟦ὄχλοις⟧ βαπτις⟦θῆναι⟧.[39] This avoids the obviously redactional phrases ἰδὼν δέ [**63**] and πολλοὺς τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων, and the Markan ἐκπορευομένοις and recognizes that speech material in Q is elsewhere introduced with εἶπεν but that there are no clear indications that Q used the imperfect ἔλεγεν.[40]

Boismard's display renders Luke's procedure on the FH more transparent: in creating an introduction for John's oracle, Luke followed and abbreviated Mark 1:5 and hence could pass over Matthew's introduction (Matt 3:7a). On the 2GH, Luke abbreviated Matt 3:5–6, shortening Matthew's καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ to βαπτισθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, and while Mark followed Matthew's longer description of John's audience, he preferred to have ὑπ' αὐτοῦ follow the verb, as it does in Luke.[41]

There are other instances where the choice of pericope division and the display of parallels either makes clear or disguises possible redactional explanations. In the case of Luke 3:7a ‖ Mark 1:5 is it not so much a case of synopses being biased in favour of one synoptic solution as it is of certain synoptic displays enabling the user to entertain redactional explanations which are obscured by other displays.

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[39] The double brackets indicate a higher degree of uncertainty in reconstruction.

[40] Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition of Q*, 8, 569.

[41] The position of ὑπ' αὐτοῦ in Mark 1:5 varies in the mss., agreeing with Matthaean order in A λ φ 1006 1342 1506 𝔐 sy^{h}.

IV. The Alignment of Parallels

The most important way that synopses can affect the intelligibility of various source critical solutions has to do with the way that parallels are aligned. Although there are many 'fixed points' with which to align parallel texts, there are also many points at which multiple alignments are possible. Tuckett puts the problem thus:

> ...whilst the order of each gospel is a well-defined entity, it is by no means so clear that the *differences* in order between the gospels comprise so unambiguous a phenomenon and can be defined in a neutral way.[42]

To put this point rather more bluntly, there is no *objective* way to align parallels. In any sequence of parallels, *a-b-c-d* and *a-c-b-d*, one may choose to align *b* with *b* (therefore, *c* is out of order), or *c* with *c* (*b* is [**64**] out of order), or not to align the *b*s or the *c*s (both are out of order). Each decision allows for a different set of editorial scenarios.[43]

More complicated situations arise when, for example, there are two parallels in one gospel to a text in another gospel. In instances, for example, where Matthew has a doublet, one might on the 2DH and FH conclude that Matthew has replicated a Markan saying. On the 2GH, by contrast, the presence of a doublet might be the occasion for Mark either conflating two Matthaean units, or skipping from one Matthaean unit to the other. Synopses present such phenomena variously. In a two-column presentation of Matthew and Mark, one is forced to decide which of the doublets is the 'major parallel'. This is how Aland has treated Matt 10:17–22; 24:9–14 and Mark 13:9–13:

Aland §289 Matt 24:9–14	Mark 13:9–13
10:17–22	...
[21] παραδώσει δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ἐπαναστήσονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς.	[12] καὶ παραδώσει ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ἐπαναστήσονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς·
[22a] καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου·	[13] καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου.
24:9b ... καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου....	
... *24:10-12*	

[42] Christopher M. Tuckett, "Arguments from Order: Definition and Evaluation," in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 197.

[43] Tuckett, "Arguments from Order," 198–200.

[13] ὁ δὲ ὑπο-	ὁ δὲ ὑπο-
μείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.	μείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.

Aland's display of Mark 13:12–13 || Matt 10:21–22a; 24:9b–13 suggests that Matthew used Mark 13:12–13a in Matt 10:21–22a, reserving Mark 13:13 for its 'natural location' in Matthew 24, even though Mark 13:13a ought to be displayed *also* beside Matt 10:22a. But more seriously, Aland's display hides the facts that Matt 10:22b also replicates Mark 13:13b, ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται and that Mark 13:10 is relocated and reproduced at Matt 24:14a, καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ τέλος. On the 2DH and FH, Aland's display implies that Matthew copied Mark 13:9b–13a into his mission speech (10:17–22a) and saved the remainder of Mark 13:13b, supplemented by *Sondergut* (Matt 24:10–14), for Matt 24:9b–14. On the GH, since Luke's version in 21:12–19 is more distant from Mark's formulation than Matthew's, one would have to assume that Mark used [65] Matthew. Accordingly, Mark conflated Matt 10:21 with Matt 24:9b, 13, omitting Matt 24:10–12. The *reason* for this conflation would not be apparent in Aland's synopsis, since the two phrases that are shared by Matt 10 and Matt 24, καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου and ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται are not displayed as overlaps.[44]

Huck-Greeven, Boismard-Lamouille and Orchard avoid the problem of having to decide which parallel is 'primary' by displaying Matthew in two separate columns. Take, for example, Huck-Greeven §229[45]:

Matt 10	Matt 24	Mark 13
[17] προσέχετε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· παραδώσουσιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια, καὶ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς·	[9] τότε παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς θλῖψιν.	[9] βλέπετε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἑαυτούς· παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε

[44] E.g., David L. Peabody, Lamar Cope, and Allan J. McNicol, *One Gospel from Two: Mark's Use of Matthew and Luke* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2002), 267: "[Mark 13:13] is an exact repetition of Mt 10:22, 29:9b and Luke 21:17. The significant, concurrent testimony serves as the perfect vehicle to bring Mark back into sequence with Mt 24 and Lk 21."

[45] Boismard-Lamouille §315 is in essential agreement with this display except that it prints five columns, including Matt 10:17–22 and Luke 12:11–12, 7 to the right of Luke 21:12–19. Matt 24:14b,a is printed in the Matthew 24 column alongside Mark 13:10 with an indication (heavy dotted line) indicating that it is out of natural order. Orchard (§309) also uses five columns, signalling the Matthaean parallel to Mark 13:10 with a verse number in parentheses in the Matthew 24 column.

[18] καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀχθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν....	↓ v. 14	καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων σταθήσεσθε ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς. [10] καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον....
...19–20...		*...11...*
[21] παραδώσει δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ἐπαναστήσονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς.	καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς,	[12] καὶ παραδώσει ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφὸν εἰς θάνατον καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ ἐπαναστήσονται τέκνα ἐπὶ γονεῖς καὶ θανατώσουσιν αὐτούς·
[22] καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου·	καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου.	[13] καὶ ἔσεσθε μισούμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομά μου.
	[10–12] καὶ τότε σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ ... ψυγήσεται ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν πολλῶν. [**66**]	
ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.	[13] ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται. [14] καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ τέλος. ↑ *v. 9f.*	ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος οὗτος σωθήσεται.

This display makes clearer what, on the 2DH and FH, Matthew did with his sources: he reproduced almost all of Mark 13:9–13 in his mission speech, deferring only Mark 13:10 for later use. Because he had already used so much of Mark, when he came to Matthew 24, he merely paraphrased Mark, condensing Mark's list of individual trials into εἰς θλῖψιν (24:9) and compressing Mark 13:12 as καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν ὑμᾶς. What evidently was more important to rehearse in full is Mark's statement about being hated (13:13a = Matt 24:9b) and Mark's concluding exhortation (Mark 13:13b = Matt 24:13). The latter, however, is no longer a conclusion, because Matthew relocated Mark 13:10 to the conclusion of this unit.

On the GH the Huck-Greeven display makes clear the overlaps (both italicized) between Matthew10 and 24, in particular, the points at which these two Matthaean units overlapped and afforded Mark the ability to move from Matthew 10 to Matthew 24 in his compression of the apocalyptic speeches of Matthew.

As the above example indicates, the alignment of parallels does not so much incline the user to a *single* synoptic solution as it does make it more or less difficult to see how a series of synoptic solutions might explain the textual data. There still remain two questions: If there are no absolutely objective criteria for making alignments, is it nonetheless the case that there are better and worse alignments? Second, if some synopses make it difficult to perceive how certain synoptic hypotheses might clarify *specific textual situation*, does this imply that there is a *systematic bias* in the construction of a synopsis that consistently inclines a user toward one type of solution, and away from others?

1. Better and Worse Alignments?

This question can be seen from two different perspectives, one from the perspective of the presentation of the synoptic data which forms the evidentiary basis that a synoptic solution must explain, and a second from [67] the perspective of the presentation of synoptic data *once a solution has been adopted.*

Certain synoptic arrangements, insofar as they intend to present the 'synoptic data' for which synoptic solutions must provide accounts, have the effect of excluding or rendering difficult certain solutions.

The placement of the Sermon on the Mount (SM) is a classic problem in synopsis construction. The SM is placed at Mark 3:19 by Tischendorf, Huck[1–2], Burton-Goodspeed, Lagrange-Lavergne, Benoit-Boismard, Aland,[46] Boismard-Lamouille and Orchard, the same position as the Lukan Sermon on the Plain. By contrast, Griesbach, the later editions of Huck, and Huck-Greeven place the SM at Mark 1:39. Neirynck, Denaux-Vervenne, and Alan Barr place the SM between Mark 1:21 and 1:22.[47]

a. Aland (Figures 2, 3, 4)

While none of these arrangements can be said to be 'objective', each implies a different set of dislocations. For the 2DH and FH, Aland's arrangement requires that Matthew had to delay Mark 1:29–31, 32–34, 40–45; 2:1–12, 13–17, 18–22, 23–28; 3:1–6, 7–12, 13–19 – ten pericopae in all – to positions *after* the SM, as well as moving Mark 4:35–41; 5:1–20 and 5:21–43 forward in Matthew's sequence. As we shall see, other locations of the SM do not require so aggressive a dislocation of Markan pericopae. But the most important consequence of Aland's arrangement for the 2DH is that it suggests that Matthew and Luke coincidentally placed the SM and SP at the same Markan location, and consequently that Matt 8:5–10, 13 || Luke 7:1–10 also appear at the same

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[46] Although he places both the SM and the SP at 3:19, Aland prints the two sermons separately, the SM at §§50–76, and the SP at §§77–83.

[47] Allan Barr, *A Diagram of Synoptic Relationships* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1938); Neirynck, "Sermon on the Mount"; Adelbert Denaux and Marc Vervenne, *Synopsis van de eerste drie evangeliën* (Leuven: Vlaame Bijbelstichtung; Turnhout: Brepols, 1986).

position relative to Mark, and that Matt 11:2–19 || Luke 7:18–35 also agree in sequence relative to Mark. This display of synoptic data in fact undermines the 2DH, which holds that Matthew and Luke independently combined Mark with Q. Given the strong conceptual overlap between Mark 1:2–13 and Q 3:2–3, 7–9, 16–17; 4:1–13, the coincidence of both Matthew and Luke combining Mark and Q at the beginning of Jesus' public ministry is not especially troubling.[48] But for Matthew and Luke coincidentally to have chosen the same Markan location for Q 6:20–49; 7:1–10 and 7:18–35 casts grave doubt on the notion of the independence of Matthew and Luke, which in turn removes the [68] reason for positing Q in the first place. It will be recalled that Heinrich Ewald, probably using Tischendorf's synopsis, had detected a "textual gap" detected at Mark 3:19/20 at the words "and he went home" after the call of the Twelve[49] and surmised that the Sermon on the Mount and the story of the Centurion's serving boy originally filled this "gap."[50] Weisse and Holtzmann later hypothesized that a shorter sermon resembling the Lukan SP originally occupied this 'gap' and with this, the idea of an *Urmarkus* was born.[51] This placement of the SM makes sense *only* if there were other evidence of an *Urmarkus* that contained some version of the SM/SP. But the *UrMarkus* thesis is nowadays abandoned for lack of evidence. So too, perhaps, should Aland's alignment of the SM/SP.

In fact, because Aland's arrangement implies that Matthew relocated *all* of the Markan material between Mark 1:39 and 3:19, it is doubtful that it is accurate to claim that there is a sequential agreement of Matthew and Luke at all; the Markan pericope that Aland places immediately prior to the beginning of the SM is Mark 3:7–13 (§50), but the actual verbal agreement between Matthew and Mark is low (agreements are italicized):

Matt 4:24–25	Mark 3:7–8
[24] καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ εἰς ὅλην τὴν Συρίαν· καὶ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας ποικίλαις νόσοις καὶ βασάνοις συνεχομένους [καὶ] δαιμονιζομένους καὶ σεληνιαζομένους καὶ παραλυτικούς, καὶ ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτ-	[7] καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν·

[48] See Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 32–34.

[49] The versification of this section of Mark varies. Luther, Westcott-Hort, Vogels, Merk, NA[25], NA[26] begins v. 20 with καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς οἶκον, "and he went home," while in earlier editions of the Greek New Testament and translations (some editions of the Textus Receptus; Tischendorf; KJV; RSV; NRSV) that is the conclusion of v. 19.

[50] Heinrich Ewald, "Ursprung und Wesen der Evangelien [III]," *Jahrbuch der Biblischen Wissenschaft* 3 (1850): 208–9; cf. Christian Hermann Weisse, *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1856), 159–60; Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangelien*, 75.

[51] Weisse, *Evangelienfrage*, 161–62; Holtzmann, *Die synoptischen Evangelien*, 163.

ούς. [25] καὶ *ἠκολούθησαν* αὐτῷ ὄχλοι	καὶ πολὺ
πολλοὶ *ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*	πλῆθος *ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας* [*ἠκολούθησεν*]·
καὶ Δεκαπόλεως *καὶ*	καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας [8] *καὶ* ἀπὸ
Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ Ἰουδαίας	*Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ* ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας
καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.	*καὶ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου* καὶ περὶ Τύρον καὶ
	Σιδῶνα, πλῆθος πολύ, ἀκούοντες ὅσα ἐποίει
	ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν.

The Markan pericopae which most clearly precedes Matthew's sermon is Mark 1:39, which is what Huck's arrangement suggests. [69]

One might suppose that the placing of the SM/SP at the same Markan location benefits the FH, since this hypothesis holds that Luke took the SP directly from Matthew, abbreviating it and relocating much of its contents. Aland's arrangement, however, is not especially helpful in illustrating the hypothesis as a whole. It implies that Matthew dislocated the same ten Markan pericopae as the 2DH. For his part, Luke had been following Mark rather than Matthew in Luke 4:31–6:19. When Luke reached Luke 6:19 he turned to Matthew, irrespective of whether one follows Aland, Huck-Lietzmann, or Neirynck. After reproducing an abbreviated version of the SM and relocating various parts of the SM to points later in his gospel, Luke proceeded to Matt 8:5–13, passing over Matt 8:1–4, 14–17; 9:1–17 and 12:1–14, which had already been related in their Markan contexts. He omitted other Matthaean pericopae (8:23–27, 28–34; 9:18–26, 27–34), perhaps, if we follow Goodacre's suggestion, because he was already committed to the Markan placement of these stories.[52] The only elements Luke took from Matthew were the non-Markan pericopae that occurred in Matt 5–12, Matt 11:2–19, used at Luke 7:18–35. But neither Aland's synopsis nor Huck-Lietzmann nor Neirynck helps one see why Luke passed over other non-Markan materials: Matt 8:18–22 (delayed to 9:57–60) or Matthew's mission charge, or the woes against the Galilean towns (Matt 11:20–24), which Luke curiously delayed to a point *after* Jesus and his entourage had departed the Galilee. Thus, while Aland's display does not provide insuperable obstacles for the FH, it is not obviously congenial either.

Aland's arrangement, which is in fact little different from Orchard's in the early sections of the synopsis, might be seen to present obstacles to the 2GH (Figure 3). While Farmer argues that Mark understood that the SM and the SP

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[52] Mark S. Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002), 89: "...we might theorize that [Luke] has had a copy of Mark for perhaps twenty years whereas Matthew is a much more recent discovery. His greater familiarity with the Markan structure has already fixed itself in his mind in such a way that the appearance of the new gospel of Matthew demands a decision... [B]efore Matthew is even written, Luke is used to interacting with Mark, reading from Mark, preaching on Mark, steadily getting Mark by heart."

were comparable but distinguishable sermons and *differently placed* (see below), Aland and Orchard's arrangement of the two sermons means that Mark arrived at 3:19, was faced with very similar sermons, and decided to pass over both. This would represent a departure from his procedure up to this point, where he took over a Matt-Luke consensus at Mark 1:2–6, 7–8, 9–11, 12–13, 14. In fact, Mark 3:7–12, 13–19 leaves no trace whatsoever of the idea that Jesus was teaching on this occasion. [**70**]

On Aland's display, Luke's procedure on the 2GH is somewhat complex. It involves Luke's relocation of Matt 8:1–4, 14–15, 16–17 and 9:1–8, 9–13, 14–17 – six pericopae – to points *before* the SM/SP, and a large body of text moved later in Luke (§§89–91, 95, 99–105, 108–109, 116–18, 119–120). Because Orchard aligns the Calming of the Storm, the Gerasene Demoniac, and the Hemorrhaging Women (§§112–13, 117), Orchard requires Luke to have moved only Matt 8:1–4, 14–17, 18–22 (moved down); 9:1–17; 10:2–4; 11:2–19; 12:46–50; and 13:1–23 (Figure 4). On balance, Orchard's presentation of data makes the Matthew → Luke aspect of the 2GH easier to comprehend, but the Markan aspect of the 2GH is problematic both on Aland and on Orchard.

b. Huck-Lietzmann (Huck-Greeven) (Figures 5, 6)

It is obvious that on the 2DH (and FH) the Huck-Lietzmann display implies a much simpler editorial procedure of Matthew. Whereas with Aland's display, Matthew displaced ten Markan pericopae to positions following the SM, on the Huck-Lietzmann display, Matthew followed the sequence of Mark 1:39–4:34, merely shifting Mark 1:29–34 to a point after the SM.[53] When Matthew encountered Markan pericopae which overlapped with Q, he conflated them: Q 11:14–23, 24–26, 29–32 was combined with Mark 3:22–26, and Q 13:18–21 was added to Mark's parable discourse. (Figure 5)

For the 2DH the great advantage of the Huck-Lietzmann presentation of synoptic data is that it suggests that Matthew connected Q with Mark in different ways: Matthew connected Q 6:29–49; 7:1–10 to Mark 1:39 rather than Mark 3:19 (where Luke placed it); Q 9:57–60 was placed before Mark 2:1–12 (Luke: after Mark 10:1); and Q's mission speech and its associated sayings (10:2–12, 13–15, 16, 21–22) and the sayings on John the Baptism (Q 7:18–35) are placed between Mark 2:18–22 and 23–28 rather than after Mark 3:19. Aland and Huck-Lietzmann agree that the Beelzebul accusation/request for a sign (Q 11:14–23, 24–26, 29–32) are connected with Mark 3:22–30; but whereas for Huck-Lietzmann Matthew moved directly from Mark 3:13–19 to Mark 3:20–30, Aland's display suggests that Matthew interrupted his use of Mark at 3:19 and inserted nearly eight chapters of material before finally returning to Mark's natural sequence at Mark 3:22 (‖ Matt 12:22). [**71**]

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[53] On the Huck-Lietzmann display, Matthew also used Mark 1:22 as the conclusion of his Sermon (7:28–29).

It is not so clear why on the Huck-Lietzmann arrangement Mark 1:39 should trigger the insertion of the SM. Mark 1:39 describes Jesus as κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν but does not mention 'teaching', which better describes the content of the SM. Matthew's introduction to the SM, however, expressly mentions teaching: περιῆγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας... (Matt 4:23).

On the 2DH, Matthew alternated between Mark and Q: Matt 4:18–22, 23 are from Mark; Matt 5:1–7:29 are taken over from Q 6:20–49 and greatly expanded from other Q and M sayings; then Matthew shifted back to Mark 1:40–45; then back to the next Q pericope (Q 7:1–10 || Matt 8:5–13); then he relocated Mark 1:29–34 (|| Matt 8:14–17); then returned to Q (9:57–60); then relocated Mark 4:35–41; 5:1–20; and finally returned to Mark's 'natural sequence' in Mark 2:1–22 (Matt 9:1–17).

Matthew's editorial procedures on the FH are not significantly different than those implied for the 2DH except, of course, Matthew's 'Q' material do not come from a single document but from Matthew's editorial elaboration of Mark. And as I have indicated with regard to Aland's display, Luke turned to Matthew at Luke 6:19, abbreviating the SM and taking over Matt 8:5–10, 13 (but delaying Matt 8:11–12). Then, instead of taking the next non-Markan Matthaean pericopae (Matt 8:19–22; 9:35–38; 10:1–42), he moved directly to the Baptist sayings in Matt 11:2–19 (|| Luke 7:18–35). More puzzlingly, Mark's Beelzebul accusation, which Matthew had elaborated with the demand for a sign, is *not* rehearsed in its Markan location (as Goodacre's articulation of Luke's commitment to Mark suggests it should), but is instead delayed to the Travel Narrative (Luke 11:14–23). On the other hand, the relocation of the Matthaean complex of 8:19–22; 9:35–38; 10:1–42 to Luke 9:57–10:16 might be seen as Luke's effort to collect sayings connected with discipleship and mission. Nevertheless, the anomaly of Luke's relocation of the woes against the Galilean towns to an extra-Galilean location persists.

For the 2GH the Huck-Lietzmann presentation of synoptic data avoids what was the problem apropos of the SM/SP in Aland's display. Farmer suggests that Mark's omission of the SM/SP is a function of Mark's recognition that while the SM and SP were "comparable" sermons, they were also placed differently[54]:

> In Matthew an introduction to the Sermon on the Mount immediately follows [Matt 4:22] – which sermon Mark apparently associated with Luke's sermon on the plain (Lk 6.20ff.). In any case, Mark then began following Luke and continued to follow him to the introduction to his sermon on the plain. Mark seems to have thought of Matthew's Sermon on the Mount [**72**] and Luke's sermon on the plain as marking two clearly distinguishable and quite comparable literary transitions in his sources. He began by following Matthew up to his Sermon on the Mount and thereafter proceeded to follow the order of Luke up to his sermon on the plain. In

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[54] William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1964), 236.

this way Mark deviated from his sources as little as possible, following their common order wherever possible, adhering first to the order of Matthew up to a distinguishable point of literary transition and thereafter the older of Luke up to the corresponding point in Luke's narrative.

Farmer's comments suggest that he was using a synoptic display identical with or similar to Huck's arrangement. This arrangement makes sense of Mark's 'zigzag' procedure on the 2GH. Mark proceeded through his two sources, alternately preferring Matthew (Mark 1:2–20; 3:20–4:34; 6:1–6; 6:17–9:32; 9:42–10:12), then Luke (Mark 1:31–3:19; 4:34–5:43; 6:7–16; 9:33–40), coming into agreement with both after Mark 10:12:

Matt	Mark	Luke
3:1–4:22 →	← 1:2–20	
	1:21–3:19 →	← 4:31–6:19
12:22–13:35 →	← 3:20–4:34	
	4:34–5:43 →	← 8:22–56
13:53–58 →	← 6:1–6	
	6:7–16 →	← 9:1–9
14:3–17:23 →	← 6:17–9:32	
	9:33–40 →	← 9:46–50
18:6–19:12 →	← 9:42–10:12	
19:13–22:46 →	← 10:13–12:37 →	← 18:15–20:44
23:1–25:46 →	← 12:28–13:37 →	← 20:45–21:38

The Huck-Lietzmann display of synoptic data is not, however, as congenial with the Matt → Luke relationship, which is intrinsic to the 2GH. It requires a large number of transpositions of Matthaean pericopae to new Lukan locations (see Figure 6). For some of these transpositions, there may be a ready explanation. For example, McNicol explains with respect to Luke's relocation of the healing of Peter's mother in law (Luke 4:38–41) that on the 2GH, Luke was already at Matt 7:28–29 (cf. Luke 4:31–37), a scene set in Capernaum. He could not take over immediately Matt 8:1–4 or 8:5–13, which are set *outside* Capernaum, and so moved to the next Matthaean pericope, Matt 8:16–17.[55] It may be that similar [73] accounts could be rendered for all of Luke's relocation of Matthew (on Huck's arrangement), but this would require more intense examination.[56]

[55] Allan J. McNicol, *Beyond the Q Impasse – Luke's Use of Matthew* (in collaboration with David L. Dungan and David B. Peabody; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996), 90.

[56] McNicol (*Beyond the Q Impasse*, 156) simply observes on Matt 8:18–22 that Luke passed over it in its Matthaean context, but does not explain why it could not have been used immediately after the healing of Peter's mother in law.

c. The Sermon on the Mount at Mark 1:21 (Figures 7, 8)

This proposal goes back well before the twentieth century and is in fact found in Griesbach's original synoptic table.[57] There, explaining the contents of Mark, he suggested that Mark followed Matthew from 3:1–4:22 and passed over to Luke at 1:21, thus avoiding the Sermon on the Mount:

Matthew	Mark	Luke
3:1–4:22	1:1–20	
	1:21–39	4:31–44
	—	5:1–11
	1:40–3:6	5:12–6:11
12:15, 16	3:7–12	
12:17–21	—	
	3:13–19	6:12–16
12:22, 23	2:20–21	
12:24–32	3:22–30	

Meijboom, defending the Griesbach solution, aligned Matt 4:23; 7:28 with Mark 1:21 and like Griesbach suggested that Mark had moved from Matthew to Luke at this point, retaining some elements of Matthew while shifting to Luke.[58] Although Meijboom does not provide a display of the texts, we can offer a synoptic presentation, *exempli gratia*: [74]

Matt 4:23; 7:28	Mark 1:21–22	Luke 4:31–32
[23] καὶ περιῆγεν ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ, διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν	[21] καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναούμ. καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν εἰσ- ελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν.	[31] καὶ κατῆλθεν εἰς Καφαρναοὺμ πόλιν τῆς Γαλιλαίας. καὶ ἦν διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν·

[57] Johann Jakob Griesbach, "Commentatio qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae commentariis decerptum esse monstratur," in *Opuscula academica*, vol. 2 (ed. J.P. Gabler; Jena: J.C.G. Goepferdt, 1825), 371–77; "A Demonstration that Mark was Written after Matthew and Luke," in *J. J. Griesbach, Synoptic and Text Critical Studies, 1776–1976* (ed. Bernard Orchard and Thomas R.W. Longstaff; SNTSMS 34; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 108–10.

[58] Hajo Uden Meijboom, *A History and Critique of the Origin of the Marcan Hypothesis, 1835–1866: A Contemporary Report Rediscovered* (ed. and trans. John J. Kiwiet; New Gospel Studies 8; Leuven; Macon, Ga.: Peeters; Mercer University Press, 1991), 152–53. On Mark 1:21 he states: "The beginning of Jesus' ministry is portrayed [in Mark] as in Matthew and includes the calling of the first disciples (1:16–20). Even though verses 21 and 22 remind the reader of the opening and closing statements of the Sermon on the Mount, they are the beginning of a consistent parallel with Luke and in deviation from Matthew up to Mark 3:6 and Luke 6:11."

καὶ κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
τῆς βασιλείας καὶ θεραπεύων
πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν
μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ.
....
7.28 Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε
ἐτέλεσεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοὺς
λόγους τούτους
ἐξεπλήσσοντο οἱ ὄχλοι
ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ·

[22] καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο
ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ,
ἦν γὰρ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς ὡς
ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ οὐχ ὡς
οἱ γραμματεῖς.

[32] καὶ ἐξεπλήσσοντο
ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτοῦ,
ὅτι ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἦν ὁ λόγος
αὐτοῦ.

This alignment of the SM was also advocated by Neirynck,[59] and adopted by the Denaux-Vervenne synopsis.[60] Curiously, although Griesbach suggested this placement in his 1789 *Commentatio*, his 1776 *Synopsis* and later editions of the *Synopsis* used what was to become the Huck-Lietzmann placement of the SM at Mark 1:39.

The advantages of Neirynck's display of synoptic data for the SM for the 2DH are easily seen, although it is not so easily understood why they have not been more consistently embraced. First, like the Huck-Lietzmann display, the SM and the SP are placed at different Markan locations, as are the discipleship *chriae* (Q 9:57–60), the mission speech (Q 10:2–12, 16), the woes against the Galilean towns (Q 10:13–15), the sayings about John (Q 7:18–35) and the Beelzebul accusation/Demand for a sign (Q 11:14–23, 24–26, 29–32). This is as the 2DH predicts the distribution of Markan and Q material in Matthew and Luke.

Second, this display of synoptic data requires only one transposition of Markan material by Matthew. While the Huck-Lietzmann arrangement suggests that Matt 4:23–25 || Mark 1:39 and the cleansing of the leper (Matt 8:1–4 || Mark 1:40–45) are the 'fixed parallels', the Neirynck arrangement takes Matt 4:23–24 || Mark 1:21 and the healing of Peter's mother in law and the summary statement about healings (Matt 8:14–[75]15, 16–17 || Mark 1:29–31, 32–34) to be the anchor points. This means that *only* the cleansing of the leper is 'out of order', moved by Matthew so that it immediately follows the SM and precedes the healing of the centurion's serving boy.

The reasons for this shift are plain to see. The topographical progression from the SM to the healing of Peter's mother-in-law involves a movement from the mountain (5:1–7:29), to some unspecified locale outside any town –

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[59] Neirynck, "Sermon on the Mount."

[60] Adelbert Denaux and Marc Vervenne, *Synopsis van de eerste drie evangeliën* (Leuven; Turnhout: Vlaame Bijbelstichtung; Brepols, 1986).

the only place Jesus could encounter a leper (8:1–4) – to the streets of Capernaum where Matthew placed the *Fernheilung* of the centurion's serving boy (8:5–13), to the entry into Peter's house (8:14–17). Since in Q the centurion's serving boy followed the sermon (Q 6:20–49; 7:1–10) and suggested to Matthew a topographical movement, it was not unnatural for him to insert the cleansing of the leper into that topography.

The other relocations implied by this synoptic display – the advancement of the block of miracles stories in Mark 4:35–41; 5:1–20; 5:21–43 – are no different from those required on the displays of Aland and Huck-Lietzmann, and have to do with Matthew's editorial need to have specific miracles stories narrated which correspond to the list of wonders mentioned in Jesus' response to John's envoys (11:5).

Because the FH posits Matthew's use of and editing of Mark, there are no differences between the 2DH and the FH in respect to the utility of Neirynck's arrangement. And as far as Luke's use of Matthew is concerned, Neirynck's arrangement implies a similar set of relocations of Matthaean pericopae by Luke as those required by Huck-Lietzmann display.

I have already noted that the first advocates of placing the SM at Mark 1:21 were two defenders of the Griesbach hypothesis, Griesbach himself, and Meijboom. Meijboom has demonstrated how Mark's alternating dependence on Matthew, then Luke, can be illustrated from this arrangement.[61] David Peabody appears to have adopted a very similar display when he suggests that Mark omitted both the SM and the first Lukan sermon, Luke 4:16–30, because they appeared at the "same point in the common narrative order of Matthew and Luke," i.e., Mark 1:21, so Mark simply chose to note the fact that Jesus engaged in teaching (Mark 1:21).[62]

> Mark may have followed this literary strategy because the content of Matthew's version of Jesus' inaugural Sermon on the Mount (Mt 4:23–7:29) differed so much from Luke's version of Jesus' inaugural Sermon in Nazareth (Lk 4:16–30 [32]) that he simply could not harmonize them. [**76**]

As with the Huck-Lietzmann display, it is rather more difficult to appreciate Luke's use of Matthew on the 2GH, since it necessarily entails a series of substantial relocations of Matthaean pericopae. It is not so clear, for example, why Luke would feel compelled to break up the sequence of the cleansing of the leper – healing of the centurion's serving boy – Peter's mother-in-law when it formed a coherent topographical progression in Matthew. Whether reasonable explanations could be provided for such transpositions remains to be seen.

The key role of a synopsis is to present the 'synoptic data', but as I have shown, there are several ways to present such data, each with certain advantages and disadvantages for the various competing solutions to the

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[61] Meijboom, *The Marcan Hypothesis*, 152–53.

[62] Peabody, Cope, and McNicol, *One Gospel from Two*, 85.

synoptic problem. There is an important irony regarding the two most popular synopses – Aland (Boismard-Lamouille) and Huck-Greeven. As I have indicated, Aland's placement of the SM/SP, the centurion's serving boy, and the sayings on John the Baptist are in fact inimical to the 2DH. However, *once one has adopted the 2DH*, Aland's display, because it aligns these 'Q' texts in parallel, makes it a much easier matter to 'see' Q.[63] On the other hand, the Huck-Lietzmann (or Huck-Greeven) display, because is does not imply that Matthew and Luke coincidentally placed these Q texts at the same Markan location, is much more consistent with the 2DH. However, since Huck-Greeven prints the full set of double-tradition parallels only in their Matthaean locations, opting to print only the Lukan text in its Lukan location, this synopsis is practically useless for those who wish to see 'Q', since it is usual to assume that Luke, not Matthew, better preserves Q's order of pericopae. One must either use Aland, with the appropriate mental reservations about his overall alignment of parallels, or use a specialized Q synopsis such as those produced by Neirynck, Kloppenborg, or the International Q Project.[64]

2. Systematic Bias?

It should be clear from the discussion above that while there are 'local' advantages and disadvantages to most synopses – by 'local' I mean that particular aspects of a synopsis may make clear or obscure *certain aspects* of a synoptic theory – it is not possible to detect a systematic bias in any of the synopses surveyed in favour of a particular synoptic [77] theory.[65] It is possible to identify editorial decisions in the division of pericopae where one may plausibly argue that Matthaean or Markan priority seems to be presupposed (see above). But it is another matter whether one could demonstrate a systematic pattern that assumes Lukan posteriority.

In many instances, one synopsis can be employed to illustrate multiple source theories, and the fact that Griesbach's (second) arrangement, placing the SM at Mark 1:39, was also the synopsis employed by many Markan priorists is testimony to the fact that there is no systematic or global bias in favour of one direction of dependence. To be sure there are better and worse pericope divisions, and better and worse alignments, depending on which source theory is to be illustrated. Because there is no single way in which parallels may be aligned, there is no objectivity in the creation of a synopsis. But that does not

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[63] It should be noted that for reasons that are left unexplained, Aland prints the sermons twice, in succession, the Matthaean sermon first (§§50–76), then the Lukan sermon (§§77–83). Boismard-Lamouille feels no need to print the sermons separately.

[64] Frans Neirynck, *Q-Synopsis: The Double Tradition Passages in Greek* (Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia 13; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988); Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*; Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition of Q*.

[65] I exclude, of course, the 'Q' synopses mentioned in the previous note, which obviously presuppose the 2DH and display only Q texts and Mark-Q overlaps.

mean that we are in a situation of incommensurable options, with no possibility of meaningful dialogue and evaluation.[66]

Van Zyl's concluding remarks are appropriate here[67]:

> [A] synopsis... is not an objective or neutral tool which automatically renders the raw, untainted data for further exegetical usage. By its very nature a synopsis cannot be but a manipulation of the texts of the Gospels, creating a new, synoptic, text by means of textual "engineering" according to the editor's overt or, more often, intuitive application of beliefs and assumptions about matters pertaining to, for instance, the synoptic problem.... What a synopsis in fact displays, is not the relationships between the Gospel parallels *an sich*, but a representation of these relationships which came about as a result of (a) the editor's perception of them, and (b) his subsequent engineering of them.

Addendum

Two synopses place the Sermon on the Mount at Mark 1:21: Angelico Poppi, *Sinossi quadriforme dei quattro Vangeli, greco-italiano* (Padova: Edizioni Messaggero, 1999); idem, *Nuova sinossi dei quattro Vangeli: greco- italiano* (Padova: Edizioni Messaggero, 2006), and idem, *Sinossi diacronica dei quattro vangeli: italiano* (Padova: Edizioni Messaggero, 2007). Zeba Crook's English synopsis has now also adopted this placement: Zeba A. Crook, *Parallel Gospels: A Synopsis of Early Christian Writing* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

The synoptic presentation of Karl Jaroš and Ulrich Victor, *Die synoptische Tradition: Die literarischen Beziehungen der drei ersten Evangelien und ihre Quellen* (Köln, Weimar; Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 2010) 23-29 locates the Sermon on the Mount at Mark 1:39 (with Tischendorf and Aland), but idiosyncratically locates the Sermon on the Plain at Mark 1:20 (along with Luke 5:1–6:19). This implies that Luke has been involved in a major dislocation of Mark 1:40–45; 2:1–12, 13–17, 18–22, 23–28; 3:1–6, 13–19, 7–12 to a point prior to Mark 1:21–39.

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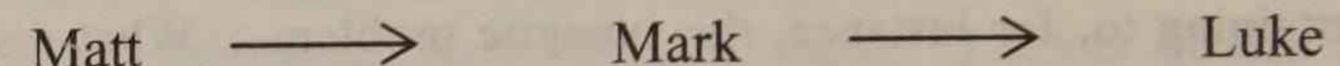
[66] See Neirynck, "Making of a Synopsis," 152: "Dungan's claim that 'the arrangement of any synopsis cannot be neutral' can lend itself to misunderstanding. The choice of one of three possible options [for the placing of the Sermon on the Mount] is not neutral in the sense that my personal choice has its justification in my understanding of Matthew's editorial composition on the basis of Mark, but within the same hypothesis of Markan priority each of the three options can be defended. And this is true also in the Two-Gospel hypothesis: the Sermon can be located at Mk 1:21 (Griesbach's Chart), at Mk 1:39 (Greisbach's synopsis), or at Mk 3:19 (Orchard's neo-Griesbachian synopsis)."

[67] van Zyl, "Objective Display or Textual Engineering?" 362.

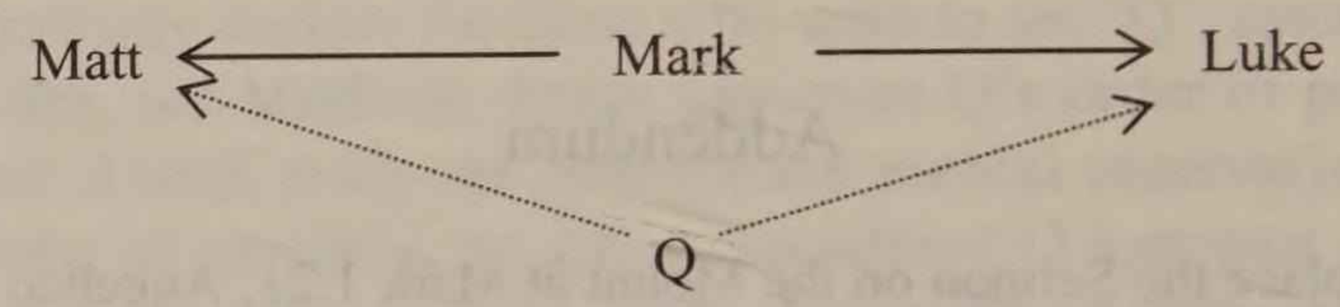
Figure 1: The Sequence of Columns in a Gospel Synopsis

1. Mark as Medial

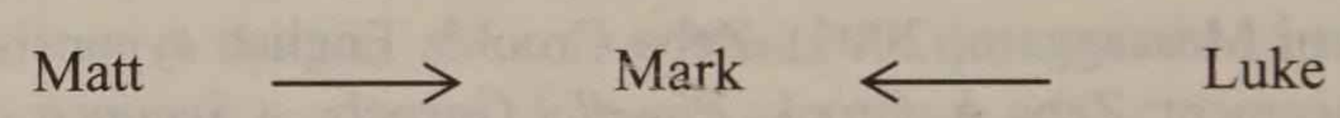
a. *'Augustinian' Hypothesis*



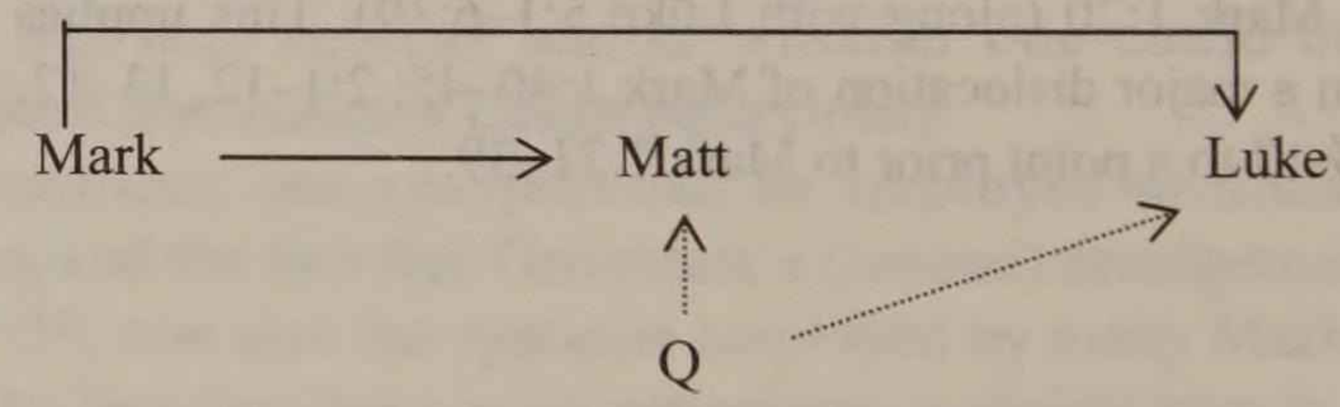
b. *Two Document Hypothesis*



c. *The Griesbach hypothesis (Markan element)*



2. Matthew as Medial (Rushbrooke, Huck[1–2], Larfeld)



3. Luke as Medial (Orchard)

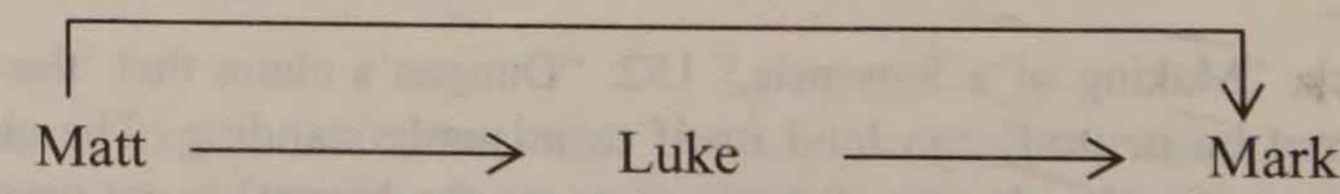
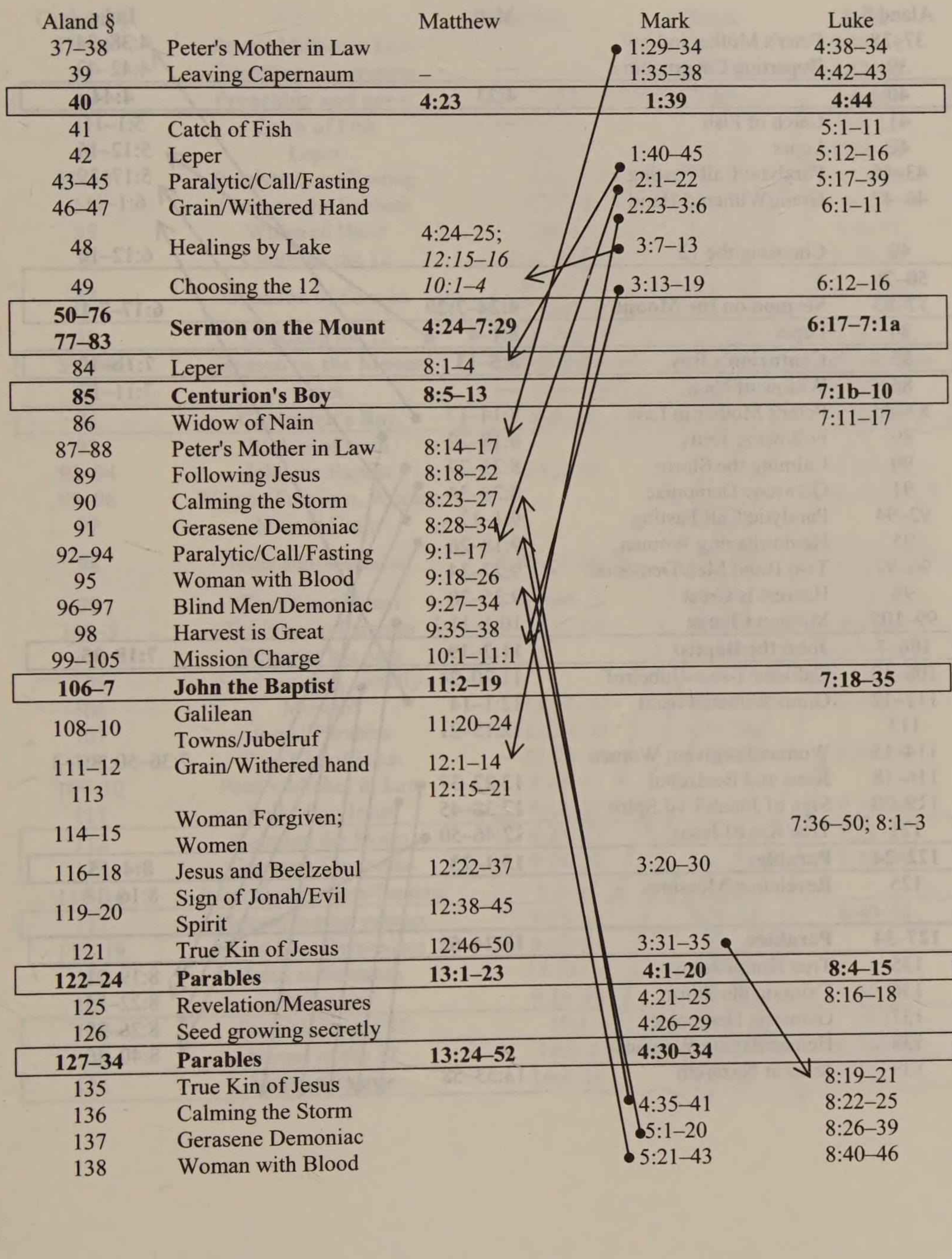


Figure 2: Aland (with Matt=Luke agreements with Markan sequence boxed)



Aland §		Matthew	Mark	Luke
37–38	Peter's Mother in Law		1:29–34	4:38–34
39	Leaving Capernaum	–	1:35–38	4:42–43
40		**4:23**	**1:39**	**4:44**
41	Catch of Fish			5:1–11
42	Leper		1:40–45	5:12–16
43–45	Paralytic/Call/Fasting		2:1–22	5:17–39
46–47	Grain/Withered Hand		2:23–3:6	6:1–11
48	Healings by Lake	4:24–25; *12:15–16*	3:7–13	
49	Choosing the 12	*10:1–4*	3:13–19	6:12–16
50–76 77–83	**Sermon on the Mount**	**4:24–7:29**		**6:17–7:1a**
84	Leper	8:1–4		
85	**Centurion's Boy**	**8:5–13**		**7:1b–10**
86	Widow of Nain			7:11–17
87–88	Peter's Mother in Law	8:14–17		
89	Following Jesus	8:18–22		
90	Calming the Storm	8:23–27		
91	Gerasene Demoniac	8:28–34		
92–94	Paralytic/Call/Fasting	9:1–17		
95	Woman with Blood	9:18–26		
96–97	Blind Men/Demoniac	9:27–34		
98	Harvest is Great	9:35–38		
99–105	Mission Charge	10:1–11:1		
106–7	**John the Baptist**	**11:2–19**		**7:18–35**
108–10	Galilean Towns/Jubelruf	11:20–24		
111–12	Grain/Withered hand	12:1–14		
113		12:15–21		
114–15	Woman Forgiven; Women			7:36–50; 8:1–3
116–18	Jesus and Beelzebul	12:22–37	3:20–30	
119–20	Sign of Jonah/Evil Spirit	12:38–45		
121	True Kin of Jesus	12:46–50	3:31–35	
122–24	**Parables**	**13:1–23**	**4:1–20**	**8:4–15**
125	Revelation/Measures		4:21–25	8:16–18
126	Seed growing secretly		4:26–29	
127–34	**Parables**	**13:24–52**	**4:30–34**	
135	True Kin of Jesus			8:19–21
136	Calming the Storm		4:35–41	8:22–25
137	Gerasene Demoniac		5:1–20	8:26–39
138	Woman with Blood		5:21–43	8:40–46

Figure 3: 2GH on Aland

Aland §		Matt	Luke
37–38	Peter's Mother in Law		4:38–34
39	Departing Capernaum	—	4:42–43
40		**4:23**	**4:44**
41	Catch of Fish	—	5:1–11
42	Leper		5:12–16
43–45	Paralytic/Call/Fasting		5:17–39
46–47	Grain/Withered Hand		6:1–11
49	Choosing the 12		6:12–16
50–76			
77–83	**Sermon on the Mount**	**4:24–7:29**	**6:17–7:1a**
84	Leper	8:1–4	
85	**Centurion's Boy**	**8:5–13**	**7:1b–10**
86	Widow of Nain	—	7:11–17
87–88	Peter's Mother in Law	8:14–17	
89	Following Jesus	8:18–22	
90	Calming the Storm	8:23–27	
91	Gerasene Demoniac	8:28–34	
92–94	Paralytic/Call/Fasting	9:1–17	
95	Hemorrhaging Woman	9:18–26	
96–97	Two Blind Men/Demoniac	9:27–34	
98	Harvest is Great	9:35–38	
99–105	Mission Charge	10:1–11:1	
106–7	**John the Baptist**	**11:2–19**	**7:18–35**
108–10	Galilean Towns/Jubelruf	11:20–24	
111–12	Grain/Withered hand	12:1–14	
113		12:15–21	
114–15	Woman Forgiven; Women	—	7:36–50; 8:1–3
116–18	Jesus and Beelzebul	12:22–37	
119–20	Sign of Jonah/Evil Spirit	12:38–45	
121	True Kin of Jesus	12:46–50	
122–24	**Parables**	**13:1–23**	**8:4–15**
125	Revelation/Measures		8:16–18
127–34	**Parables**	**13:24–52**	
135	True Kin of Jesus		8:19–21
136	Calming the Storm		8:22–25
137	Gerasene Demoniac		8:26–39
138	Hemorrhaging Woman		8:40–46
139	Jesus at Nazareth	13:53–58	

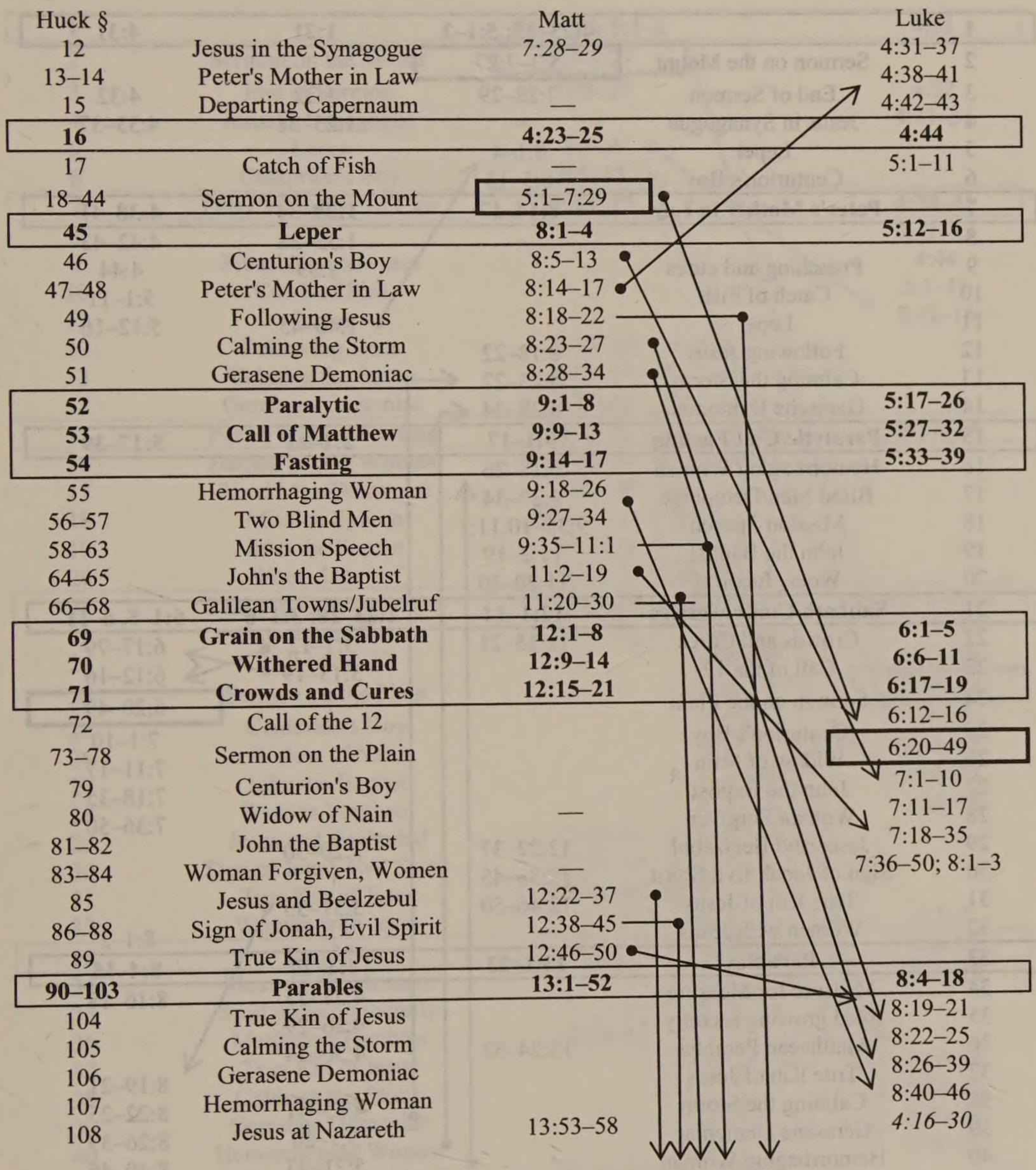
Figure 4: 2GH on Orchard

Orchard §		Matthew	Mark	Luke
43–44	Peter's Mother in Law		1:29–34	4:38–41
45	Departing Capernaum		1:35–38	4:42–43
46	**Preaching and cures**	**4:23**	**1:39**	**4:44**
47	Catch of Fish			5:1–11
48	Leper	*8:1–4*	1:40–45	5:12–16
51–53	Paralytic/Levi/Fasting	*9:1–17*	2:1–22	5:17–39
54	Grain on the Sabbath	*12:1–8*	2:23–28	6:1–5
55	Withered Hand	*12:9–15a*	3:1–7a	6:6–11
56	Choosing the 12	*5:1; 10:2–4*	*3:13–19*	6:12–16
57	Occasion of Sermon	4:24–25; *12:15b–16*	3:7b–12	6:17–19
58	Choosing the 12	5:1; *10:2–4*	3:13–19	*6:12–16*
59–89	**Sermon on the Mount**	**5:2–7:29**		**6:20–49; 7:1a**
90	Leper	8:1–4	*1:40–45*	*5:12–16*
91	**Centurion's Boy**	**8:5–13**		**7:1b–10**
92	Widow of Nain			7:11–17
93–94	John the Baptist	*11:2–19*		7:18–35
95–96	Woman Forgiven, Women			7:36–50; 8:1–3
97	Jesus is Crazy		3:20–21	
98	Jesus and Beelzebul	*9:34 12:24–30*	3:22–30	*11:15–18, 21; 22; 12:10*
99	True Kin of Jesus	*12:46–50*	3:31–35	*8:19–21*
100–3	Teaching in Parables	*13:1–23*	4:1–20	8:4–15
104	Whoever has ears		4:21–25	8:16–18
105	Seed growing secretly		4:26–29	
106	Mustard	*13:31–32*	4:30–32	*13:18–19*
107	Jesus' Parables	*13:34–35*	4:33–34	
108	True Kin of Jesus	*12:26–50*	*3:31–35*	8:19–21
109–10	Peter's Mother in Law	8:14–17		
111	Following Jesus	8:18–22		*9:57–60*
112	Calming the Storm	8:23–27	4:35–41	8:22–25
113	Gerasene Demoniac	8:28–34	5:1–20	8:26–39
114–16	Paralytic/Matthew/Fasting	9:1–17		
117	Hemorrhaging woman	9:18–26	5:21–43	8:40–56
118–19	Blind Men/Demoniacs	9:27–34		
120	Jesus at Nazareth	*13:53–58*	6:1–6a	
121	Summary	9:35–38	6:6b	*10:2*
122	Commissioning 12	10:1	6:7	9:1
123	Names of the 12	10:2–4	*3:14–19*	*6:13b–16*
124	Mission Charge	10:5–15	6:8–11	9:2–5

Figure 5: Huck–Lietzmann (cf. Huck–Greeven)

Huck §		Matt	Mark	Luke
12	Jesus in the Synagogue	*7:28–29*	1:21–28	4:31–37
13–14	Peter's Mother in Law		1:29–31, 32–34	4:38–41
15	Departing Capernaum	—	1:35–38	4:42–43
16		**4:23–25**	**1:39**	**4:44**
17	Catch of Fish	—	—	5:1–11
18–44	Sermon on the Mount	5:1–7:29	—	
45	**Leper**	**8:1–4**	**1:40–45**	**5:12–16**
46	Centurion's Boy	8:5–13	—	
47–48	Peter's Mother in Law	8:14–17		
49	Following Jesus	8:18–22		
50	Calming the Storm	8:23–27		
51	Gerasene Demoniac	8:28–34		
52	**Paralytic**	**9:1–8**	**2:1–12**	**5:17–26**
53	**Call of Matthew**	**9:9–13**	**2:13–17**	**5:27–32**
54	**Fasting**	**9:14–17**	**2:18–22**	**5:33–39**
55	Hemorrhaging Woman	9:18–26		
56–57	Two Blind Men	9:27–34		
58–63	Mission Speech	9:35–11:1		
64–65	John's the Baptist	11:2–19		
66–68	Galilean Towns/Jubelruf	11:20–30		
69	**Grain on the Sabbath**	**12:1–8**	**2:23–28**	**6:1–5**
70	**Withered Hand**	**12:9–14**	**3:1–6**	**6:6–11**
71	Crowds and Cures	**12:15–21**	**3:7–12**	6:17–19
72	Call of the 12		**3:13–19**	**6:12–16**
73–78	Sermon on the Plain		—	6:20–49
79	Centurion's Boy		—	7:1–10
80	Widow of Nain	—	—	7:11–17
81–82	John the Baptist		—	7:18–35
83–84	Woman Forgiven, Women	—	—	7:36–50; 8:1–3
85	Jesus and Beelzebul	12:22–37	3:20–30	
86–88	Sign of Jonah, Evil Spirit	12:38–45	—	
89	True Kin of Jesus	12:46–50	3:31–35	
90–103	**Parables**	**13:1–52**	**4:1–34**	**8:4–18**
104	True Kin of Jesus			8:19–21
105	Calming the Storm		4:35–41	8:22–25
106	Gerasene Demoniac		5:1–20	8:26–39
107	Hemorrhaging Woman		5:21–43	8:40–56
108	Jesus at Nazareth	13:53–58	6:1–6	*4:16–30*

Figure 6: 2GH (Matt → Luke) on Huck–Lietzmann

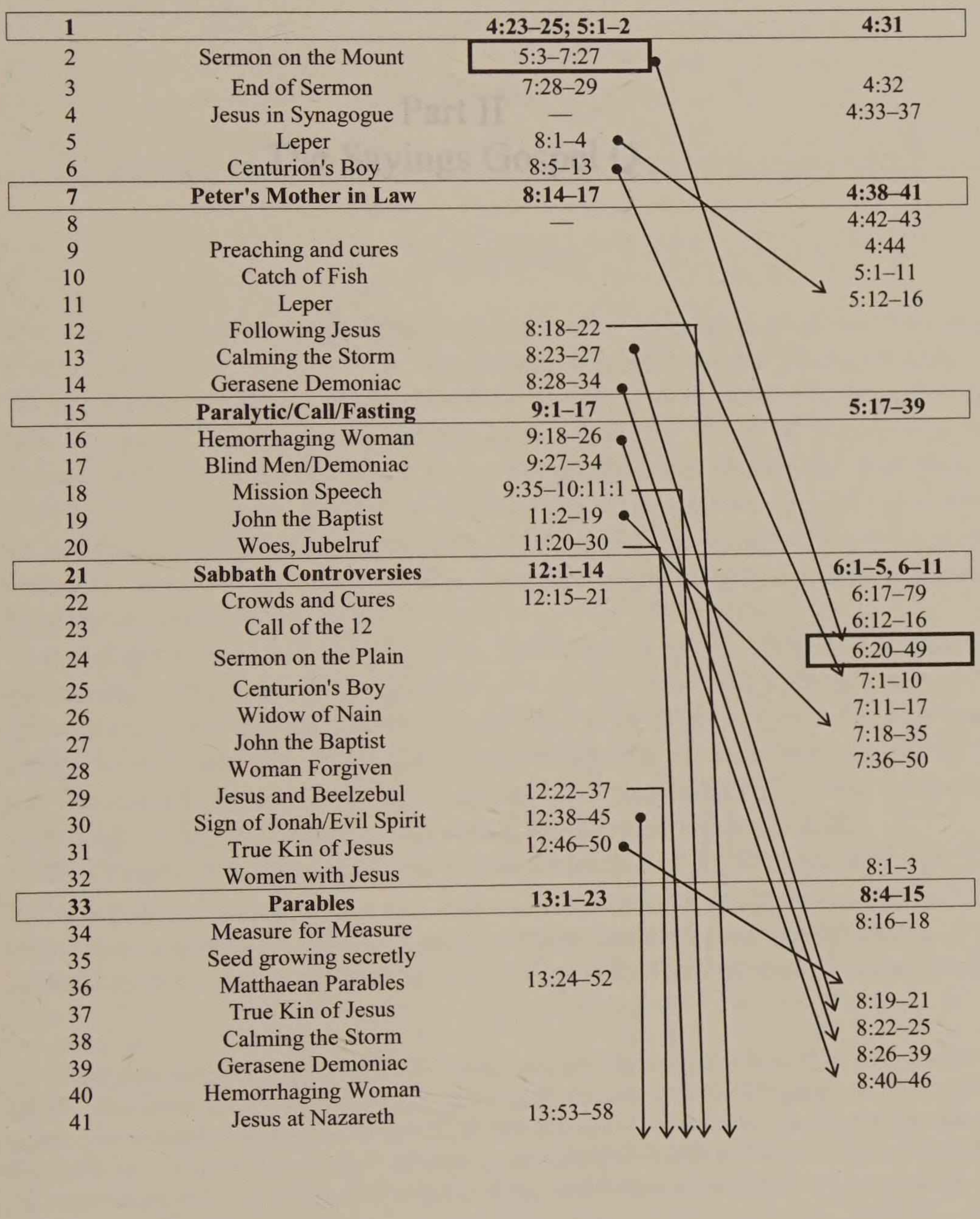


Huck §		Matt	Luke
12	Jesus in the Synagogue	*7:28–29*	4:31–37
13–14	Peter's Mother in Law		4:38–41
15	Departing Capernaum	—	4:42–43
16		**4:23–25**	**4:44**
17	Catch of Fish	—	5:1–11
18–44	Sermon on the Mount	5:1–7:29	
45	**Leper**	**8:1–4**	**5:12–16**
46	Centurion's Boy	8:5–13	
47–48	Peter's Mother in Law	8:14–17	
49	Following Jesus	8:18–22	
50	Calming the Storm	8:23–27	
51	Gerasene Demoniac	8:28–34	
52	**Paralytic**	**9:1–8**	**5:17–26**
53	**Call of Matthew**	**9:9–13**	**5:27–32**
54	**Fasting**	**9:14–17**	**5:33–39**
55	Hemorrhaging Woman	9:18–26	
56–57	Two Blind Men	9:27–34	
58–63	Mission Speech	9:35–11:1	
64–65	John's the Baptist	11:2–19	
66–68	Galilean Towns/Jubelruf	11:20–30	
69	**Grain on the Sabbath**	**12:1–8**	**6:1–5**
70	**Withered Hand**	**12:9–14**	**6:6–11**
71	**Crowds and Cures**	**12:15–21**	**6:17–19**
72	Call of the 12		6:12–16
73–78	Sermon on the Plain		6:20–49
79	Centurion's Boy		7:1–10
80	Widow of Nain	—	7:11–17
81–82	John the Baptist		7:18–35
83–84	Woman Forgiven, Women	—	7:36–50; 8:1–3
85	Jesus and Beelzebul	12:22–37	
86–88	Sign of Jonah, Evil Spirit	12:38–45	
89	True Kin of Jesus	12:46–50	
90–103	**Parables**	**13:1–52**	**8:4–18**
104	True Kin of Jesus		8:19–21
105	Calming the Storm		8:22–25
106	Gerasene Demoniac		8:26–39
107	Hemorrhaging Woman		8:40–46
108	Jesus at Nazareth	13:53–58	*4:16–30*

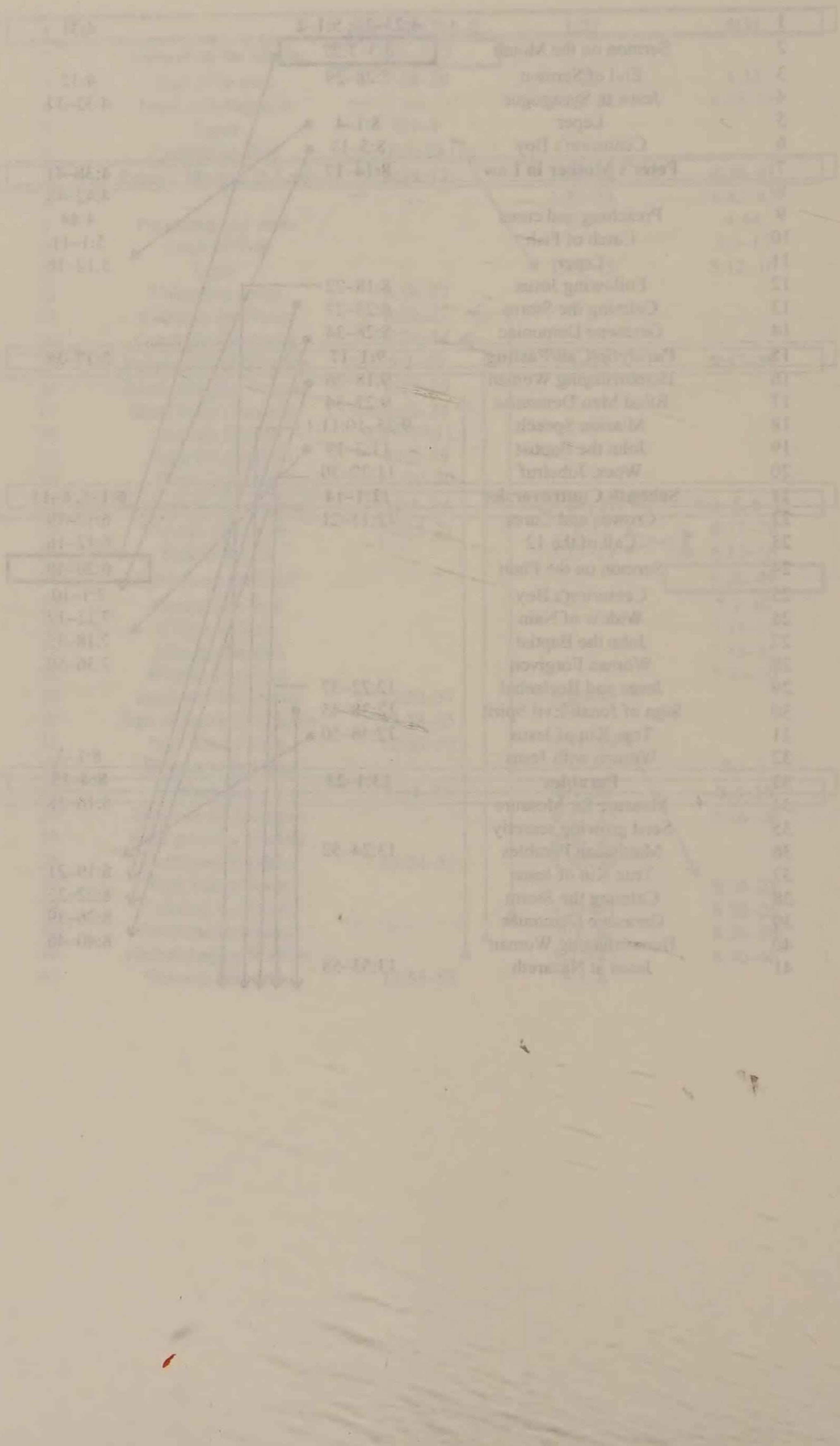
Figure 7: The Sermon on the Mount at Mark 1:21

1		**4:23–25; 5:1–2**	**1:21**	**4:31**
2	Sermon on the Mount	5:3–7:27		
3	End of Sermon	7:28–29	1:22	4:32
4	Jesus in Synagogue	—	1:23–28	4:33–37
5	Leper	8:1–4		
6	Centurion's Boy	8:5–13		
7	**Peter's Mother in Law**	**8:14–17**	**1:29–34**	**4:38–41**
8		—	1:35–38	4:42–43
9	Preaching and cures		1:39	4:44
10	Catch of Fish			5:1–11
11	Leper		1:40–45	5:12–16
12	Following Jesus	8:18–22		
13	Calming the Storm	8:23–27		
14	Gerasene Demoniac	8:28–34		
15	**Paralytic/Call/Fasting**	**9:1–17**	**2:1–22**	**5:17–39**
16	Hemorrhaging Woman	9:18–26		
17	Blind Men/Demoniac	9:27–34		
18	Mission Speech	9:35–10:11:1		
19	John the Baptist	11:2–19		
20	Woes, Jubelruf	11:20–30		
21	**Sabbath Controversies**	**12:1–14**	**2:23–28; 3:1–6**	**6:1–5, 6–11**
22	Crowds and Cures	12:15–21	3:7–12	6:17–79
23	Call of the 12		3:13–19	6:12–16
24	Sermon on the Plain			6:20–49
25	Centurion's Boy			7:1–10
26	Widow of Nain			7:11–17
27	John the Baptist			7:18–35
28	Woman Forgiven			7:36–50
29	Jesus and Beelzebul	12:22–37	3:20–30	
30	Sign of Jonah/Evil Spirit	12:38–45		
31	True Kin of Jesus	12:46–50	3:31–35	
32	Women with Jesus			8:1–3
33	**Parables**	**13:1–23**	**4:1–20**	**8:4–15**
34	Measure for Measure		4:21–25	8:16–18
35	Seed growing secretly		4:26–29	
36	Matthaean Parables	13:24–52	4:30–34	
37	True Kin of Jesus			8:19–21
38	Calming the Storm		4:35–41	8:22–25
39	Gerasene Demoniac		5:1–20	8:26–39
40	Hemorrhaging Woman		5:21–43	8:40–46
41	Jesus at Nazareth	13:53–58	6:1–6	

Figure 8: Matt → Luke (2GH): The Sermon on the Mount at Mark 1:21



1		**4:23–25; 5:1–2**	**4:31**
2	Sermon on the Mount	5:3–7:27	
3	End of Sermon	7:28–29	4:32
4	Jesus in Synagogue	—	4:33–37
5	Leper	8:1–4	
6	Centurion's Boy	8:5–13	
7	**Peter's Mother in Law**	**8:14–17**	**4:38–41**
8		—	4:42–43
9	Preaching and cures		4:44
10	Catch of Fish		5:1–11
11	Leper		5:12–16
12	Following Jesus	8:18–22	
13	Calming the Storm	8:23–27	
14	Gerasene Demoniac	8:28–34	
15	**Paralytic/Call/Fasting**	**9:1–17**	**5:17–39**
16	Hemorrhaging Woman	9:18–26	
17	Blind Men/Demoniac	9:27–34	
18	Mission Speech	9:35–10:11:1	
19	John the Baptist	11:2–19	
20	Woes, Jubelruf	11:20–30	
21	**Sabbath Controversies**	**12:1–14**	**6:1–5, 6–11**
22	Crowds and Cures	12:15–21	6:17–79
23	Call of the 12		6:12–16
24	Sermon on the Plain		6:20–49
25	Centurion's Boy		7:1–10
26	Widow of Nain		7:11–17
27	John the Baptist		7:18–35
28	Woman Forgiven		7:36–50
29	Jesus and Beelzebul	12:22–37	
30	Sign of Jonah/Evil Spirit	12:38–45	
31	True Kin of Jesus	12:46–50	
32	Women with Jesus		8:1–3
33	**Parables**	**13:1–23**	**8:4–15**
34	Measure for Measure		8:16–18
35	Seed growing secretly		
36	Matthaean Parables	13:24–52	
37	True Kin of Jesus		8:19–21
38	Calming the Storm		8:22–25
39	Gerasene Demoniac		8:26–39
40	Hemorrhaging Woman		8:40–46
41	Jesus at Nazareth	13:53–58	



Part II
The Sayings Gospel Q

Chapter 6

Symbolic Eschatology and the Apocalypticism of Q[1]

Introduction

The relationship of the preaching and teaching of Jesus to apocalyptic has been a vexed one ever since Albert Schweitzer's assault on the liberal "Lives of Jesus" and his advocacy of consistent eschatology along with his characterization of Jesus' teachings as interim ethics.[2] While many of the details of Schweitzer's hypothesis failed to be persuasive, his insistence that Jesus' activity be seen in the context of apocalypticism has made a profound impact on subsequent historical Jesus scholarship and, in spite of his own noncommital stance with regard to the Two Document Hypothesis, on the theological characterization of Q.

Although it appeared the year after Schweitzer's book, Adolf von Harnack's monumental treatment of Q, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, was little influenced by Schweitzer's conclusions. Harnack continued to be quite unsympathetic to apocalypticism, criticizing Mark for exaggerating this element at the expense of the "purely religious and ethical elements" in Jesus' teaching. It was the latter, of course, which for Harnack was so clearly exemplified in Q.[3] [288]

This characterization of Q was not to stand, however. Those who, under the influence of Johannes Weiss and Schweitzer, regarded Jesus as a herald of the imminent appearance of the Kingdom quite naturally supposed that Q was imbued with a similar form of apocalypticism. Rudolf Bultmann, for example,

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[1] First published as "Symbolic Eschatology and the Apocalypticism of Q." *HTR* 80, no. 3 (1987): 287–306. ©Harvard University. Used with permission. The original version of this paper was presented to the joint meeting of the SBL Early Christian Apocalypticism and Q Seminars on 23 November 1986 in Atlanta. I am indebted to Adela Yarbro Collins (chair of the Apocalypticism Seminar), Hans Dieter Betz, and Charles E. Carlston for a number of helpful comments.

[2] Albert Schweitzer, *Von Reimarus zu Wrede: Eine Geschichte der Leben Jesu Forschung* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1906); ET *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* (First complete ed.; with a foreword by Dennis Nineham, trans. W. Montgomery, et al.; ed. John Bowden; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).

[3] Adolf von Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu: Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas* (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament 2; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907); ET: *The Sayings of Jesus: The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke* (trans. John Richard Wilkinson; New Testament Studies 2; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), esp. 250–51.

while observing that Jesus' preaching was free from the speculative and fantastic elements of some apocalyptic traditions, nonetheless situated that preaching firmly within the context of apocalyptic expectations and emphasized Q's continuity with that context. The urgency of the mission to Israel (Q 10:4–12), the use of the eschatological preaching of the Baptist (Q 3:7–9) as a preface for the collection, the "eschatological consciousness" of the beatitudes (Q 6:20–23) and the Parousia sayings (Q 17:23–37) all underlined this continuity.[4]

Even when more recent scholarship has had occasion to doubt the cogency of the construct of the "apocalyptic Jesus,"[5] the apocalyptic Q has remained. In fact, Q became a benchmark in the apocalypticizing of primitive Christian preaching. Two factors were decisive here. First, Philipp Vielhauer's conclusion that all of the Son of Man sayings, including those which spoke of the *coming* Son of Man, should be regarded as secondary formulations when compared with the mainly authentic Kingdom sayings has met with rather widespread acceptance.[6] This has had the effect of underscoring the apocalypticism of Q, a principal source of Son of Man sayings. Second, when Ernst Käsemann rejected the compatibility of Jesus' preaching of the immediacy of God with the expectations of the coming Son of Man, the restoration of Israel, and the Parousia, it became necessary to account for the shift from Jesus' preaching to that of the early Church. His explanation involved post-Easter apocalyptic enthusiasm mediated especially in "sentences of holy law."[7] Again, Q provides textbook examples of this form (Q 12:8–9, 10) and includes many other instances of prophetic words.

Hence it is not particularly surprising when some authors characterize virtually every Q pericope as eschatological in nature[8] and describe the com-

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[4] Rudolf K. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. K. Grobel; New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1951–55), 1:4–5, 42.

[5] For a discussion, see Marcus J. Borg, "A Temperate Case for a Non-Eschatological Jesus," *Forum* 2, no. 3 (1986): 81–103.

[6] Philipp Vielhauer, "Gottesreich und Menschensohn in der Verkündigung Jesu," in *Festschrift für Günther Dehn zum 75. Geburtstag am 18. April 1957 dargebracht* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; Neukirchen: Kreis Moers, 1957), 51–79, repr. as "Gottesreich und Menschensohn in der Verkündigung Jesu," in *Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament* (TBü 31; Munich: Chr. Kaiser, 1965), 55–91; idem, "Jesus und der Menschensohn: Zur Diskussion mit Heinz Eduard Tödt und Eduard Schweizer," *ZTK* 60 (1963): 133–77.

[7] Ernst Käsemann, "The Beginnings of Christian Theology," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (trans. W. J. Montague; London: SCM Press, 1969), 101–2. See also idem, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (trans. W. J. Montague; London: SCM Press, 1969), 108–37.

[8] Howard Clark Kee holds that only 11 of the 52 units of tradition in Q are not explicitly eschatological, and even these are compatible with an eschatological outlook ("Wisdom Tradition and Christology in Q," Unpublished paper presented at 1984 SBL Q Consultation, Chicago [Dec 1984] [1984]). This division of Q is based on his analysis in *Jesus in History: An Approach to the Study of the Gospels* (2d ed; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich,

munity [289] that transmitted the material as an apocalyptic sect. Siegfried Schulz, following Käsemann's thesis concerning the generative character of apocalypticism for primitive Palestinian Christianity, affirmed the thoroughly apocalyptic character of the earliest Q stratum[9]:

> There is no question that the Palestinian Jewish-Christianity which stands behind the oldest Q material was an eschatological and enthusiastic movement filled with a burning expectation of the end, and in this respect was no different from other communities in Israel. This is not altered by the fact that in the oldest Q material titles such as "the true Israel" or "the new Israel" or, as in the Aramaic-speaking community in Jerusalem, the eschatological title "the Elect" and "the Holy Ones" ("the poor"?) are absent. The oldest Q community understood itself as the community of the Endtime.

The presence in Q of sentences of holy law played a decisive role in this assessment.[10] Apocalyptic sectarianism is likewise stressed in Norman Perrin's treatment of Q: "The community that created the source Q proclaimed the imminent coming of Jesus from heaven as Son of Man and prepared for that coming, challenging others to do the same."[11] Son of Man christology is key, providing the lens through which both the present experience and the future expectations of the community are interpreted. "The model for the alienated Christian who awaits the End is the alienated Son of Man who has no home, and the hope of the alienated Christian is the hope for the Son of Man who will come as judge and [290] savior."[12] On this view, apocalyptic vindication of the elect lies at the heart of the theology of Q.

These characterizations of Q are certainly not without truth. To leave matters here, however, would be to obscure other important features of Q and indeed to miss some of the peculiarities of Q's eschatology. Richard Edwards rightly points to the significant contributions of Q from sapiential as well as apocalyptic and prophetic traditions[13] and Charles Carlston's careful catalogue

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1977), 84–87. In the first edition of *Jesus in History* (1970), Kee divided Q into 41 units, of which only three (Q 11:34–36; 16:13; 17:3–6) were "purely didactic" (71). In the later works, there is no indication as to which 11 pericopae are noneschatological, although presumably the three above mentioned and 7:1–10 are to be included.

[9] Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), 168. My translation.

[10] Schulz (*Spruchquelle*, 33–34) points out that most of the Matthaean texts upon which Käsemann built his thesis are in fact Q texts. Q 10:23–24; 6:22–23; 12:11–12 reflect prophetic enthusiasm; Q 12:2–9 and 12:10 are sentences of holy law; the eschatological future appears in sentences such as Q 10:12, 13–15; 11:31–32; apocalyptically interpreted sayings occur at Q 6:37; 14:11; 12:2–3; 17:33, and Q has several apocalyptic blessings and curses (6:20–23; 10:13–15; 13:26–27, 28–29). I have converted all of Käsemann's and Schulz's Matthaean citations into Q [=Lukan] versification.

[11] Norman Perrin and Dennis Duling, *The New Testament: An Introduction: Proclamation and Parenesis, Myth and History* (2nd ed.; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1982), 73–79, 100–7 (quotation, p. 75).

[12] Perrin and Duling, *Introduction*, 106–7.

[13] Richard A. Edwards, "An Approach to the Theology of Q," *JR* 51 (1971): 247–69; *A Theology of Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976).

of the wisdom materials in Q demonstrates that "wisdom is a basic, not an adventitious, element in the theological outlook of the Q community."[14] At the same time, Carlston notes the relative paucity of writings in the late Hellenistic period that gave equal weight to both wisdom and apocalyptic simultaneously. Normally, one becomes a function of the other. Sapiential paraenesis occurs in *1 Enoch*, *2 Enoch*, and the *Testament of Levi* but there it functions within a larger apocalyptic framework. On the other hand, the Wisdom of Solomon is sometimes called an "apocalyptic wisdom book"[15] in recognition of its use of apocalyptic tradition, especially the notion of elevation of the just to the heavenly sphere (5:5).[16] But the differences between wisdom and apocalyptic books are just as striking, even on subjects such as post-mortem exaltation where the two display interesting similarities.[17] And while Daniel shares some sapiential features, these belong mainly to the sphere of mantic wisdom, that is, the wisdom obtained in dreams and visions.[18] In assessing the nature of Q's eschatology, it is essential to attend both to the type of apocalyptic motifs which Q evidences and to the broader set of theological assumptions within which these apocalyptic themes function. [**291**]

Of course, Q is not an apocalypse nor does it contain one.[19] There is no vision or tour of heaven, no angelic mediator, no mantic elements. Nor is Q interested in *Listenwissenschaft* and astral or cosmic secrets. The most obvious apocalyptic items in Q's inventory of sayings are future Son of Man sayings. At this point, however, we confront a serious interpretive question posed in recent redactional and compositional analysis of Q. Independently of each

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[14] Charles E. Carlston, "Wisdom and Eschatology in Q," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 101–19 (here, 112). The significance of sapiential elements for the assessment of the genre of Q was already identified by James M. Robinson in his 1964 essay, "ΛΟΓΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΝ: Zur Gattung der Spruchquelle Q," in *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann* (ed. Erich Dinkler; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1964), 77–96, ET "LOGOI SOPHON: On the Gattung of Q," in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 71–113. Robinson's insights have been carried further by the present author in *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987).

[15] Johannes Fichtner, "Die Stellung der Sapientia Salomonis in der Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte ihrer Zeit," *ZNW* 36 (1937): 113–32.

[16] See David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 43; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1979), 147; John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel* (HSM 16; Chico, Calif.: Published by Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum, 1977), 210–12.

[17] See James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (AnBib 41; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 62–71.

[18] Hans-Peter Müller, "Mantische Weisheit und Apokalyptik," in *Congress Volume, Uppsala* (VTSup 22; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 268–93.

[19] [Ed. note: This reverses an opinion I expressed in *The Formation of Q*, where I accepted Conzelmann's characterization of Q 17:22–37 as the "Q Apocalypse."]

other, and using strikingly different methods, Helmut Koester and Heinz Schürmann both concluded that Son of Man sayings did not belong to the earliest strata of Q.[20] Schürmann, in addition, argued that the Son of Man sayings were not added as late as the final assembling of Q. Hence, these sayings characterize neither the formative layers of Q nor the perspective of the final redaction. This conclusion effectively overturned Heinz E. Tödt's assertion that "Son of Man Christology and Q belong together both in their concepts and in their history of tradition."[21] Even if this sort of apocalypticism does not constitute the impulse operative behind the initial or final stages of Q, it is, of course, possible that at some point in its development, Q breathed enough of the apocalyptic atmosphere to justify the characterization of Schulz and Perrin. But precisely this conclusion must be defended on the basis of two inquiries. First, why were apocalyptic elements such as the coming Son of Man sayings absorbed into Q? And second, how did they function in the theological matrix to which they were secondarily attached? In order to begin to address these questions, we must first look at some of the formative elements in Q.[22]

Eschatological Wisdom in Q

In any accounting of Q, sapiential elements play a major role. It is difficult to miss the pervasive eschatological tenor of these wisdom elements.[23] But it is another question whether the term apocalyptic is an accurate characterization for the redeployment of these wisdom materials. [**292**]

One example sufficiently illustrates the thoroughly eschatological use of wisdom materials. The instruction concerning anxiety in the face of persecution (Q 12:2–12) begins with the wisdom sentence, "There is nothing covered

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[20] Helmut Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels," *HTR* 73 (1980): 112–14; Heinz Schürmann, "Beobachtungen zum Menschensohn-Titel in der Redequelle," in *Jesus und der Menschensohn: Für Anton Vögtle* (ed. Rudolf Pesch and Rudolf Schnackenburg; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1975), 124–47; reprinted in idem, *Gottes Reich, Jesu Geschick: Jesu ureigener Tod im Licht seiner Basileia-Verkündigung* (Freiburg im Breisgau; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1983), 153–82. [Ed. note: Schürmann's essay is now available in English as: "Observations on the Son of Man Title in the Speech Source: Its Occurrence in Closing and Introductory Expressions," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 74–97].

[21] Heinz Eduard Tödt, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. D.M. Barton; London: SCM Press, 1965), 269.

[22] For a discussion of the formative components of Q, see John S. Kloppenborg, "The Formation of Q and Antique Instructional Genres," *JBL* 105, no. 3 [1986]: 443–62 [reprinted in John S. Kloppenborg, ed., *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994], 138–55)].

[23] Edwards, "Theology of Q," 259, 261; Carlston, "Wisdom and Eschatology in Q," 112–13; John Dominic Crossan, *In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 129–30.

up that will not be revealed, and hidden that will not be known" (Q 12:2). Although it is imaginable that this saying originated as a secular proverb offering the banal observation "everything eventually comes to light," it is certainly not used in that way here. Instead Q 12:2 provides the ultimate warrant for preaching (Q 12:3)[24] and for enduring the physical abuse which may attend such preaching (Q 12:4–7, 11–12). The wisdom sentence about inevitable disclosure here refers to the ineluctable disclosure of the Kingdom, and it is the very inevitability, expressed aphoristically, that impels and justifies such preaching. Thus wisdom is set in the eschatological context of the manifestation of the Kingdom and conversely, the coming or presence of the Kingdom is expressed by means of sapiential logic.

Expectations associated with the coming and presence of the Kingdom provide the sanction for much of Q's instructional material and in this regard Q is thoroughly permeated by eschatology. Nevertheless it is important to ask whether the presence of an eschatological horizon justifies the label "apocalyptic." In this respect two observations are crucial. First, much of the specialized vocabulary of apocalypticism and even some of its central presuppositions are absent from large portions of Q. And second, in those sections which do reflect apocalyptic idiom, the restraint and high degree of selectivity in Q's use of apocalyptic language and assumptions are striking, and require some explanation.

Nonapocalyptic Configurations in Q

In his analysis of eschatology in the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain,[25] Hans Dieter Betz observed that the Lukan Sermon on the Plain (which is closer in extent and construction to Q than is Matthew's sermon[26]) is nonapocalyptic in idiom and projects a soteriology based on enlightenment

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[24] With Harnack (*Sayings of Jesus*, 83), Frans Neirynck ("Recent Developments in the Study of Q," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* [ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982], 29–75), and others, I reconstruct Q following Matt 10:27. [Ed. note: this is also the construction in *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000): ὃ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἴπατε ἐν τῷ φωτί, καὶ ὃ εἰς τὸ οὖς ἀκούετε κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων.]

[25] Hans Dieter Betz, "Eschatology in the Sermon on the Mount and the Sermon on the Plain," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers* (ed. Kent H. Richards; SBLSP 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 343–50.

[26] Betz himself evidently assumes a rather complex relationship between the two sermons and Q since he argues that both were discrete pre-Synoptic (and presumably, pre-Q) compositions. [Ed. note: This theory is worked out in much greater detail in Hans Dieter Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount: A Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995)].

through education in the ethics of Jesus. The use of apocalyptic *topoi* does not go beyond the traditional, conventional, even stereotypical. This verdict is even clearer for the Q inaugural sermon (Q 6:20b–49) than it is for Luke's sermon, which contains several redactional elements which Q lacks, such as "in that day" (Luke 6:23) and the "now ... then" schema of eschatological reward and [293] reversal.[27] For Betz the striking lack of apocalypticism in the Lukan sermon permits the supposition that it was formulated at a time before apocalypticism became a burning issue or, conceivably, in a context in which apocalyptic teaching was still regarded as a kind of *arcanum* reserved for the initiated.[28]

What Betz finds for the Sermon on the Plain holds *mutatis mutandis* for the Q inaugural sermon and for several other sections of Q as well. The instruction on prayer (Q 11:2–4, 9–13) obviously contains eschatological features: mention of the coming of the Kingdom (11:2), and the final petition that Christians not be led into testing (πειρασμός). But such references are quite general and in the present context they serve to dramatize the transformation of human existence expected when the absolute dependence of human life and the universe on God is brought to consciousness.[29] The construction of the unit in Q, with the essentially sapiential admonitions and illustrations in 11:9–13,[30] directs attention not to apocalyptic liberation in the future, but instead towards God's sustaining help in the present.[31]

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[27] See John S. Kloppenborg, "Blessing and Marginality: The 'Persecution Beatitude' in Q, Thomas & Early Christianity," *Forum* 2, no. 3 (1986): 36–56.

[28] Betz, "Eschatology," 350.

[29] See Amos Niven Wilder, *Jesus' Parables and the War of Myths: Essays on Imagination in the Scripture* (ed. James Breech; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 133–52.

[30] See the excellent formal analysis of this cluster of sayings by Ronald A. Piper, "Matthew 7,7–11 par. Lk 11,9–13: Evidence of Design and Argument in the Collection of Jesus' Sayings," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 411–18.

[31] Some of the components of Q 11:2–4, 9–13 may have been transmitted by and for itinerant preachers who depended absolutely upon providential provision. The present composition, with its petition concerning forgiveness and its catechetical flavor is consistent with an ecclesial *Sitz*. See Heinz Schürmann, "Das Zeugnis der Redenquelle für die Basileia-Verkündigung Jesu," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joel Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 151.

Much the same can be said of Q 12:22–34. While attention is directed to the Kingdom (Q 12:31), the verb used in this context, "to seek" (ζητέω), does not belong in the orbit of apocalyptic language but with sapiential usage.[32] Again, the instruction does not look forward to an apocalyptic deliverance, nor are its admonitions framed with the judgment in view. When the instruction advises not to "treasure up treasures on earth" (12:33–34), it does so not on the assumption that temporal acquisitions will eventually be destroyed apocalyptically as, for example, seems to be implied in 1 Cor 6:13: "Food is for the belly and the belly for food – and God will destroy both one and the other." Instead, its counsel is based on the inherently transitory character of material possessions.

An eschatological horizon is, in general terms, evident here but the metaphors of the Kingdom and incorruptible heavenly treasure serve primarily to [294] undergird the appeal to utter dependence on God's providential care in the present.

Q's Use of Apocalyptic Language

The label "apocalyptic" implies, of course, that a significant number of features characteristic of apocalypticism are either expressly stated or in some obvious manner presupposed. While most authors are appropriately hesitant to attempt a comprehensive and universally valid definition of apocalypticism, few would disagree that several features are more or less constant.

(1) Spatial and temporal dualism is key, expressed on the one hand in the acknowledgment of heavenly and nonhuman realities, supernatural beings, angels, and demons, usually accompanied by a relative denigration of the ultimate significance of human willing and action. Explanations of the ultimate causes of human sinfulness, answers to the problem of theodicy and the forces impelling human history are found in this spatially transcendent realm.

Temporal dualism is expressed, on the other hand, in the idea of two ages, or the coming of a new earth or the like. The implication that the two ages are discontinuous is usual in Jewish apocalyptic, though at Qumran and in some expressions of primitive Christianity apocalyptic characterizations are extended to both the immediate past and the present, thereby implying an interpenetration of the two ages.[33] It should be noted, however, that not all apocalyptic

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[32] See Joachim Jeremias, *New Testament Theology: The Proclamation of Jesus* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1971), 33, and Prov 8:32–35; Sir 6:27–28; 51:28; Wis 6:12.

[33] See Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, "The Phenomenon of Early Christian Apocalypticism: Some Reflections on Method," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism* (ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), 295–316.

systems expect divine intervention in an empirically verifiable manner, for example, by the establishing of a Kingdom of God on earth. The *Testament of Abraham* and *3 Baruch* expect reward and redress after death.

(2) A central apocalyptic assumption is that the cosmos is in a state of disorder or anomie and accordingly, human affairs are characterized by pessimism and alienation. Jonathan Z. Smith puts it thus: "The wrong king is on the throne, the cosmos will be thereby destroyed, and the right god will either restore proper kingship (his terrestrial counterpart) or will assume kingship himself."[34] This "loss of world" is dramatized by reports or predictions of serious dysfunctions in natural processes, physical and social degeneration, moral and cultural failure, apostasy among the faithful, and persecution of God's remnant. [**295**]

(3) The erosion and forfeiture of all inherited structures implies that humanity is without the resources for its own recovery. The only possibility remaining involves, as Amos Wilder puts it, a resort to "precultural" patterns – to archaic motifs and to language devoid of personal and current sociocultural features."[35] This is the language of new creation, resurrection, conflagration, universal judgment visited not only upon humankind, but upon the entire cosmos and its inhabitants and effected largely by nonhuman agencies.

(4) Historical determinism is usual too, expressed variously by means of schematic divisions of history, indications of the "signs of the times," and, occasionally, numeric patterns which permit actual calculation of the time of the end.

(5) The social function served by apocalypticism is, in broad terms, exhortation or consolation. While one cannot conclude that all apocalyptic systems arose during a time of persecution, there is no doubt that many of our examples did.[36] Anomic phenomena such as those arising from persecution find their resolution in an imaginative construct of the future and of the "true" meaning of the present. Revelation of the mysteries concerning the transcendent realm and the manner in which it impinges upon human existence and disclosures about the coming end may serve to recommend a particular course of action designed to effect redemption, for example, revolutionary engagement or withdrawal from society. But such disclosures may also resolve anomic phenomena without any obvious promise of immediate relief, as is the case in those apocalyptic systems which promise only post-mortem vindication at the

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[34] Jonathan Z. Smith, "A Pearl of Great Price and a Cargo of Yams: A Study in Situational Incongruity," *HR* 16, no. 1 (1976): 1–19, here 8; similarly, John J. Collins, "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *HR* 17, no. 2 (1977): 121–42; Paul D. Hanson, "Apocalypticism," *IDBSup* (1976): 28–34.

[35] Wilder, *Jesus' Parables and the War of Myths*, 153–68, here 157.

[36] See George W.E. Nickelsburg, "Social Aspects of Palestinian Jewish Apocalypticism," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism* (ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), 641–54.

judgment. Redemption may be operative, but in an empirically nonverifiable way.[37] In this instance, the apocalyptic imagination serves to make perseverance in the midst of crisis possible. John J. Collins remarks: "[Apocalyptic technique] provides a resolution in the imagination by instilling conviction in the revealed 'knowledge' that it imparts. The function of apocalyptic literature is to shape one's imaginative perception of a situation and so lay the basis for whatever course of action it exhorts."[38] [**296**]

Taken as a whole, Q reflects some, but not all, of these features. Obviously Q's perspective is framed both spatially by transcendent realities – heaven (6:23; 12:33), hell or Hades (10:5; 12:5), Sophia (7:35; 11:49), the Son of Man (12:8–9, 10, 40, etc.), angels (12:8–9), demons (11:14–26), and the devil (4:1–13) – and temporally by the coming judgment (3:7–9; 10:13–15; 11:31–32; 22:28–30), the destruction of the impenitent at the Parousia (3:17; 17:26–30), and the eschatological meal in the Kingdom (13:28–29; cf. 14:16–24). Consistent with apocalyptic idiom, the Parousia marks an abrupt termination of the present age. However for Q, as for some other expressions of Christian apocalypticism, the present already partakes of eschatological realities.

That the group[39] represented by Q experienced what it described as persecution is clear, and in this respect Q seems to cohere with one typical situation in which apocalypticism played a major role. In fact it appears that what is at issue is the rejection (and possibly the abuse) of missionaries rather than overt persecution of the entire group. All three explicit references to persecution or abuse (6:22–23; 11:49–51; 13:34–35) occur alongside the mention of the prophets and the two sayings implying the possibility of abuse in 10:3 and 12:4–7 are both aimed in the first instance at missionaries. It is a moot point whether the group as such experienced social pressure to the degree that Daniel's addressees did, although to be sure, apocalyptic can function in

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[37] See Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), 70–71.

[38] John J. Collins, *The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity* (New York: Crossroad, 1984), 32.

[39] [Ed. note. The original version of this paper used the term "Q community"; I now use the term "Q group." For a critique and ultimate rejection of the term "community" (*Gemeinde*) in relation to Q, see John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 170–71: "The term 'community' (*Gemeinde*) is problematic insofar as it is used to refer to a discrete and bounded 'church' with a clear membership, identity rituals, and the means by which to distinguish its members from other persons residing in the same locale. The existence of such 'churches' is scarcely conceivable in a village (which typically consist of 80–100 nuclear families representing two to four clans) and barely possible in a large town." "Instead of imagining with Theissen that the early Jesus movement represented by Q comprised itinerants with their sometime supporters, it seems more likely that there was a network of local groups and local leaders, perhaps household heads, and that the mobile workers were dependent upon the households both materially and for the legitimation of their roles" (p. 211).]

situations besides those of socio-political pressure and overt religious persecution. Interestingly, for Q this "persecution" or rejection is traced not to some transcendent cause such as demonic oppression, astral influence, or the hostile efforts of "angels of the nations," but to the historical pattern of Israel's persecution of the prophets (6:23; 11:49–51; 13:34–35).[40]

Both the impending judgment and the destruction of the impenitent loom large in Q and the catastrophic destruction of the world, at least, is visualized by means of the primal elements of fire (3:9, 17; 12:49; 17:29) and flood (17:27). Historical determinism is implicit in regard to both the eschatological events which have already occurred (10:23–24) and those which are yet to occur. Accordingly, there is mention of the wrath to come (3:7), the one who is to come (3:16; 13:35), the coming of the Son of Man (12:40; 17:24), signs of the times (12:54–56), and the punishment to be visited on "this generation" (11:51). But there is also assurance that the plight of the poor, hungry, and persecuted will be reversed (6:20b–23). [297]

Notable by their absence are several crucial apocalyptic features. Although persecution and rejection are part of Q's experience, there is little evidence of the sense of anomie characteristic of apocalypticism. "This generation" may be oblivious and unreceptive to the message of Q's preachers, demon possession may be a possibility (11:24–26), and the pursuit of wealth and security may be fundamentally opposed to the reign of God (12:33–34; 16:13), but the wrong king is not on the throne and the cosmos is not in revolt or decay. Q still speaks of God's intimate involvement in creation in quite positive terms: God feeds and clothes both birds and flowers (12:24–27) and attends to the fate of sparrows (12:6). Instead of the spectre of a topsy-turvy cosmos, Q appeals to the normalcy of biological and social processes. Good speech is to be expected from virtuous persons just as good produce comes from healthy trees (6:43–45); discipleship can be compared to prudent house construction (6:47–49); prayer is illustrated by the ordinary transactions of human families (11:11–13) and the startling growth of the Kingdom is visualized in the ordinary biological processes of the growth of the mustard and yeast (13:18–19; 20–21).

An obvious analogy for this use of sapiential argumentation is provided by the introduction to the Enochic Book of Watchers (*1 Enoch* 1–36). *1 Enoch* 2.1–5.3 is a series of examples drawn from nature demonstrating the regularity of natural processes and the obedience of astral and meteorological phenomena (2.1–3; 4.1), trees (3.1; 5.1), and the seas (5.3) to the commands of their creator.

These are cited to provide a contrast to the disobedience of the wicked to God's laws and to justify the judgment pronounced upon them. As is the case with Q, these sapiential appeals to nature are set in an eschatological context.

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[40] On this, see Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978); idem, "The Literary Unity of Q," *JBL* 101, no. 3 (1982): 365–89.

The eschatology of the introduction, however, is not heavily apocalyptic. James VanderKam in fact doubts that the term is appropriate to chaps. 1–5[41]:

> One should note that there is no survey of world history, no effort to organize it into epochs, and no detailing of final woes. The only eschatological event of importance is the judgment. As a result, though Enoch learns of the future through a vision, it seems inappropriate to label *1 Enoch* 1–5 an apocalypse or its contents apocalyptic eschatology. These chapters stand in the tradition of Israel's prophets and wise men.

In his discussion of the characterization of apocalypticism, Betz stresses that apocalyptic should not be defined in terms of sets of literary elements – pseudonymity, visions, and historical surveys – nor in terms of sets of theological motifs – pessimism, dualism, determinism –, but by means of the "underly[298]ing problem." This, for Betz, is the pollution of the elements caused by bloodshed and the entrapment of humankind which is its result. "Man stands 'ensnared in himself, helpless in a hostile world devouring and penetrating him completely'."[42] What propels the Book of Watchers into the orbit of apocalypticism is the account of the origin of violence and fornication in *1 Enoch* 6–11. This section traces these pollutions to angelic agents and represents the entire earth as corrupted and oppressed by the fallen angels. Unable to help itself, the earth accuses its oppressors and cries to God for deliverance (7.6; 8.4; 9.2, 10).[43]

In the face of the pervasive pollution of the cosmos, humankind is helpless and lost. "Redemption can only come from the deity, who rules over the elementary and celestial spirits. God's saving acts result in the 'purification' of the earth, the restitution of righteousness and worship of the deity among men, and the announcement of an era of paradise."[44] The mythic account of primeval fall and eschatological deliverance becomes the lens through which the Enochic group interprets the violence and oppression which it experiences, and the vehicle of imagination in which anomic phenomena are resolved and pollution is removed.[45]

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[41] James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 119.

[42] Hans Dieter Betz, "On the Problem of the Religio-Historical Understanding of Apocalypticism," in *Apocalypticism* (ed. Robert W. Funk; Journal for Theology and the Church 6; New York: Herder & Herder, 1969), 134–56 (148). The quotation is from Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und spätantiker Geist I: Die mythologische Gnosis mit einer Einleitung zur Geschichte und Methodologie der Forschung* (3. verbesserte und vermehrte Aufl.; 1st ed. 1934; repr., FRLANT 51; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1964), 199.

[43] George W.E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 383–405.

[44] Betz, "Religio-Historical Understanding," 148. Betz demonstrates the linkages between I Enoch, Revelation, and the Hermetic *Kore Kosmou*.

[45] Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth," 390–91; John J. Collins, *Apocalyptic Imagination*, 36–46.

Hence, the sapiential unit in *1 Enoch* 2.1–5.3 has been set within a framework which evinces the apocalyptic problems of anomie, disorder, and pollution. By contrast, it is precisely this sense of anomie, of devastating and inescapable pollution, of demonic domination which is not evidenced in Q.

It is true that in Q's temptation story the devil claims to be able to deliver to Jesus "all the kingdoms of the earth and their glory" (4:5–7). This statement, however, must be interpreted in accordance with the function of the story in Q. As the varying uses to which the account has been put amply demonstrate, the temptation story is polyvalent and permits many applications: as a paradigm of obedience, as a polemic against false christologies, as a recapitulation of Israel's wilderness experience, to mention only a few. It is unjustified to interpret the story of Q on the analogy of the function of Mark 1:12–13–as the inauguration of the eschatological struggle in which Satan and his minions are bound and the Kingdom manifest[46] – because Q elsewhere shows such little interest in [**299**] exorcisms, demons, and Satan (occurring only at Q 11:14–26). Instead, the story functions both paradigmatically, illustrating the virtues which Q elsewhere enjoins, and as the "qualifying test" of the sage, an element which belongs firmly within the range of constituent features of antique wisdom collections.[47] Although in another context, the devil's claim could be taken as indicative of a demonic interpretation of the Imperium Romanum,[48] the function of the Q story does nothing to promote such a view, and in fact Q 11:3–4, 9–13; 12:4–7, and 12:22–31 suggest that the cosmos is still in divine control.

Also absent from Q are the rather typical apocalyptic tableaux depicting natural disasters and astral events (Mark 13:8, 24–25; Rev 6:12–17; *Did.* 16.6) and the apostasy of the faithful (Matt 24:10; *Did.* 16.3–4; 2 Thess 2:3; *Mart. Isa.* 3.21; *Apoc. Peter* 2.5). Instead of apostasy, Q stresses the *continuing* rejection of God's messengers by Israel. And as already mentioned, while the motif of persecution of the faithful is present, it appears that Q has invoked an apocalyptic *topos* as a means of interpreting the rejection of its missionary preaching.

The apocalyptic *topos* of the division of families appears in Q 12:51–53. But in contrast to *1 Enoch* 99.5; 100.2; *2 Apoc. Bar.* 70.2, and Mark 13:12, "unnatural" family relations are not represented as signs of the approach of the end but as the result of Jesus' call. The focus is not upon the decay of society in general, but upon the divisive effects of the responding to the call of the

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[46] See James M. Robinson, *The Problem of History in Mark* (SBT 1/21; London: SCM, 1971), 21–32.

[47] For a detailed exposition of this interpretation, see Dieter Zeller, "Die Versuchungen Jesu in der Logienquelle," *TTZ* 89 (1980): 61–73; John S. Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 246–62.

[48] See Heinz Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium. 1: Kommentar zu Kap.1,1–9,50. 2/1: Kommentar zu Kapitel 9,51–11,54* (HTKNT 3/1–2/1; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1969–84), 1:211,219.

Kingdom. Martin Hengel rightly relates Q 12:51–53 to Q 14:26 which calls for the readiness to abandon home and hearth.[49] To this can be added Q 9:57–58, where the Son of Man himself provides the paradigm of detachment, and Q 9:59–60, 61–62, where similar behavior is demanded of disciples. Thus an apocalyptic image is redirected and used in a manner which infuses the idea of discipleship with eschatological content without thereby subscribing to an apocalyptic timetable.

Perhaps most surprising of all is Q's restraint when describing the "positive" outcome of eschatological intervention. While there is a virtual avalanche of images concerning the judgment and destruction of the impenitent, there is no mention at all of the resurrection, and only passing reference to the motifs of cosmic transformation, re-creation, restoration, and the like. This is surprising [**300**] because of the high frequency with which the motif of cosmic transformation (and to a lesser extent, resurrection) occurs in Jewish apocalypses.[50]

The contrast is stark when Q is compared with other expressions of primitive Christian apocalyptic. As the conclusion of the first apocalyptic scenario, Mark 13 describes the angelic gathering of the faithful (13:27). First Thessalonians contains a lengthy list of "positive" motifs: deliverance from the "coming wrath" (1:10); invitation to God's own "kingdom and glory" (2:12); resurrection of the Christian dead (4:16); gathering up of the living (4:17); and eternal presence in the Lord (4:18). Second Thessalonians, whether Pauline or not, echoes the motif of "gathering up" (ὑπὲρ ... ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, 2:1) and *Didache* 16 speaks of resurrection, and possibly of final recompense for all.[51]

The first beatitudes in Q (6:20b–21) indeed imply some sort of transformation in their assertions that the situation of the poor, hungry, and discon-

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[49] Martin Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and His Followers* (trans. J.C.G. Greig; Edinburgh; New York: T. & T. Clark; Crossroad, 1981 [re-edition (1996) edited by John Riches]), 13. Similarly, Dieter Zeller, *Kommentar zur Logienquelle* (Stuttgarter kleiner Kommentar, Neues Testament 21; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984), 74.

[50] See John J. Collins, "The Jewish Apocalypses," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 21–59, esp. 28 and the summaries on pp. 29–49. In early Christian apocalypses, though some form of belief in the afterlife is constant, the motif of cosmic transformation is considerably less frequent than that of the judgment of the wicked/world. See Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Early Christian Apocalypses," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 61–121, esp. 104–5.

[51] Elsewhere I have argued that the core of Did. 16.2–8 is pre-Matthean and in fact a source for Matthew 24: see John S. Kloppenborg, "Didache 16,6–8 and Special Matthaean Tradition," *ZNW* 70 (1979): 54–67. Because of the abruptness of the ending of Did. 16.8 and paleographic peculiarities, Jean-Paul Audet has argued that the Bryennios manuscript (Hierosolymitanus 54) is incomplete (*La Didachè: Instructions des apôtres* [EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1958], 73–74). Both the *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.32 and the Georgian version of the Didache have longer endings mentioning reward and punishment according to one's deeds. See Gregor Peradse, "Die Lehre der Zwolf Apostel in der Georgischen Überlieferung," *ZNW* 31 (1932): 111–16.

solate will be (or is already) reversed. The reference is, however, quite vague. Eschatological vindication in the form of participation in the judgment (cf. 1 Cor 6:3) is promised by Q 22:28–30 and the motif of "gathering up" might be present *in nuce* in 3:17 (συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ). However, it is worth noting that the context is one of a judgment oracle (3:7–9, 16–17) and the emphasis falls not upon the promise of salvation, but squarely upon the threat of fiery destruction. This is the case with every other mention of the positive outcome of eschatological intervention: Q 12:8–9, 42–46; 13:28–29; 19:12–27. Each positive statement is buried within sayings and contexts which pronounce doom on those who reject the preaching of the Q preachers,[52] and those who are not adequately prepared in the face of the Parousia. [**301**]

We are faced, then, with several curiosities: the use of apocalyptic language, but little evidence of the basic conviction that the cosmos is disordered; the redeployment of certain apocalyptic *topoi* along new lines; and a striking disproportion of threatening language when compared with comforting and consoling motifs.

The anomalous character of Q's use of apocalyptic imagery is illustrated by Q 17:23–37. Although Hans Conzelmann named this cluster of sayings the "Logia apocalypse,"[53] the differences between Q's apocalyptic sayings and mini-apocalypses such as Mark 13, Matthew 24, *Didache* 16, and 2 Thessalonians 2 are more striking than the similarities. Unlike these apocalypses, there is nothing approaching a narrative presentation of the eschatological events. No clear sequential relationship among the various items is established nor is there any indication of the relation of the eschatological events to the reader's own time. Connectives such as τότε, μετὰ ταῦτα, ὅταν ἴδητε ταῦτα γινόμενα wanting and, in fact, the purpose of the cluster is to reject out of hand any resort to apocalyptic timetables.[54]

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[52] Dieter Lührmann rightly regards 12:8–9 not simply as a warning against apostasy, but as an oracle directed at those who hear the message of the preachers exhorted in 12:2–7, 11–12 (*Die Redaktion der Logienquelle* [WMANT 33; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969], 52). Nonresponse to preaching is probably also the cause for exclusion in 13:28–29, esp. given the context of 13:26–27 + 13:34–35 + 14:16–24.

[53] Hans Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1969), 135. Similarly Erich Grässer, *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den synoptischen Evangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte* (3. Aufl.; BZNW 22; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), 170; Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 277. Wolfgang Schenk (*Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelien: Q-Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung* [Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1981], 120) calls this section "Die zweite und abschliessende Endzeitrede" (the first being Q 12:39–13:21). I have used Conzelmann's designation in *Formation*.

[54] Ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ in Luke 17:31 is Lukan, used to connect the Q material with Mark 13:15–16. See Rudolf Schnackenburg, "Der eschatologische Abschnitt Lk 17,20–37," in *Schriften zum Neuen Testament: Exegese in Fortschritt und Wandel* (Rudolf Schnackenburg; München: Kösel Verlag, 1971), 231; Josef Zmijewski, *Die Eschatologiereden des Lukas-Evangeliums: eine traditions- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Lk 21,5–36*

The cluster comprises two groups of three sayings (17:23, 24, 37b)[55]; and 17:26–27, 38–30, 34–33, some of which may have circulated independently prior to the construction of Q 17:23–37. The initial saying, Q 17:23, offers a variant of Mark 13:21 but is explicated along rather different lines. The Markan version is imbedded in a list of "signs of the End" (13:5–8, 19–23) and treats the proclamation ἴδε ὧδε ὁ χριστός, ἴδε ἐκεῖ as the claim of false christs and [**302**] false prophets, and indeed, as emanating from Christian circles.[56] For Q the problem of false prophets does not appear to be so urgent nor is there any anticipation that Christian prophets will embrace a heretical eschatology. It neither dignifies the false opinion by ascribing it to prophetic figures, nor does it accord it a position within an apocalyptic timetable. The traditional warning against messianic pretenders – a warning which may well have become a commonplace reflecting the continuing resistance to Roman occupation – is cited only to subvert all such claims. Q's principal interest emerges only in the following verse. The Son of Man will appear in a spectacular, heavenly, and unavoidably obvious manner (17:24).[57] There will be no mistaking it. This is reinforced by the "eagle saying" (17:37b) which evokes not only the idea of aerial visibility but also the proverbial swiftness and sureness with which an eagle locates prey (cf. Job 39:30). Incidentally, this saying creates the spectre not of joyful liberation at the Parousia, but of swift and unexpected death.

The second trio of sayings (assuming that 17:28–30 is from Q)[58] shifts attention from the public and heavenly nature of the Parousia to its unexpected occurrence. Here too, Q's use of traditional imagery is innovative. While the usual paraenetic applications of the Noah and Lot stories focus either on God's punishment of disobedience, fornication, and impiety or on his rescue of the

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und Lk 17,20–37 (BBB 40; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1972), 473–78. Τότε in Matt 24:40 is likewise redactional. Ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτί in Luke 17:34 may be redactional (cf. 12:20) but even if it does belong to Q (thus Schnackenburg, "Eschatologische Abschnitt," 233; August Strobel, "'In dieser Nacht' [Luk 17,34]: Zu einer älteren Form der Erwartung in Lk 17,20–37," *ZTK* 58 [1961]: 20). it serves only to attach this saying to 17:26–27 (28–30) rather than to imply a narrative sequence.

[55] There is disagreement between Matthew and Luke in the relative placement of Q 17:37. Tödt plausibly suggests (*Son of Man*, 38) that Luke moved 17:37b to eliminate the infelicitous association of the Son of Man with the image of carrion-eating birds. Luke 17:33 does not belong to the context of Q 17:23–37 at all but instead comes from a cluster of discipleship sayings in Matt 10:37–39 || Luke 14:26–27; 17:33. See on this Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums* (BBB 54; Königstein: Peter Hanstein, 1980), 318–20.

[56] See Werner H. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 113–16.

[57] An interesting (potential) parallel to the eschatological correlative in 17:24 occurs in 4QpsDan [= 4Q246]: "As comets (flash) to sight, so shall be their kingdom." See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays* (SBLMS 25; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 93.

[58] See the discussion of this problem in Zmijewski, *Eschatologiereden*, 452–57.

righteous (or both),[59] Q uses the two as illustrations of the completely unheralded character of the Parousia. The list of everyday activities – eating, drinking, marrying, buying, selling (17:27, 28) – is not what one expects when the contemporaries of Noah and Lot are mentioned. One expects a catalogue of sins. But Q's interest lies not in their sinfulness nor even in the righteousness of Noah and Lot, but, as the following saying makes clear, in the unapocalyptic character of the events prior to the end. While Mark 13:14–16 and Luke 17:31–33 assume that the faithful will wisely cease mundane activities in order to flee, Q implies that no warning will be given at all. Eschatological division will occur in the midst of quotidian activities and it will tear apart families, friends-/kinsmen[60] and coworkers. [**303**]

What is surprising in all this is the uniformly destructive images of the Parousia. The two correlatives stress universal destruction (καὶ ἀπώλεσεν [ἦρεν] πάντας) rather than the salvation of Noah and Lot (and, by implicatïon, of the members of the Q group). And while many assume that παραλαμβάνω in Q 17:34–35 attests to a belief in the "taking up of the faithful" (1 Thess 4:13–18),[61] this is far less likely for Q than it is for the Lukan context where the things left behind (17:31) are destroyed. In Q, as in the LXX story of Lot, ἀφίημι means "to spare" (Gen 18:26) and (συμ)παραλαμβάνω means "to sweep away" (Gen 19:17).[62]

Symbolic Eschatology and Apocalypticism in Q

What is the illocutionary function of Q's cluster of sayings? In an important discussion of the functions of apocalyptic timetables, Lars Hartman distinguishes three main functions of apocalyptic utterance: purely informative, expressive (of joy, consolation, sorrow, etc.), and prescriptive.[63] It is usual to ascribe a prescriptive (paraenetic) function to Q 17:23–37. Citing Luke 12:40 (=Q), Rudolf Schnackenburg suggests that the vividness of the images

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[59] Sir 16:7–8; Jub. 20.5–6; T. Naph. 3.4–5; 3 Macc 2.4–5; Wis 10:4, 6; Philo *De vit. Mos.* 2.52–65; 2 Pet 2:4–10; *1 Clem.* 9–12; *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.12.22. See Lührmann's discussion of these in *Redaktion*, 78–83 and idem, "Noah und Lot (Lk 17.26–29)," *ZNW* 63 (1972): 130–32.

[60] Luke's δύο ἐπὶ κλίνης μιᾶς (17:34) probably refers to two males (ὁ εἷς ... ὁ ἕτερος) at table.

[61] See Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 285. For a discussion of this image, see Joseph Plevnik, "The Taking Up of the Faithful and the Resurrection of the Dead in 1 Thessalonians 4:13–18," *CBQ* 46, no. 2 (1984): 274–83.

[62] Thus Zeller, *Logienquelle*, 91; Zmijewski, *Eschatologiereden*, 501.

[63] Lars Hartman, "The Function of Some So-Called Apocalyptic Timetables," *NTS* 22 (1975–76): 1–14; see also idem, "Survey of the Problem of Apocalyptic Genre," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism* (ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), 334–35.

reinforces the warning to be prepared.[64] But this is much less obvious in Q than it is for Mark 13, which is replete with the parenetic imperatives βλέπετε (13:5, 9, 23, 33), μὴ προμεριμνᾶτε (13:11), προσεύχεσθε (13:18), μάθετε (13:28), ἀγρυπνεῖτε (13:33), and γρηγορεῖτε (13:35, 37), and expressly attaches βλέπετε and the latter two imperatives to the assertion that the time of the end is unknown. Matthew's fusing of Q with Mark 13 has given a strongly paraenetic reading to the Q materials, and Luke's addition 17:31–33 is an obvious example of his turning eschatology to ethical advantage. When Q 17:23–37 is set beside these, or beside either *Didache* 16 or 1 Thess 4:13–5:11, it is the lack of explicit prescriptive function that is striking.

Neither Q 17:23–37 nor Q as a whole is framed in a theoretical-informative way. Q is so laconic in respect to the time of the end that it could scarcely be used as the basis for calculations. And while some apocalyptic writings seem designed to address a theoretical issue such as the problem of theodicy, Q is on the whole not interested in the problem of evil or its origin. Its main concern is [**304**] with impenitence, that is to say, with the failure of Q's mission to Israel, and this is explained not with an apocalyptic model, but with a deuteronomistic one. Some of the ostensibly apocalyptic elements in Q may function as consolation in the face of persecution, although Q 17:23–37 is not obviously framed with consolation in mind. The promise of participation in the judgment of Israel (Q 22:28–30) implies vindication of the activity of the Q group and the various predictions of fiery destruction of the impenitent presumably serve indirectly to support the aims of those who preach Q's message.

Thus the apocalyptic language of Q does not seem to function in the ways typical of other apocalyptic writings. It is at this point that Amos Wilder's discussion of Jesus' use of apocalyptic language provides an important hint for deciphering Q's language.[65] Wilder argues that while Jesus' mission must be conceived as one of this-worldly redemption, apocalyptic language was employed to dramatize the importance of recognizing and responding to the process of redemption which Jesus saw as moving to its climax.[66]

> Creative eschatology, when ethically inspired and when springing from a true insight into the ways of God with man, constitutes a body of myth, a vehicle of profound and significant truth bearing immediately upon historical-social realities. It follows that when the purport of historical phenomena exhausts statement in immediate and realistic terms, it can only be adequately conveyed by the imaginative terms of faith, in this case by eschatological terms.

Apocalyptic language in Q is not yet solidified into a dualistic schema which answers an anomic situation with a vision of reality transfigured and recreated. Q uses threats of judgment and unsettling apocalyptic metaphors, not because it

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[64] Schnackenburg, "Eschatologische Abschnitt," 237; similarly, Zmijewski, *Eschatologiereden*, 524.

[65] Amos Niven Wilder, *Eschatology and Ethics in the Teaching of Jesus* (Rev. ed; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950), 39–40, 51.

[66] Wilder, *Eschatology and Ethics*, 47.

speaks from an "apocalyptic situation" of anomie but because the symbolic character of apocalyptic language could be turned to serve Q's particular aims. Such language is used creatively to dramatize the transfiguration of the present: apocalyptic symbols lend their force both negatively, by the subverting of confidence in the everydayness of existence, and positively, by buttressing a vision of rich and empowered existence based on the instruction of Jesus.

The message of Q 17:23–37 – that eschatological destruction will occur without any warning and that the fundamental cohesion of society will be destroyed – can scarcely be considered as a consoling or comforting one. Mark at least indicates in general terms where the reader stands in relation to the apocalyptic events, and assures the faithful of God's protection and eventual deliverance. The force of Q's sayings is otherwise. Q undermines confidence in the [**305**] everyday by asserting that destruction will occur without benefit of the usual apocalyptic warnings and in the midst of everyday activities. When the examples of Noah and Lot appear, it is not the guarantee afforded by the righteous behavior that is in view, but the utterly unforeseeable character of the coming destruction. Familial relationships, the ordinary bonds that exist between fellow laborers, the ties of clan or guild – none of these is a guarantee. Quotidian values and bonds are fragile indeed. The security of the everyday is a false one.

Such a view is not restricted to the sayings in Q 17. As one of the several responses to the Beelzebul accusation, Jesus asserts:

> But if I cast out demons by Beelzebul, by whom do your sons cast (them) out? Therefore they shall be your judges. (Q 11:29)

Here Q raises the spectre of sons judging (and condemning) their fathers, thus inverting the normative relationships within the family. The vulnerability of family ties is also implicit in Q 12:51–53. Both Q 10:15 (the woe against Capharnaum) and Q 13:26–27 (the closed door saying) subvert the assumption that the social ties operative within the village or clan will afford ultimate security. Privilege is granted neither to Jesus' second home, Capharnaum, nor to those who ate and drank with him or listened to his teaching. In the response to the request for a sign, Q asserts that Gentiles will assume the position of Israel's judge (11:31–32) and Q 10:13–14 names two of the notorious enemies of Israel, Tyre and Sidon, among those who will fare better at the judgment.

This subversion of normal expectations about family, clan, and national identity should be seen as the counterpart to Q's advocacy of an ethic characterized by nonviolence (Q 6:27–28), refusal to participate in the normative means of preserving honor through resort to courts or to retaliation (Q 6:29), and the idealization of poverty (6:20b; 12:33–34; 16:13), detachment (14:26–27), and homelessness (9:57–58; 10:4–10). To use the categories of Victor Turner, the ethos that Q proposes and attempts to defend is the antistructure of *communitas*, in this case, a permanent situation of *communitas*

rather than a merely transitional manifestation of liminality in *rites de passage*.[67] It then undergirds the ethic appropriate to *communitas* by calling into question the permanency and security of the normative structures of society from which it has emerged. Apocalyptic language afforded one of the most readily intelligible and dramatic [**306**] means for such an attack.[68] But whereas in apocalypticism such language has to do with the imaginative rectification of cosmic disorder and the vindication of the just, Q takes over the images of judgment and catastrophic destruction and redeploys other traditional apocalyptic *topoi* as corollary to its "antistructural" ethic.

In addition to the dramatization of a radical ethic, there is probably a secondary function served by Q's apocalypticism. Apocalyptic language also afforded a useful means to a social end, namely, the demarcation of sharp group boundaries within which such an ethic may be observed and fostered and within which shape and substance may be provided for group existence.[69] With Dieter Lührmann I assume that Q's mission to Israel ("this generation") has ended largely in failure.[70] In this situation, the recurring threat of judgment and destruction (linked to the deuteronomistic motif of the sending of the prophets) served as a way both to rationalize failure and to strengthen the boundaries between insiders and outsiders.

Does Q represent apocalyptic Christianity? The answer to this is, I think, No, or at least, not in the sense that usually accrues to that term. While Q employs apocalyptic language, it does not fully share the situation of anomie which impels apocalypticism towards its vision of a transformed future. Rather than contributing to the formation of this vision, selected apocalyptic *topoi* in Q are used because they offer powerful symbols of the radical transformation

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[67] Victor Turner, "Metaphors of Antistructure in Religious Culture," in *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 272–99; idem, "Comments and Conclusions," in Barbara A. Babcock, ed., *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Forms of Symbolic Inversion Symposium, Toronto, 1972; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 276–96.

[68] Hans Dieter Betz ("The Problem of Apocalyptic Genre in Greek and Hellenistic Literature: The Case of the Oracle of Trophonius," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism* [ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983], 594–95) has observed that descriptions of netherworld experiences such as the Myth of Er (Plato, *Resp*. 614A–621D) or the netherworld tour of Thespesius (Plutarch, *De sera num*. 563D–568A) motivate moral conversion by subjecting the soul to a shock-like fear. Though Q lacks a vision or tour of the netherworld, the spectres of sudden destruction likewise serve to reorient the hearer to the ethics which Q puts in place of everyday values.

[69] Wayne A. Meeks suggests a similar function for apocalyptic language in 1 Thessalonians ("Social Functions of Apocalyptic Language in Pauline Christianity," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism* [ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983], 687–706).

[70] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 87–88.

of existence and hence coincide with both the critical and the constructive agendas at work within the document. This is not to suggest that Q self-consciously exploited symbols as mere symbols. On the contrary. The framers of Q no doubt apprehended the transformative powers resident in traditional apocalyptic motifs. Their innovation was to deploy these motifs in nontraditional, nonapocalyptic ways. In Q apocalyptic language becomes the servant of an ethic of antistructure and a tool for boundary definition. Instead of the term "apocalyptic" as a characterization of Q's peculiar brand of eschatology, symbolic eschatology is perhaps more apt.

Addendum

While the literature on Q and apocalypticism is extensive, the most direct engagement with the argument of this article is offered by Christopher Tuckett ("Apocalyptic – in Q?" in *Die Scheidung zwischen Gerechten und Ungerechten in Israel: Apokalyptische Deutemuster im Frühjudentum und in der Logienquelle Q* [ed. Markus Tiwald; Bonner biblische Beiträge; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014] forthcoming), who rightly challenges the (secondary) claim (above, p. 176) that the function of apocalyptic language is to demark group boundaries. Tuckett is right that Q 12:39–40, 42–46 and 17:23–37 do not obviously accomplish this. "the primary addressees are *not* insiders at all: they are those who at present (in the view of the speaker) '*out*side', but who as such may be unaware of the threat that is hanging over them. But then, equally, the whole point of the teaching given here is to try to alert such people to the reality that is threatening them, and presumably to see to change them in such a way that they are *not* annihilated, or destroyed in any coming future cataclysmic event" (emphasis original).

Other literature on Q and apocalyptic: James G. Williams, "Neither Here Nor There: Between Wisdom and Apocalyptic in Jesus' Kingdom Sayings," *Forum* 5, no. 2 (1989): 7–30; Paul Hoffmann, "QR und der Menschensohn: Eine vorläufige Skizze," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 421–456, ET: "The Redaction of Q and the Son of Man: A Preliminary Sketch," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 159–198; Arland D. Jacobson, "Apocalyptic and the Synoptic Sayings Source Q." in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck*. (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 403–19; Patrick J. Hartin, "The Wisdom and Apocalyptic Layers of the Sayings Gospel Q: What is Their Significance?" *HervTeoStud* 50, no. 3 (1994): 556–582; David Seeley, "Futuristic Eschatology and Social Formation in Q," in *Reimagining Christian Origins: A Colloquium Honoring Burton L. Mack* (ed. Elizabeth Castelli and Hal Taussig; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1996), 144–153; Risto Uro, "Apocalyptic Symbolism and Social Identity in Q," in *Symbols and Strata: Essays on the Sayings*

Gospel Q (ed. Risto Uro; Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 67–118; Robert J. Miller, "Q and the Non-Apocalyptic Jesus: Assessing the Evidence," *Forum* 3, no. 2 (2000): 223–245; Luigi Schiavo, "The Temptation of Jesus: The Eschatological Battle and the New Ethic of the First Followers of Jesus in Q," *JSNT* 25, no. 2 (2002): 141–164; R. B. Sisson, "The Social and Scribal Intertexture in Q's Apocalyptic Discourse," in *The Intertexture of Apocalyptic Discourse in the New Testament* (ed. Duane F. Watson; Symposium; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002), 69–85; John S. Kloppenborg, "Sagesse et prophétie dans les paroles de l'Evangile Q," in *La source des paroles de Jésus (Q) aux origines du christianisme* (ed. Andreas Dettweiler and Daniel Marguerat; Le Monde de la Bible.62; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2008), 73–98; Migaku Sato, "Q est-elle «une sorte de livre prophétique»? Q au carrefour de la prophétie et de la sagesse," ibid., 99–122; Luigi Schiavo, *Il Vangelo perduto e ritrovato: la fonte Q e le origini cristiane* (Stubi Biblici 59; Bologna: EDB, 2010).

Studies of sayings, some of which appear in Q, include: Marius Reiser, *Die Gerichtspredigt Jesu: Eine Untersuchung zur eschatologischen Verkündigung Jesu und ihrem frühjüdischen Hintergrund* (NTAbh n.F 23; Münster: Aschendorff, 1990), ET: *Jesus and Judgment: The Eschatological Proclamation in Its Jewish Context* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997); Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Apocalyptic Son of Man Sayings," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. Birger A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 220–228; Werner Zager, *Gottesherrschaft und Endgericht in der Verkündigung Jesu: Eine Untersuchung zur markinischen Jesusüberlieferung einschliesslich der Q-Parallelen* (BZNW 82; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996); Joseph Verheyden, "Le jugement d'Israël dans la source Q," in *La Source des paroles de Jésus aux origines du christianisme* (ed. Andreas Dettweiler and Daniel Marguerat; Genève: Labor et Fides, 2008), 191–220.

Chapter 7

"Easter Faith" and the Sayings Gospel Q[1]

Introduction

It has been three decades now since Heinz Eduard Tödt in a few pages precipitated the collapse of the hitherto prevailing opinion that Q was a predominantly paraenetic or catechetical work functioning in the theological shadow of the passion kerygma.[2] Since that time it has become quite usual to speak of "the community of Q"[3] as a definable and autonomous group within primitive Christianity and to assume that the Q document reflects in some important way the theology of a "second sphere" of primitive Christianity uninfluenced by the kerygmatic assertion of the saving significance of Jesus' death and resurrection. Implicit in this is the suggestion that Q represents the main and guiding theological statement of a particular group or network of groups. Or to put matters more succinctly, Q served as a "gospel."

Tödt's work represented an important correction of earlier estimations of the function of Q as purely catechetical or paraenetic, a view which found a major exponent in Martin Dibelius. Reasoning on the basis of Paul's mainly paraenetic usage of the Jesus tradition, Dibelius [72] concluded that words of Jesus were collected and transmitted not, in the first place, for biographical ends or to aid in the articulation of a soteriology, but for hortatory purposes.[4] Only later was the biographical potential of some of the Q sayings exploited. But even so, the theological heart of the tradition was never found within Q. In England, B. H. Streeter and T. W. Manson took similar positions. Q circulated in communities in which the redemptive significance of the passion of Jesus was the central theological assertion. As Manson puts it, "the central thing is the Cross on the Hill rather than the Sermon on the Mount."[5] In such a context, Q could

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[1] First published as "'Easter Faith' and the Sayings Gospel Q." Pages 71–99 in *The Apocryphal Jesus and Christian Origins*. Edited by Ron Cameron. Semeia 49. Atlanta: ©Scholars Press, 1990. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.

[2] Heinz Eduard Tödt, *Der Menschensohn in der synoptischen Überlieferung* (Dr. Theol. diss., Heidelberg, 1956; 2. Aufl. 1963; repr., Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1959); *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. D.M. Barton; London: SCM Press, 1965).

[3] [See chap. 6, 166 n. 39 on the problems in the term 'community'. This essay avoids the term, preferring "Q group."]

[4] Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (trans. B.L. Woolf; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), 241–46.

[5] T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1949 [repr. 1971]), 9.

only serve the theologically subservient role of ethical or catechetical supplement to the passion kerygma.[6] Thus Q was circumscribed both theologically and hermeneutically by non-Q tradition, and its *Sitz im Leben* accordingly restricted. This view, incidentally, is perpetuated in Werner Georg Kümmel's most recent edition of his monumental *Introduction*[7]:

> ... we must consider that in the Palestinian community in which Q must have originated ... the passion kerygma repeated by Paul [1 Cor 15:3–5] was formulated at a very early date and that it attests the redemptive significance of the death of Jesus. In that case the collecting of the words of Jesus could not have taken place in conscious disregard of this basic confession.

This misconstrual of the nature of Q was due in part to the pervasive assumption that the passion kerygma was for all practical purposes as old as Easter and therefore self-evidently part of all early Christian preaching. And in part it derived from an overvaluation of hortatory portions of Q at the expense of other portions. Against this Tödt observed that if indeed the passion kerygma was the decisive theological presupposition, then it is curious that Q nowhere alluded to the kerygma. Moreover, Tödt noted that Manson's characterization of Q rested, at least in part, on his assertion that "[a] striking feature in Q is the exceedingly small quantity of polemical matter" and the overwhelming bulk of "positive religious and moral teaching."[8] This, however, simply ignores the significant sections of Q which are sharply polemical (e.g., Q 11:14–26, 29–32)[9] and which display no strong paraenetic or catechetical interest at all. Far from being a catechetical document, Q should be understood as the renewed preaching of the kingdom and as a theological statement in its own right.[10] [73]

Catechesis and Missionary Preaching in the "Second Sphere"

The thesis that the tradition of the sayings of Jesus emanated from a "second sphere" of primitive Christianity was propounded at somewhat greater length by Ulrich Wilckens.[11] Whereas in Pauline usage, the sayings tradition was employed paraenetically and presented either anonymously, or as words of the exalted Lord, or as words of the apostle acting with the authority of the exalted Lord or the Spirit, the Palestinian Jesus-tradition was always presented as

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[6] Manson, *Sayings of Jesus*, 16; B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1924), 292.

[7] Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Revised English ed.; trans. Howard C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), 73.

[8] Manson, *Sayings of Jesus*, 16; Tödt, *Son of Man*, 244.

[9] Q texts are cited by their Lukan versification. This does not imply, however, that Lukan wording is necessarily that of Q.

[10] Tödt, *Son of Man*, 241–51.

[11] Ulrich Wilckens, "Tradition de Jésus et kérygma du Christ: la double histoire de la tradition au sein du christianisme primitif," *RHPR* 47 (1967): 1–20.

sayings and deeds *of Jesus*. In the Pauline and Hellenistic missionary spheres, the center of theological gravity was the kerygma of the crucified and risen Lord who had become the eschatological mediator, and the few sayings of Jesus that had infiltrated this sphere served only as paraenetic sentences. Wilckens' explanation of this neglect of the Jesus-tradition was a simple one: This form of Christian theologizing had its origins in the circle of Stephen which had had no contact at all with the pre-Easter Jesus-traditions and which was soon separated from those persons who had. By contrast, the "second sphere" of Christian tradition – which was chronologically in fact the first – was represented by the Jerusalem community which continued the preaching of the earthly Jesus. For this circle, the resurrection was not understood as exaltation of the eschatological mediator, but as God's according of eschatological confirmation to Jesus and his proclamation.[12]

The *Sitz im Leben* of the Jesus-tradition, according to Wilckens, was the didactic activity practiced in Christian synagogues.[13] But at this point Wilckens was unwilling to follow the direction indicated by Tödt. If the Jesus-tradition was transmitted by those who, unlike the Hellenists, claimed continuity with the pre-Easter Jesus, it is unthinkable that the tradition of the death and resurrection of Jesus could be separated from the tradition of his sayings (and deeds). Thus Wilckens argued that the entire Jesus-tradition derived from the Jerusalem community, which employed an early version of the Synoptic passion narratives in the context of cultic recital and the sayings tradition in a halakic context.[14]

The presence of the passion narrative alongside the Q material was also assumed by Ernst Käsemann although he rejected Wilckens' characterization of Q as halakic. As long as we "think in terms of the mutual edification of the community or of Christian instruction, it remains absolutely inexplicable why what is undoubtedly the most important element for all time – the narrative of Passiontide and Easter – was omitted."[15] The solution, according to Käsemann, was to regard Q as guidance for mission. It was for such a purpose that sayings concerning discipleship and provision for mission in Q 10 were taken up, [74] and that the oracles of Christian prophets came to be transmitted alongside mission sayings in Q. Odil Hannes Steck and Paul Hoffmann took the same view. For Steck, Q was a sayings collection for the instruction of missionaries to Israel, containing pieces of prophetic preaching (e.g., Q 6:20–21), paraenetic materials for the converted, sayings such as Q 6:22–23 and Q 12:10 transmitted

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[12] Wilckens, "Tradition de Jésus," 13.

[13] Wilckens, "Tradition de Jésus," 12.

[14] Wilckens, "Tradition de Jésus," 14; "The Tradition-History of the Resurrection of Jesus," in *The Significance of the Message of the Resurrection for Faith in Jesus Christ* (ed. C. F. D. Moule; SBT 2/8; London: SCM, 1968), 72.

[15] Ernst Käsemann, "On the Subject of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (trans. W. J. Montague; London: SCM Press, 1969), 119.

for the consolation and exhortation of the missionaries themselves, and woe oracles and threats to be used against the impenitent (e.g., Q 10:13–15; 11:29–32, 39–52). Nevertheless, it was to be assumed that the passion and resurrection stories were also known to the tradents of Q.[16]

Hoffmann defends in greater detail the view that Q was a collection used by "wandering charismatics" in their preaching to Israel,[17] although he parts company with those who hold that it presupposed either a salvific interpretation of Jesus' death or knowledge of the passion stories.[18] The principal bases for positing a missionary *Sitz* are the character of the collection as a whole and, in particular, the perspective of Q's mission instruction (Q 10:2–16). Hoffmann draws attention to the relatively numerous admonitions to repent, to be prepared and to accept Jesus' sayings, and detects an anti-zealot tone in the beatitudes (Q 6:20–23), the admonition to love one's enemies (Q 6:27–28) and in the greeting of peace (Q 10:5). He also notes the similarities in the description of travelling missionaries in Q and in 2 John 10–11 and the Didache 11–13. Each relates stereotypically the actions of coming (Q 10:5; 2 John 10; *Did.* 11.1; 12.1), reception into a house (Q 10:5–7; 2 John 10; *Did.* 12.1–4; 13.1) and greeting (Q 10:5; 2 John 10). The difference in Q's perspective, however, is decisive. Whereas the *Didache* and 2 John give regulations for churches in regard to the reception of travelling missionaries, Q's instructions are for the missionaries themselves.[19] All this, according to Hoffmann, suggests that Q was employed by a Jewish Christian group [*Gruppe*] (rather than a community [*Gemeinde*]) engaged in missionary preaching to the Jewish people.

While Hoffmann's anti-zealot thesis has not commended itself widely, he is undoubtedly correct in noting the signs of itinerancy in Q.[20] Gerhard Dautzenberg, for example, has observed that Q's virtual equation of the hospitality shown to itinerants (Q 10:10–11, 16) with the reception of what they have to proclaim (10:9) betrays a proximity to the actual situation of preaching that

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[16] Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), 288.

[17] Paul Hoffmann, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 [2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980]), 333–34.

[18] Paul Hoffmann, "Jesusverkündigung in der Logienquelle," in *Jesus in den Evangelien* (ed. Josef Blinzler and Wilhelm Pesch; SBS 45; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1970), 64–65.

[19] Paul Hoffmann, "Lk 10,5–11 in der Instruktionsreden der Logienquelle," in *Evangelisch-Katholisches Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Vorarbeiten 3* (Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), 52; *Studien*, 333.

[20] The specific nature of Q's itinerancy has been questioned by Leif Vaage ("Q: The Ethos and Ethic of an Itinerant Intelligence," Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School [1987], 358–401), who concludes that Cynics afford the closest analogy, and that attempts to distinguish the behavior of the Q group from that of Cynics are misplaced and apologetic. [A revised form of the dissertation was published as *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus' First Followers According to Q* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994).]

Mark, whose *kerygma* is formulated rather abstractly (Mark 1:14–15), lacks.[21] But what Hoffmann neglects is the fact that Q's mission speech shows signs of redactional reformulation from an ecclesial perspective. Its addressees have been changed from the itinerant preachers to a group respon[75]sible for the commissioning and support of those missionaries. Dieter Zeller has persuasively argued, for example, that the prayer to the "Lord of the harvest" (Q 10:2) which introduces the more specific mission instructions (Q 10:3–11) "is not directed at those sent out in v. 3 but at Christians who might be imagined to be gathered for prayer prior to the commissioning, as in Acts 13:1–3."[22] To this observation we might add that Q 10:7 ("for the laborer is worthy of his reward"), which like Q 10:2 refers to missionaries as workers (ἐργάται), is not aimed at itinerants but at the communities from which they can expect support.[23] In his 1984 Bern dissertation, Migaku Sato even suggests that the whole of Q 9:57–10:24 has been formulated from the perspective of the liturgical commissioning of missionaries, and hence reflects an ecclesial perspective.[24]

Thus it is not simply a matter of Q's containing both mission instructions and sayings directed at a commissioning group. Rather, mission instructions have in the course of redaction been enveloped and bracketed literarily by sayings which reflect a broader ecclesial *Sitz*, The original mission instructions are now enclosed on one side by two (or perhaps three) chriae dealing with discipleship (Q 9:57–58, 59–60, 61–62?) and the group-directed exhortation to pray for missionary preachers (Q 10:2), and on the other by the so-called Johannine thunderbolt (Q 10:21–22) and the appended beatitude (Q 10:23–24). These framing materials serve not to buttress the activity of the itinerants but to undergird and legitimate the existence of the group itself as the privileged recipient of revelation.

Similarly, Q 12:22b–31, 33–34 perhaps contains admonitions which were originally used as counsel for itinerant missionaries, as Zeller and Heinz Schür-

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[21] Gerhard Dautzenberg, "Der Wandel der Reich-Gottes-Verkündigung in der urchristlichen Mission," in *Zur Geschichte des Urchristentums: [Festschrift R. Schnackenburg]* (ed. Gerhard Dautzenberg, Helmut Merklein, and Karlheinz Müller; QD 87; Freiburg in Breisgau: Herder, 1979), 22.

[22] Dieter Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse und wechselnder 'Sitz im Leben' beim Q-Material," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 359–409 (404); ET: "Redactional Processes and Changing Settings in the Q Material," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (ed. and trans. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 1160130 (125).

[23] Similarly, when this saying recurs in 1 Tim 5:18 and Did. 13.1–2 it is directed not to the wandering missionaries themselves, but to supporting communities.

[24] Migaku Sato, "Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q" (Ph.D. diss., Bern: Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät, 1984), 444, 454 [Now published as *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988), 389, 397].

mann suggest.[25] However, in its present literary form the admonitions against anxiety in the face of material want end with the more general admonition to "seek the kingdom and these things will be added to you" (Q 12:31). There is no reason to restrict this saying to wandering preachers –for whom it would be more appropriate to say not "seek the kingdom" but "preach the kingdom." Instead, it is directed more generally to an audience which has adopted (or is encouraged to adopt) a way of life free from material cares.[26] Rhetorically, Q 12:31 belongs with Q 6:20, where the indicative "blessed are the poor" implies an imperative to refuse the customary evaluation of the poor life. Likewise,[27]

> to "seek his kingdom" in 12:31 is not to seek what human cultures typically seek (12:29–30a). Rather, to "seek his kingdom" is to seek that father, who in 12:30b is said to know the needs of the poor, whose sufficient supply has already been exemplified in the nurture of the [**76**] ravens (12:24) and the thriving lilies (12:27).

Nothing here suggests a specifically missionary *Sitz*.

The saying that concludes this cluster, Q 12:33–34, similarly addresses not penniless missionaries, but those sedentary members of the group for whom the temptation to material acquisition is a real one. Hence, while it is true that Q, like Mark (6:6b–13), contains mission instructions, these are now presented within a much more comprehensive framework aimed not exclusively at wandering preachers, but at a group responsible, among other things, for the support and commissioning of such missionaries.

The Synoptic Passion Narratives and Q

None of this, of course, addresses the main issue raised by Käsemann, namely, whether or not Q knew and presupposed a cultic recital of a passion narrative. Or, to put the issue a bit differently, if the *Sitz* of Q cannot be restricted either to initial catechesis (to which it is not particularly suited) or mission instructions, and if Q functioned like the intra-canonical gospels in the larger context of defining and sustaining the symbolic universe of its addressees, what place did the death of Jesus occupy within the universe of that group?

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[25] Dieter Zeller, "Weisheitliche Überlieferung in der Predigt Jesu," in *Religiöse Grunderfahrungen: Quellen und Gestalten* (ed. Walter Strolz; Veröffentlichungen der Stiftung Oratio Dominica; Freiburg im Breisgau; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1977), 93; Heinz Schürmann, "Das Zeugnis der Redenquelle für die Basileia-Verkündigung Jesu," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joel Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 158.

[26] Vaage ("The Kingdom of God in Q," Unpublished paper presented at the 1986 Fall meeting of the Jesus Seminar [1986], 7; "Ethos and Ethic," 431–92) has drawn attention to the impressive parallels between Q 12:31 and Hellenistic exhortations to a simple, detached life made by Dio Chrysostom (10.15–16) and Seneca (*De beneficiis* 7.10.6).

[27] Vaage, "The Kingdom of God in Q," 7.

The assertion that Q knew nothing of the passion stories and accorded no special significance to Jesus' death is sometimes dismissed as an argument *e silentio*. Indeed, Philipp Vielhauer attempts to rebut the suggestion by a *reductio ad absurdum*. While accepting the view that influence of the passion kerygma – understood in the narrow sense of the creedal formula proclaiming Jesus' death and resurrection as a salvific event – is wanting in Q, he observes that so too is it wanting in the Synoptic passion texts (excluding perhaps Mark 10:45 and the words of institution in Mark 14:22–25). But as Vielhauer sees the matter, to follow Tödt would imply not only the necessity of positing a Q group responsible for the transmission of Jesus' words, but the need to posit another group in which Jesus' deeds were related, and yet another which rehearsed the non-Pauline, pre-Markan passion tradition.[28] Consequently, like Wilckens, Vielhauer concludes that the passion materials and Q circulated in the same circles, and that Q was employed in the "internal didactic activity" of the community.[29]

Plainly the alternatives posed by Vielhauer are not happy ones. But it should be emphasized at once that there is no reason at all to suppose that those responsible for the formulation and transmission of Q were unaware of either the tradition of Jesus' mighty works or of his death. Q takes for granted both Jesus' miracles and exorcisms and those of his [77] followers (7:1–10, 22; 10:9, 13–15; 11:14, 20; 17:6). The only question is whether the Q group thought these events to be worthy of kerygmatic formulation and the answer to this seems to be, No. Vielhauer's argument in regard to the passion stories rests upon the form-critical assumption that the passion traditions circulated prior to Mark as a relatively fixed narrative. Werner H. Kelber states bluntly his objections to this view: "... one cannot speak at all of the 'omission of passion christology' in Q, *as if there had existed a developed text of Jesus' passion prior to Q*."[30] Apart from a few pericopae such as Mark 14:22–25 (the eucharistic tradition), Mark 14–16 betrays few of the characteristic signs of oral transmission. On the contrary, it represents the convergence of the main Markan *redactional* themes. Thus, according to Kelber, it is not composed from oral units, but as Howard Kee has shown, from literally hundreds of biblical quotations and allusions: "Take the scriptural references away, and the story of death has vanished."[31]

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[28] Philipp Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (De Gruyter Lehrbuch; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 327.

[29] Vielhauer, *Geschichte*, 328.

[30] Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983), 192, emphasis added.

[31] Kelber, *Oral and the Written Gospel*, 197. See Howard Clark Kee, "The Function of Scriptural Quotations and Allusions in Mark 11–16," in *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Earle Ellis and Erich Grässer; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 165–88.

If the Markan passion narrative is a redactional construction, then Vielhauer's dilemma disappears.[32] However, most are unwilling to ascribe such creativity to Mark and, on the basis of the resemblances between Mark and John, posit a pre-Markan passion story. Recently John Dominic Crossan has put forth the hypothesis that imbedded in the *Gospel of Peter* is one such pre-Markan passion story, a narrative which has in fact influenced the composition of the four intracanonical accounts.[33].

If a passion account circulated prior to Mark, the question arises whether Q betrays any significant influence of the theology of the death of Jesus in the pre-Markan narrative(s). If the reconstruction of Q's theology of Jesus' death on the one hand displays no such influence, and on the other, dissents in significant ways from that theology, we could no longer ascribe hermeneutical privilege to those passion stories in respect to Q's theology.

Any reconstruction of a pre-Markan passion account must take into account the frequent quotations of and allusions to texts from the Psalms, especially Psalms 22, 27, 38, 41, 42, 43, 69 and 109. Howard Clark Kee noted over 200 biblical quotations and allusions in Mark 11–16, including 26 from the Psalms in Mark 14–15 alone.[34] Most of these texts are used to articulate the motif of the suffering of the righteous one. Allusions to many of the same Psalms appear in the *Gospel of Peter*.[35]

George W. E. Nickelsburg, Jr. has traced the history of the genre of the "wisdom tale" in which the motif of the persecution and vindication of the righteous one came to be expressed .[36] [78] This genre, seen in its early stages in the Joseph story (Genesis 37–42), the story of Ahikar, the book of Esther,

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[32] See John R. Donahue, "Introduction: From Passion Traditions to Passion Narrative," in *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14–16* (ed. Werner H. Kelber; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 1–20 and Werner H. Kelber, "Conclusion: From Passion Narrative to Gospel," in *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14–16* (ed. Werner H. Kelber; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 153–80.

[33] John Dominic Crossan, "The Cross That Spoke: The Earliest Narrative of the Passion and Resurrection," *Forum* 3, no. 2 (1987): 3–22; *The Cross That Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988). Crossan argues that rather than presenting the death of Jesus as an exclusive, personal and individual passion, the "Cross Gospel" treats both the death and resurrection of Jesus as "inclusive, communal, and collective for both Jesus and the holy ones of Israel" ("Earliest Narrative of the Passion," 20). See also Arthur J. Dewey, "Time to Murder and Create: Visions and Revisions in the *Gospel of Peter*," in *The Apocryphal Jesus and Christian Origins* (ed. Ron Cameron; Semeia 49; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 101–27.

[34] Kee, "Function of Scriptural Quotations," 169–71, 183.

[35] Crossan, "Earliest Narrative of the Passion," 20.

[36] George W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), 48–92; "The Genre and Function of the Marcan Passion Narrative," *HTR* 73 (1980): 155–63.

Daniel 3, 6 and Susanna, is developed further in Wisdom 2, 4–5 and 3 Maccabees. Nickelsburg outlines the salient features of the genre as follows[37]:

> The protagonist is a wise man in a royal court. Maliciously accused of violating the law of the land, he is condemned to death. But he is rescued at the brink of death, vindicated of the charges brought against him, and exalted to a high position...while his enemies are punished.... In the Wisdom of Solomon and the early stages of the tradition that can be extrapolated from it, three important changes occur. (1) The exaltation scene is greatly expanded through the use of materials of Isaiah 13,14, and 52–53. (2) The protagonist is, in fact, put to death. (3) He is exalted to the heavenly court, where he serves as a vice-regent of the heavenly king.

The generic pattern may be illustrated from Wisdom 2–5.[38] The actions and professed knowledge of God of the righteous man (2:12–13, 16) prove to be a *provocation* to his opponents who form a *conspiracy* against him (2:12a). That leads to a *trial* and *condemnation* (2:20), resulting in an *ordeal* (2:17,19) and, eventually, a "shameful death" (2:20). This portion of the story may also depict the *decision* of the hero when faced with the choice of obedience or disobedience to God and his trust in God, often framed as a *prayer*. It may also contain a *protest* and mention of *assistance* rendered to the protagonist by helpers. The second main part of the tale relates the *rescue* of the wise man who, in Wisdom, only "appears" to die (3:2–4) but in fact possesses immortality (3:4b). He is *vindicated* in the presence of his persecutors, *exalted* and *acclaimed* (5:1–5) while his enemies react in dismay (5:2) and experience *punishment* (5:9–14).

After a careful consideration of the structure and genre of the Markan passion account, Nickelsburg reconstructs a pre-Markan account on the basis of those elements within Mark 14–15 which are not entirely homogeneous with Markan editorial intention but which accord with the genre of the "wisdom tale."[39] He posits a narrative in which the conflict between Jesus and his opponents had to do with the anti-temple saying (Mark 14:58). The account may have implied Jesus' exaltation at the point of death with Jesus' prayer, expressed in the words of Psalm 22, "followed by an epiphanic sign that marked the fact that God heard him."[40] The provenance of this account was a group "who understood themselves as a new temple."[41] [79]

If Nickelsburg is correct, and Q were to presuppose such a narrative, then at least some of the elements of this matrix would doubtless be reflected in Q and some of the motifs characteristic of the putative pre-Markan passion would occur. Of course, Q lacks the narrative format in which the "wisdom tale" is normally expressed and hence cannot provide an emplotted version of the

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[37] Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life*, 170.
[38] The key elements of the generic pattern are italicized.
[39] Nickelsburg, "Genre and Function," 182–84.
[40] Nickelsburg, "Genre and Function," 184.
[41] Nickelsburg, "Genre and Function," 183.

genre of the wisdom tale. There are, nevertheless, several Q sayings which might be seen to cohere with some of the sequences characteristic of the genre.

While there are no elements in Q which express the elements of provocation or conspiracy, the sequences of *trial* and *condemnation* are presupposed. Q 12:11 expressly mentions judicial proceedings, and hostilities and persecution of a more general sort are alluded to in Q 6:22–23; 11:47–51 and 13:34–35.[42] In connection with the judicial proceedings (12:11), the *assistance* of the Spirit plays a role (12:12). *Ordeal* in connection with such proceedings is probably implied by Q 12:4–5 (cf. also Q 6:22–23) and, as in the Wisdom of Solomon, the ignominy of an unjust death is compensated and overcome through the parental care that God exhibits for his own (12:6–7). Vindication is expressed variously: the persecuted are, paradoxically, blessed (6:22–23b) and are included in the company of God's prophets (6:23c; 11:49–51; 13:34–35). In spite of opposition, they speak with the voice of Jesus and ultimately, God (10:16), and are the ones who may claim knowledge of God (10:21–22). Both the promise of "reward in heaven" (6:22b; cf. 6:35b) and promise that Jesus' followers will sit on thrones, judging Israel imply vindication and *exaltation* (22:28–30; cf. 13:28–29). Various *acclamations* are present: Jesus and John are identified as Sophia's children (7:35); Jesus' followers are set above the sages because of their superior grasp of revelation (10:21–22); and they are pronounced more blessed than prophets and kings because of what they have witnessed (10:23–24). The predicted punishment of the persecutors is evidenced at Q 11:50–51: "The blood shed by all the prophets ... will be required of this generation."

It is noteworthy that while Q has many of the elements of the wisdom tale, it consistently deploys these elements in relation to the *collective* experience of the group, which evidently sees itself as continuing the work of the prophets. Apart from Q 7:35, it does not construe any of the elements individualistically with reference to Jesus and even at Q 7:35, John is juxtaposed with Jesus.

Only at the final stage of redaction, with the addition of the temptation story,[43] do elements enter the Q tradition which allow for a privatistic interpretation of persecution, ordeal and vindication, though Q itself does not actualize this option. The devil's challenge, "If you are the son of God" (Q 4:3, 9), when

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[42] [Ed. note: Christopher Tuckett (*Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996], 283–323) has exhaustively examined all of the pericopae in Q that speak of or allude to persecution and concludes, rightly in my view, that although Q speaks of persecution, the actual reference is likely that what is in fact at stake is that the "Q Christians have not received a positive response" (322). For Q "persecution" means little more than being ignored, or perhaps facing some verbal rebuffs. To this we might add that the framers of Q found in the Deuteronomistic theology of the rejection and even killing of the prophets a convenient framework within which to interpret their lack of success.]

[43] John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 246–62.

seen along[80]side the provocations of the ungodly in Wis 2:13–18 ("for if the righteous man is God's son, he will help him," Wis 2:18), might be employed in a privatizing interpretation of persecution. Matthew has done precisely this by placing this taunt into the mouths of the soldiers and onlookers at the cross (27:40, 43). But significantly, even at this late stage Q has not actualized the option of an exclusive, personal interpretation of Jesus' death.

While Q shares a few elements with the wisdom tale identified by Nickelsburg, two features of Q stand out. First, the generic components of the wisdom tale that Q does possess are nowhere gathered together or emplotted. This is not too surprising given the genre of Q. Nevertheless, it would be difficult to sustain any argument to the effect that Q's configuration of motifs is due to any influence of a pre-Markan passion story. Even more important is a second observation: The earlier stages of Q betray no influence of the individualizing interpretation of the wisdom tale or its application to Jesus' death. The dominant view of persecution in Q is determined by the deuteronomistic understanding of prophecy and the fate of the prophets (Q 6:23; 11:49–51; 13:34–35), who are treated as Sophia's envoys. As Arland D. Jacobson has amply demonstrated, Q has adopted and adapted deuteronomistic theology as the means by which to comprehend Jesus' and John's preaching, and Israel's rejection of that preaching.[44] Since Q regards both John and Jesus as the children of Sophia (Q 7:35), it seems likely that if Q sees any theological significance in the death of Jesus, it does so through the optic of deuteronomistic theology. On this view, persecution and death are the "occupational hazards" of the envoys of God or Sophia.

As for allusions in Q to the psalms of lament, the evidence is meagre. There is, indeed, in a few Matthaean Q texts a slight influence of a complex of motifs deriving especially from Psalms 69 and 109. In Matthew's version of the Q persecution beatitude (Matt 5:11 || Luke 6:22), ψευδόμενοι ("falsely") is appended to καὶ εἴπωσιν πᾶν πονηρὸν καθ' ὑμῶν ("and [when] they speak all evil against you"), perhaps evoking laments such as Ps 68[69]:5,

> more numerous than the hairs of my head are those who hate me without cause (οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεάν), and my enemies who persecute me unjustly have become strong (ἐκραταιώθησαν οἱ ἐχθροί μου οἱ ἐκδιώκοντές με ἀδίκως),

or Ps 108 [109]:2, [81]

> for the mouth of the sinner and the mouth of the treacherous opened against me, and they spoke against me with a deceitful tongue (ἐλάλησαν κατ' ἐμοῦ γλώσσῃ δολίᾳ).

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[44] Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978); "The Literary Unity of Q," *JBL* 101, no. 3 (1982): 365–89; "The Literary Unity of Q: Lc 10,2–16 and Parallels as a Test Case," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus - The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 419–23; see also Steck, *Israel*.

Such "reminiscences" of Psalms 69 and 109, if indeed they be reminiscences, are, however, most likely due to Matthew.[45] The probable wording of Q 6:22b (καὶ ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρόν, "and [when] they cast out your name as evil") recalls not the language of Psalms 69 and 109 but that of Deut 22:14, 19.[46]

In Q's oracle of Sophia (Matt 23:35 || Luke 11:51), Matthew has added to the phrase "the blood of Abel" the qualification "the righteous one" (τοῦ δικαίου) which, as Barnabas Lindars notes, "intended to invite comparison with the Crucifixion of Jesus."[47] The Q saying itself curiously juxtaposes the killing of the prophets (Q 11:47, 49) and the shedding of their blood (vs 50a) with the mention of Abel and Zechariah (v. 50b) who thus seem to epitomize the righteous who are unjustly murdered. Hence v. 50b introduces into the deuteronomistic complex the motif of the shedding of the blood of the innocent. But as I have argued elsewhere, this conflation occurred not in the Christian redaction of the Sophia oracle, but already in the pre-Christian transmission of it.[48] Its presence here cannot be ascribed to influence of a putative pre-Markan passion account.

Although Q 13:34–35 ("behold, your house is forsaken") announces divine judgment on the temple, there is no indication in Q that the group involved thought of itself as a replacement for the abandoned temple. Similarly, while Q indeed speaks of vindication and justification in the face of rejection, it is Sophia who is vindicated (ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία, Q 7:35). There is no indication, further, that the locus of vindication is in the death of her envoys.

Thus, at precisely the points at which Q might have borrowed motifs from a putative pre-Markan passion account – the motifs of God's vindication of Jesus as the righteous sufferer, the establishment of a temple "not built with hands" and the apologetic use of Psalms 22, 41, 69 and 109 – Q does not. Instead, it relies upon the deuteronomistic tradition of the persecution of the prophets, a

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[45] The participle ψευδόμενοι is not even textually secure in Matthew: it is omitted in D it sy^{s} and by Tertullian.

[46] See John S. Kloppenborg, "Blessing and Marginality: The 'Persecution Beatitude' in Q, Thomas & Early Christianity," *Forum* 2, no. 3 (1986): 38–44 for a discussion of this point and for a reconstruction of Q 6:22–23. [Ed. note: Dale Allison (*The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* [Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000], 228–29), commenting on Q 6:22 does not discuss possible reminiscences with Pss 69, 109, but points out that Q's use of ὀνειδίσωσιν might be an allusion to Isa 51:7, μὴ φοβεῖσθε ὀνειδισμὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῷ φαυλισμῷ αὐτῶν μὴ ἡττᾶσθε, "do not fear the reproaches of people, and doe not be dismayed when they revile you", but because of the very limited overlap between Isaiah and Q puts no confidence in an allusion to Isaiah here. He does, however, recognize that καὶ ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα ὑμῶν ὡς πονηρόν is a semitism, even if he does not connect it to Deut 22:14, 19.]

[47] Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (London: SCM Press, 1961), 20.

[48] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 145–46.

matrix of ideas which has made only a minor impact on Mark in 12:1–12.[49] It is not simply a matter, then, of Q's silence in regard to the pre-Markan passion account (if there ever was one), but of the use of a quite *different explanation* of suffering and the conceptualization of suffering and vindication in corporate terms. In Q we seem to be at a very primitive stage of theologizing the experience of persecution. Jesus' fate evidently was not yet an issue which required special comment. Parenthetically, it might be observed that Q's communal/corporate theologizing is comparable to [**82**] that posited by Crossan for his "Cross Gospel," although there is no evidence of Q's dependence on the "Cross Gospel" either. Indeed it might be argued that Q's corporate interpretation of suffering is a factor in the "Cross Gospel's" deployment of motifs from the wisdom tale in an inclusive, communal way.

It is tempting to argue that the absence of a specific treatment of Jesus' death in Q is a function of the genre of Q as a sapiential document.[50] Sapiential collections normally do not concern themselves with the death of the teacher. But it must be kept in mind that Q is very far from being "timeless wisdom" like Proverbs. On the contrary, it contains not only chriae which have biographical potential, but its opening sequences in Q 3 and Q 4 impute to the entire collection a biographical cast.[51] Perhaps even more significant is the fact that numerous Q sayings individually, and the collection as a whole, project a "narrative time" which extends from Abel and the beginning of Sophia's sending of the prophets (Q 11:49–51) to the parousia (Q 17:23–24, 26–30, 34–35) and the judgment of Israel (Q 10:13–15; 11:19, 31–32; 22:28–30). Within this extensive temporal framework exists a smaller narrative world defined by the activity of John the Baptist on one side (3:7–9, 16–17; 7:27; 16:16) and the projected missionary activity of Jesus' disciples on the other (10:16; 12:2–12, 22–31; 14:26–27, etc.). To borrow Norman R. Petersen's terms, although Q has only the barest beginnings of "plotted time," it has a rather complete "story time" or "narrative world."[52] Q's narrative world embraces the temporal range in which Jesus' death could be placed. However, Q resists all temptations to

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[49] See Steck, *Israel*, 269–73. [See also John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine* (WUNT 195; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 220–21, 272.]

[50] Sato ("Q und Prophetie," 447–48) makes an analogous argument, assuming that Q conforms to the genre of the prophetic book: "Q, which was formulated consciously in analogy to a prophetic book, therefore probably did not include a passion narrative because it intended to be a prophetic book."

[51] See James M. Robinson, "Jesus – From Easter to Valentinus (or to the Apostles' Creed)," *JBL* 101 (1982): 22; Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 256–62.

[52] Norman R. Petersen, *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship: New Testament; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 49–80. The narrative world embraces "the sum of propositions a narrative implies or expresses about its actors and their actions in space and time" (p. 40). Plotted time, on the other hand, has to do with the selection and arrangements of incidents into a plot sequence.

plot that particular point on its narrative map. To put matters a bit baldly, Q democratizes Jesus' death by means of deuteronomistic theology, or, more accurately, Q has not yet particularized that death by emplotting it and interpreting it apologetically with motifs drawn from the psalms of lament. There is, in sum, no evidence of Q's acquaintance with the putative pre–Markan theologizing of Jesus' death, and considerable evidence that Q represents a completely independent trajectory of the theologizing of persecution.

Resurrection and the Hermeneutical Horizon of Q

The problem of the relation of affirmations of the resurrection of Jesus to Q is perhaps an even more pressing one than that of the "absence" of a salvific interpretation of Jesus' death. Like the death of Jesus, the Easter "events" are not specifically mentioned in Q, either as plotted events, as occur in Matthew, Luke, John and in post–resurrection dialogues such as the *Epistula Apostolorum* and the *Book of Thomas (the Contender)*, or even as events within Q's narrative world, as in the case [83] of Mark's predictions of the appearance of the risen Lord (Mark 14:28; 16:7) or the parousia (13:27).

The significance of Q's silence cannot be dismissed with the simple observation that, as a wisdom document, there is no point at which the resurrection could be thematized. As we have already seen, Q projects a narrative world which compasses the so-called events of Easter. On the other hand, it is hardly imaginable that "Easter" has made no impact on Q, or at least, that the hermeneutic of Q is not determined by some equivalent of what other streams of tradition call "Easter."

It has been repeatedly argued that for Q, Jesus' resurrection was not to be understood as constituting a saving act of God to be thematized in the kerygma. The kerygma for Q still concerns the coming or presence of the kingdom (Q 10:9). But how then is the resurrection understood? Tödt's answer to this is perhaps the clearest and the most widely repeated[53]:

> The resurrection is God's affirmation of Jesus' *exousia* ["authority"]. Thereby the resurrection also is the confirmation before God of the fellowship bestowed by Jesus in his *exousia* on his own. Thus it is comprehensible why Jesus' teaching was taken up again and continued by the community; what Jesus had said had been confirmed by God.

M. Eugene Boring's work on early Christian prophecy moved this thesis one step further. Boring argued that prophetic and contemporizing forms of speech dominated Q both numerically and hermeneutically. While Q also contained a few historicizing forms, Q is best understood as a "prophetic document from a charismatic community" rather than a wisdom book; it is closer to Jeremiah than it is to Proverbs.[54] He concludes[55]:

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[53] Tödt, *Son of Man*, 252.

[54] M. Eugene Boring, *Sayings of the Risen Jesus: Christian Prophecy in the Synoptic*

The historical Jesus was indispensable for the theological understanding of the Q–community. He had been the decisive prophetic messenger of transcendent Wisdom and had been exalted to become the Son of Man. His words, and a few of his deeds, had formed the original nucleus of the Q-materials. But the prophetic understanding of the Q-community tended more and more to focus on the post-Easter exalted Jesus. What Jesus of Nazareth had said became dissolved in what the post-Easter Jesus said through his prophets. If these two categories of material were ever distinguished, they had ceased to be by the time of the redaction of the Q-materials.

Tödt's formulation rests on the assumption that Q already presupposes the pattern of death followed by divine vindication expressed in the [**84**] archaic formula preserved in Acts 2:22–24.[56] Richard A. Edwards expresses a similar view when commenting on Q's interpretation of the enigmatic sign of Jonah. For Q, the saying "stresses the continuity of the Son of Man with Jesus, but it is also a statement about the significance of Jesus as the preacher who is now at the right hand of God."[57] Following Norman Perrin,[58] Boring assumes that Q's identification of Jesus with the coming Son of Man presupposes a pesher exegesis of Dan 7:13–14 by means of Ps 110:1 and argues that this identification can be traced back to Christian prophets, that is, to precisely those persons who were engaged in the active transmission of Q.[59]

The hermeneutical key to Q's understanding of the resurrection, then, is said to lie in either Acts 2:22–24 or Psalm 110:1. However, if Q's interpretation of persecution and vindication is thoroughly *corporate*, it seems incongruous to balance this with a post-mortem exaltation of an individual, quite apart from the exegetical inconvenience created by the total lack of any use of Psalm 110 in Q. Q seems curiously indifferent to both Jesus' death and a divine rescue of Jesus from death. It is only in Mark 14:62 that the crucial text from Psalm 110:1 is employed in articulating Jesus' post-mortem exaltation unless, of course, one assumes from the outset that the very use of the title Son of Man contains implicitly a reference to Psalm 110.[60]

Tradition (SNTSMS 46; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 180–81.

[55] Boring, *Sayings of the Risen Jesus*, 182.

[56] Tödt, *Son of Man*, 251.

[57] Richard A. Edwards, *The Sign of Jonah in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q* (SBT 2/18; London: SCM Press, 1971), 85.

[58] Norman Perrin, "The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition," *BR* 13 (1968): 3–25.

[59] Boring, *Sayings of the Risen Jesus*, 244–45.

[60] Perrin's hypothesis that Mark 14:62 is the result of a Christian pesher exegesis of Dan 7:13–14 and Ps 110:1 (and Psalm 8) is convincing. However, the conclusion that this represents one of the initial stages of the Christian Son of Man title encounters the objection that Q, which is usually dated somewhat prior to Mark, contains no such reference to Psalm 110 even though some verbal similarities exist between Psalm 8 and Q 9:58. The latter is, of course, is the only Son of Man saying present in the *Gospel of Thomas* (saying 86). We urgently need a re-examination of the Son of Man problem from the standpoint of the results of recent redaction-critical work on Q. For an insightful exposition of the Son of Man problem and tradition history, see William O. Walker, "The Son of Man Question and the Synoptic Problem," in *New Synoptic Studies: The Cambridge Gospel Conference and Beyond* (ed. William R. Farmer; Macon: Mercer University Press, 1983), 261–301.

At this point it may be helpful to comment briefly on the genre of Q and the particular hermeneutic(s) proper to that genre. This is an important issue in this context given the dialectical relationship between genre and content: the form and character of the traditions which constitute a document contribute to an understanding of its literary genre, but at the same time, the genre conception of its compiler (and audience) determines both the principles of selection of the materials and how those materials are to be construed.

I have argued elsewhere that the composition of Q may be understood in three phases, beginning as a collection of six analogously structured instructional units: (1) Q 6:20b–49; (2) 9:57–62; 10:2–11, 16; (3) 11:2–4, 9–13; (4) 12:2–7, 11–12; (5) 12:22b–31, 33–34; and (6) 13:24; 14:26–27; 17:33; 14:34–35. This formative stratum then underwent a secondary expansion through the addition of polemical materials directed against the impenitence of "this generation." These include both interpolations into the instructional units (e.g., Q 6:23c; 10:13–15, 21–24; 12:8–9, 10; 13:26–30, 34–35; 14:16–24) and the insertion of several blocks of prophetic and apocalyptic sayings, mostly formulated as chriae: (2) Q 3:7–9,16–17; (2) Q 7:1–10, 18–35; 16:16; (3) Q 11:14–26, 29–36, 39–52; (4) 12:39–40, 42–46, 49, 51–59; and (5) 17:23–24, 26–30, 34–35, 37b. Finally, the temptation [**85**] story (Q 4:1–13) was placed between John's prediction of the coming one (Q 3:16–17) and the inaugural sermon of Jesus (Q 6:20b–49). This final addition had the effect of moving Q more clearly in the direction of a biographical presentation of Jesus' words.[61]

The formative stratum of Q corresponds closely in genre to the instruction, a well-defined Near Eastern genre of didactic literature.[62] Like the instruction, this stratum of Q is characterized by admonitions with motive clauses gathered into thematically coherent clusters, often prefaced with a programmatic wisdom pronouncement and concluded aphoristically. The secondary expansion of this collection by the addition of chriae which pit Jesus and John against an impenitent Israel did not remove Q from the orbit of wisdom collections as a whole, but it did propel Q beyond the generic boundaries of the instruction. At this stage, Q is at home with a wide range of hellenistic chriae collections and gnomologia. Neither the chriae collection nor the gnomologium was so narrowly defined as the instruction (which is normally dominated by monostichic or binary imperatives). Moreover, the genre of the chriae collection permitted considerable latitude in the content and form of its constituent sayings. Chriae could be simple (attributed) declarations (ἀποφαντικός) on a given subject, either prompted or unprompted, or responses (ἀποκριτικός) of the sage to a question or inquiry.[63] Chriae were occasionally organized on the basis of a

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[61] John S. Kloppenborg, "The Formation of Q and Antique Instructional Genres," *JBL* 105, no. 3 (1986): 443–62; *Formation*.

[62] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 263–89.

[63] See Theon's discussion in Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Volume 1: The Progymnasmata* (SBLTT Vol. 27.9, Graeco-Roman Religion Series; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986), 84–85.

common theme or catchword but more often were gathered without any obvious thematic connection.[64]

According to the "theology" of the instructional genre, the goal of instruction was to inculcate in the pupil the basic values of sagacity, considered judgment and the ability to perceive the divinely created order hidden within the everyday. The acquisition of wisdom was depicted metaphorically as the pursuit of the heavenly Sophia, if one happened to be a Jewish sage, or the assimilation of an ethos which enabled the sage to "speak Maʿat, do Maʿat," if one happened to be Egyptian. In both cases, the source of wisdom is not human ingenuity but resides in a primordial aspect of the divine, either Sophia who is with God at creation, or Maʿat, an associate of Reʿ. Typically, the instruction does not represent the particular wisdom sentences and admonitions as the creations of the sage. Instead, the sage reflects upon received wisdom, penetrating its opacity and formulating counsel and advice on the basis of his or her discoveries. Sir 39:1–9 sets forth programmatically the task of the sage: [**86**]

[1] On the other hand he who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High will seek
out the wisdom of all the ancients, and will be concerned with prophecies; [2] he will preserve
the discourse of notable men and penetrate the subtleties of parables; [3] he will seek out the
hidden meanings of proverbs and be at home with the obscurities of parables....

[6] If the great Lord is willing, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour
forth words of wisdom and give thanks to the Lord in prayer. [7] He will direct his counsel and
knowledge aright, and meditate on his secrets. [8] He will reveal instruction in his teaching, and
will glory in the law of the Lord's covenant. [9] Many will praise his understanding, and it will
never be blotted out; his memory will not disappear, and his name will live through all
generations. (Sir 39:1–3, 6–9)

Thus the content of the sage's instruction is doubly guaranteed. As the repetition and interpretation of the "discourse of notable men" it conveys what has been tried and proven by those whose sagacity and character merited them continued respect. And the teacher's wisdom is guaranteed by the transcendental source of wisdom, Sophia or Maʿat.

Some chriae collections also provide instances of the association of the speaker of the wise sayings with a divine source. This motif is present in *m. ʾAbot* 1.1–18, which contains aphorisms and admonitions ascribed to named sages, each standing in an unbroken chain of tradents of the Torah which begins with the giving of the Law on Sinai. The value of each saying is thus guaranteed not only by its association with a sage of repute, but even more importantly, with a specific line of sages through whom the authorized interpretation of the Torah has been conveyed.

With Cynic chriae collections, however, the appeal to a transcendental guarantor is relatively rare, notwithstanding Epictetus's description of the Cynic as a messenger of the gods (*Diss*. 3.22.23, 46–47, 56–57, 82, etc.), a

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[64] For a convenient treatment of chriae, see the collection of texts, translations and introductions in Hock and O'Neil, *Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric*.

description which may owe more to Epictetus' Stoicism than it does to Cynicism. Nonetheless, the attachment of the witty or wise saying to a teacher of repute functions to undergird and legitimate its authority. And it is precisely as sayings of "men of repute" that these chriae acquire special value for the inculcation of virtue, however virtue was defined.

Although direct evidence concerning the actual use of chriae within Cynic circles is scarce, we may presume that such stories were memorized, expanded and adapted in the interests of instilling Cynic virtues. [87] That is at least how Theon understood the chriae to work in the context of a school of rhetoric[65]:

> καὶ μὴν ἡ διὰ τῆς χρείας γυμνασία οὐ μόνον τινὰ δύναμιν λόγων ἐργάζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρηστόν τι ἦθος ἐγγυμναζομένων ἡμῶν τοῖς τῶν σοφῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν (Theon, *Progymnasmata* 1).
>
> Indeed, practicing with chriai not only creates a certain facility with words but is also useful for good character, since we are being exercised with the sayings of the wise (my translation).

While Theon evidently preferred moralizing and edifying chriae to the sharply anti-social Cynic chriae of Diogenes of Sinope,[66] one of his major sources of chriae, he did apparently maintain the traditional importance placed upon *mimesis* ("imitation") in the inculcation of virtue. If the pupil "practices" with the chriae of "approved persons" (δεδοκιμασμένοι, Theon, ΠΕΡΙ ΧΡΕΙΑΣ, Spengel 2:103) the results will be beneficial.[67]

Legitimation of wisdom sayings, whether they were transmitted in the instruction genre, or in gnomologia or chriae-collections, was a requirement common to virtually all sapiential collections. A variety of strategies was available to deal with the problem: attachment of the sayings to a sage of repute, association of the sage with a transcendent figure or the addition of heroic testing or ordeal stories, especially if the sage was otherwise unknown. If Q began as an instruction and subsequently redaction moved it closer to Hellenistic chriae collections, we might well ask, Must Q presume anything of the nature of the resurrection of Jesus in order to undergird its counsels? Neither instructions nor chriae collections appealed to anything of the sort, but contented themselves with an appeal to the reputation of the sage or to transcendental authority.

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[65] Leonhard von Spengel, ed., *Rhetores Graeci* (Lipsiae: Sumptibus et Typis B. G. Teubneri, 1853–56), 2:60.

[66] Mack ("Elaboration of the Chreia in the Hellenistic School," in *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels* [by Burton L. Mack and Vernon K. Robbins; Foundations & Facets: Literary Facets; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1989], 41–42, 45–51) notes the moralizing and edifying tendencies in Theon's presentation of chriae, and suggests that while it was perhaps the Cynic chriae which first caught the attention of teachers of rhetoric, Theon "may stand toward the end of [the Cynic chria's] history of usefulness in the progymnasmata tradition" (p. 51).

[67] For this section I am indebted at many points to Mack's discussion of the function and application of chriae in Hellenistic schools ("Elaboration").

Q, in fact, uses a combination of the typical strategies of legitimation. Q's sayings are attributed to known teachers, Jesus and John, and they find their ultimate warrant in Sophia whose children Jesus and John are (Q 7:35) and who is responsible for the sending of the prophets (11:49). In the final editing of Q a testing story was added to guarantee further the character of the speaker and to legitimate his sayings.

As in both instructions and chriae collections, *mimesis* also plays a central role in Q sayings. Q 6:35–36 offers the model of divine mercy for imitation and Q 9:57–58 holds out the itinerant lifestyle of the Son of Man as a model for would-be followers. The latter saying might just as easily have been found in a collection of Cynic chriae. But Q's Jesus is not represented simply as the transmitter of wisdom, or a good model for imitation, or even a kind of sage *par excellence* whose wisdom is unparalleled among his peers. [88]

In the dynamics of the instruction the sage acts as the guarantor and perhaps even embodiment of the wise sayings. His or her sagacity and behavior provide a model for imitation and the introduction and conclusion of the instruction frequently contain stereotyped admonitions to heed the sage's words.[68] But the sage is never regarded as the exclusive mediator of wisdom. Q, however, associates the acquisition of saving knowledge specifically with attachment to Jesus and his words. Thus Q speaks of "being worthy of me" (Matt 10:37–38) or "being my disciple" (Luke 14:26–27), of calling upon Jesus as κύριε ("Lord," Q 6:46) and of hearing "my words" (Q 6:47). The conclusion of Q's mission instruction positions the ostensible speaker of the words between God and the disciples[69]:

ὁ δεχόμενος ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ δέχεται,
[[καὶ]] ὁ ἐμὲ δεχόμενος δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.

The one who receives you receives me,
and the one who receives me receives him who sent me. (Q 10:16)

The use of the emphatic form of the first person pronoun (ἐμέ) and the a/b/b'/a and a/b/b/a' constructions of the first two clauses, which places those pronouns at the centre of attention, make it clear that Jesus is not dispensable in the chain between the preachers of the kingdom (10:9) and God, the ultimate commissioning authority (10:2), but is rather an essential element in that chain. Steck rightly observes that Q 10:16 in effect puts Jesus in the position of Sophia sending the prophets to Israel.[70] At this formative stage of Q, we are still very

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[68] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 266–72, 276–82.

[69] [Ed. note: The original version of the article cited the Lukan form, Luke 10:16. The IQP's reconstruction of Q 10:16, used here, follows Matthew. See James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 188.]

[70] Steck, *Israel*, 286 n. 9.

far from articulate Christology; but a significant step has been taken beyond the typicalities of the instructional genre.

In the second stratum of Q, this trajectory becomes much clearer. Q 12:8–9 implies a unique mediation of salvation by Jesus by coordinating confession of Jesus with confession by the Son of Man. Q 6:22 declares blessed those who suffer ἕνεκα τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ("or the sake of the Son of Man") and Q 11:29–32 implies that Jesus' preaching is greater than even Jonah's preaching or Solomon's wisdom. The most unambiguous assertion of exclusive mediation of salvific knowledge occurs in Q 10:21–22. This thanksgiving borrows the sapiential motifs of the intimate relation of Sophia and God and of Sophia's exclusive mediation of heavenly secrets and applies them to the Father-Son relationship. Q 10:21–22 makes Jesus functionally equivalent to Sophia.

Sayings such as those mentioned above indicate that it is not just Jesus' *wisdom* that is important, but the fact that it is *Jesus'* wisdom. The [89] question to be asked at this point is, How is the soteriological intensification of Jesus' words to be understood and justified in the context of a sapiential genre?

In his 1981 presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature, James M. Robinson noted the indifference of the genre sayings collection to the placement of Easter and the hermeneutical shift which Easter occasioned. "In fact it is characteristic of such early sayings collections that they contain no thematic discussion of the turning point of death and resurrection about which the subsequent hermeneutical debate revolved, even though in a sense they straddle that turning point."[71] Both Q and the *Gospel of Thomas* juxtapose with remarkable indifference sayings which derive from the earthly Jesus and obviously post-resurrectional words. The inclination to read Q as a collection of pre-Easter sayings of Jesus derives from our knowledge of the later evangelists' placement of Q. It may be doubted whether Q itself intended such a reading. The same may be said of the *Gospel of Thomas*. The "living Jesus" of the incipit is neither the pre-Easter nor the post-Easter Jesus notwithstanding the penchant of later Gnostics to compose post-resurrection dialogues.

The so-called Johannine thunderbolt, Q 10:21–22, illustrates Q's indifference to Easter, at least insofar as it is visualized as a narratible event. The assertion "All things have been delivered to me by my Father" (10:22a) falls in the middle of Q. But this scarcely implies that Easter falls in the middle of Q nor does it mean that "the 'Easter' authorization has been transferred back into the public ministry."[72] Matthew could place this saying where he does (Matt 11:25–27) because he already projects the *exousia* ["authority"] of the risen Jesus (Matt 28:18) back into his pre-Easter ministry.[73] Luke's redactional

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[71] Robinson, "Jesus," 286 n. 9.

[72] Robinson, "Jesus," 23.

[73] See Günther Bornkamm, "The Risen Lord and the Earthly Jesus: Matthew 28.16–20," in *The Future of Our Religious Past: Essays in Honor of Rudolf Bultmann* (trans. C.E. Carlston and R.P. Scharlemann; ed. James M. Robinson; London: SCM Press, 1971), 208.

association of Jesus with the Spirit at the beginning of this pericope (10:21a: "In that same hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit and said ...") performs a parallel function for Luke: the pre-Easter Jesus enjoys *exousia* by virtue of his possession of the Spirit, which will be conferred upon all his followers at Easter. But for Q, these options are not open.

Citing Q 12:10, "And every one who speaks a word against the Son of Man will be forgiven; but he who blasphemes the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven," Robinson observes that Q seems to give priority to the Spirit after Easter. He then reformulates Bultmann's famous dictum that Jesus has risen in the kerygma.[74] Robinson argues that[75]:

> ... Jesus rose, as the revalidation of his word, into the Holy Spirit. Thus, rather than narrating a resurrection story, Q demonstrates its reality by presenting Jesus' sayings in their revalidated state as the guidance of the [**90**] Holy Spirit. Easter is then not a point in time in Q, but rather permeates Q as the reality of Jesus' word being valid now.

I have already observed that in neither the formative stratum nor the secondary redaction of Q is authorization of Jesus' sayings connected with vindication after death. Nor is Q interested in Jesus' death as such. Indeed, this is probably an outcome of the sapiential nature of Q's genre. Virtually all wisdom collections trace themselves back to dead sages, but the death of the sage is rarely, if ever, an issue in the genre. Nor do wisdom collections visualize the exaltation of the dead sage, although they may hold out the general expectation that those who live in accord with the instruction will succeed in this life or be vindicated in the next. It is not the death of the sage or his subsequent vindication that interests sapiential genres, but the sage's living presence in his or her words. Hence it is a bit misleading even to evoke the notion of "resurrection" in respect to Q, at least insofar as the term implies a narratible event having to do with the overcoming of an individual's death. The notion of resurrection is absent from Q not because Q already presupposes the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God as a narratible event, but because this metaphor is fundamentally inappropriate to the genre and theology of Q. What other primitive Christian theologies achieve by means of an appeal to the vindication of Jesus after the cross, Q accomplishes by quite another means.

The metaphor of resurrection – both that of Jesus and that of his followers – is, of course, an apocalyptic metaphor deriving ultimately from Daniel 12 and Isaiah 26. The impact of apocalypticism upon the literature of the early Jesus movement is profound but not, I think, ubiquitous. Especially in Q there is a peculiar reserve towards apocalypticism and despite the appearance of several

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[74] Rudolf K. Bultmann, "The Primitive Christian Kerygma and the Historical Jesus," in *The Historical Jesus and the Kerygmatic Christ: Essays on the New Quest of the Historical Jesus* (ed. Carl E. Braaten and Roy A. Harrisville; New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), 42.

[75] Robinson, "Jesus," 24.

well-known apocalyptic *topoi*, Q does not share the pessimism and dualism characteristic of apocalyptic.[76] The expectation that Jesus' followers will "sit on twelve thrones judging the tribes of Israel" (Q 22:28–30) need not presuppose the Danielic notion of resurrection followed by judgment, but more likely conforms to the expectation of a post-mortem judgment of the wicked in the divine court, such as is found in Wis 5:1–5 or Wis 3:8 ("[the righteous dead] will govern nations and rule over peoples"), or to the general affirmation that "the one who obeys [Sophia] will judge the nations" (Sir 4:15).

Rather than invoking the apocalyptic metaphor of resurrection, Q understands the authorization of Jesus' soteriologically intensified words by implying a functional identification of Jesus and Sophia. Thus the speaker of the wise words is never without legitimation for his sayings although it is always legitimation *coram Deo* and not necessarily *coram hominibus* – in the human forum. No special moment of vindication is [**91**] required. If one wishes to speak of Easter at all, one must say that what the Markan and post-Markan Easter traditions localize and particularize by narration, Q assumes to have always been a characteristic of Jesus' words as the words of Sophia. Sophia's envoy is always justified, and conversely, Sophia is justified in the activities of her children, though this vindication is not manifest empirically in history.

In 1972 Rudolf Pesch put forth the bold hypothesis that the origins of the Easter faith were not to be found in either the empty tomb stories or the reports of Jesus' appearances (1 Cor 15:5–7). The former are legendary and apologetic developments which presuppose a corporeal view of resurrection and the latter should be understood as formulaic assertions of the legitimacy of the witness(es) named in the formula (e.g., Cephas, the twelve, James, etc.). "The assertion that 'he appeared' [ὤφθη] is every bit as much a theological assertion as is the statement 'raised on the third day'. Hence it cannot be equated with 'and was buried' [1 Cor 15:4] on the level of historical verifiability."[77]

Having discounted the so-called Easter events as the point of origin of the Easter faith, Pesch looks for its origin in the pre-Easter period. He argues, first, that neither the Baptist's death nor those of the prophets constituted insuperable obstacles requiring some spectacular negation or vindication. The death of the Baptist did not apparently prevent some from supposing that he lived on in Jesus (Mark 6:14, 16) and others from promulgating lofty opinions which the fourth evangelist felt compelled to combat. Second, Pesch maintained that it is hardly imaginable that Jesus did not foresee at least the possibility of his own violent death and prepare his disciples in some way for that eventuality. Finally, the work of Klaus Berger (1976) indicates that the notion of the resur-

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[76] [Ed. note. See "Symbolic Eschatology and the Apocalypticism of Q," *HTR* 80, no. 3 (1987): 287–306, reprinted as Chap. 6.]

[77] Rudolf Pesch, "Zur Entstehung des Glaubens an die Auferstehung Jesu: Ein Vorschlag zur Diskussion," *TQ* 153 (1973): 215 (this article was based on a lecture at Tübingen in 1972).

rection of a prophet was already available as an interpretive category and that it is likely that this notion would have been current in the circles of John and Jesus.[78] Thus it is quite conceivable that the pre-Easter "faith" of the disciples survived the events of Good Friday and led to the Easter proclamation[79]:

> The proclamation of the resurrection of Jesus is then an expression of acknowledgment of the eschatological significance of Jesus, his mission and authority, and his divine legitimation in view of his death.

I do not wish to engage Pesch's thesis here or to comment on its cogency as an historical explanation of the Easter faith.[80] He has, however, described a scenario which is similar to what I have conjectured for the Q group living already at some remove from "Easter." [92]

In the first place, the death of Jesus was evidently not considered to be an insuperable obstacle, requiring a special moment of divine vindication. The genre of the Sayings Gospel normally displays no special interest in post-mortem vindications of the sage. Jesus' death and the deaths of those associated with God's activity are, moreover, quite intelligible given the deuteronomistic understanding of the fate of the prophets and given a corporate (though not narrative) deployment of motifs associated with the vindication of the just in the genre of the wisdom tale. In both the deuteronomistic tradition and the wisdom-tale, the sage's or prophet's mission ends in failure, at least by any empirical or historical standards, and Sophia's envoys cannot expect a dramatic vindication of their work in history. But the sage or prophet is always justified before God, just as God is vindicated in the sage. The genre of Sayings Gospel here exploits the polarities of the manifest and the hidden, apparent injustice and divine approbation, failure *coram hominibus* and vindication *coram Deo*.

Second, even though Q displays a "soteriological intensification" that exceeds the typicalities of sapiential and chriae collections, there is no reason, nor is there any warrant, to presuppose that the Sayings Gospel would ground this intensification in an appeal to the "resurrection" of Jesus. On the contrary, the soteriological intensification of Jesus' sayings and the authority that accrued to them are not grounded in an event at the end of his life, but instead arise out of the character of his words as words of, and ultimately guaranteed by, Sophia.

The "Easter faith" of Q represents every bit as much a transformation of the pre-Easter Jesus-tradition as do other streams of primitive theologizing. But for

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[78] Pesch, "Zur Entstehung des Glaubens," 223–24 referring to Klaus Berger, *Die Auferstehung des Propheten und die Erhöhung des Menschensohnes: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Deutung des Geschickes Jesu in frühchristlichen Texten* (SUNT 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976).

[79] Pesch, "Zur Entstehung des Glaubens," 226.

[80] Pesch's thesis is discussed by Schelkle, Kasper, Stuhlmacher and Hengel in *TQ* 153 (1973).

Q the locus of transformation is the sayings tradition itself. "Easter," if one can still use that term in respect to Q, is not a narratible, temporal event, but a hermeneutical one. In this sense we may say, paraphrasing Bultmann, that for the Sayings Gospel "Jesus arose in his words."

Addendum

Arland Hultgren (*The Rise of Normative Christianity* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994], 34–38) has disputed the suggestion that the genre of Q (above, p. 200) is determinative of the way in which the Q group understood Jesus' words to have been authorized and believes that Q must have presupposed the resurrection of Jesus. N. T. Wright ("Resurrection in Q?" in *Christology, Controversy, and Community: Essays in Honour of David Catchpole* [ed. David G. Horrell and Christopher M. Tuckett; NovTSup 99; Leiden, Boston and Köln: E.J. Brill, 2000], 85–97) has tried, unsuccessfully in my view, to find traces of a belief in Jesus' resurrection in Q (Q 3:8; 9:60; 11:30; 12:28, 33; 17:33; 22:30). Critical of the appeal the resurrection of Jesus as that which authorizes Jesus' sayings, Burton L. Mack ("Lord of the Logia: Savior or Sage?" in *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* [ed. James E. Goehring, Jack T. Sanders, and Charles W. Hedrick; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990], 3–18 [10-11]) argues that the attribution to Jesus of the "mythology of personified wisdom" meant that "Jesus could easily become a revealer figure without any appeal to an 'Easter' mythologem, should the dispensation of special knowledge be of interest to the Q tradents." Daniel A. Smith's monograph, *The Post-Mortem Vindication of Jesus in the Sayings Gospel Q* (LNTS 338; London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2007), opens the road to another approach. Drawing on the suggestion of Dieter Zeller ("Entrückung zur Ankunft als Menschensohn (Lk 13,34f.; 11:29f.)," in *A cause de l'évangile: études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes: offertes au P. Jacques Dupont, O.S.B. à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire* [Lectio Divina 123; Paris: Publications de Saint-André and Les Editions du Cerf, 1985] 513-530), Smith argued that Q imagines not resurrection but rather assumption as the vindication of Jesus. Since assumption is an sign of divine favour and as well as often marking a special eschatológical function, we might imagine that the assumption of Jesus was understood as the authorizing moment for Jesus' words, much like the assumption of Enoch. See also, Daniel A. Smith, *Revisiting the Empty Tomb: The Early History of Easter* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2010), 63–81 and more briefly, John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 374–379.

Marco Frenschkowski ("Welche biographischen Kenntnisse von Jesus setzt die Logienquelle voraus? Beobachtungen zur Gattung von Q im Kontext antiker Spruchsammlungen," in *From Quest to Quelle: Festschrift James M. Robinson* [ed. Jon Asgeirsson, Kristin de Troyer, and Marvin W. Meyer; BETL 146; Leuven: Peeters, 1999], 32–33) characterizes the argument taken here as "ingenious" (*genialisch*) but rejects it as "zu aufklärisch, oder allenfalls zu gnostischnah" (32). Frenschkowski

ultimately remains agnostic as to how Q may have regarded its contents as sayings of the exalted Jesus, owing to the absence of an incipit such as *Gos. Thom.* 1 but observes that Matthew and Luke took over Q "als eine Tradition, welche sie in eher harmloser Weise ergänzen, teilweise neu ordnen und in ihren Rahmen einbringen, aber nicht als Zeugnis einer Spiritualität und Soteriologie, welche der polemischen Abgrenzung und korrigienden Neuformulierung bedarf" (33).

On "implicit christology" in Q, see Jacques Schlosser, "Q 11,23 et la christologie," in *Von Jesus zum Christus – Christologische Studien: Festgabe für Paul Hoffmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Rudolf Hoppe and Ulrich Busse; BZNW 93; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 217–224 and "Q et la christologie implicite," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense XLIX; ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 289–316.

Chapter 8

Nomos and Ethos in Q[1]

The name of James M. Robinson will, perhaps more than any other, be mentioned in connection with the ending of monopolies, most especially those associated with the Nag Hammadi materials. He has, however, contributed importantly to the dissolution of other monopolies. The task of imagining Christians origins, which had long been conducted almost exclusively with reference to the New Testament canon, must now attend to other materials that faded from view either though historical accident or by ecclesiastical censure. This revolution is due in no small part to Robinson's essays, and those of his collaborator, Helmut Koester, in *Trajectories through Early Christianity.* The theological monopolies associated with the term *kerygma* that were already under attack in his essays of the sixties[2] had all but collapsed by the time of Robinson's SBL presidential address of 1982[3] Robinson has also prodded the academy to abandon the coziness of unilinear models for imagining Christian origins and to embrace the incomparably messier – but also richer model of multiple trajectories emanating from a complex generating matrix comprising the words and deeds of John, Jesus, and their followers and the sapiential, apocalyptic, thaumaturgic, and gnostic configurations that were invoked to interpret the significance of these persons and their words. In each of these developments, the sayings gospel (Q) has played a decisive role.

In the 1983 Vosburgh Lectures at Drew University Robinson raised in passing the problem of Q and the Torah.[4] There he observed that Q does not represent Jesus as consciously repudiating the Torah; but on the other hand, it does not invoke Torah as a source of proof-texts. The framer of Q is neither a Mark nor a rabbi. Instead, Q depicts Jesus as the exponent of a radicalized or

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[1] First published as "Nomos and Ethos in Q." In *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson*, edited by James E. Goehring, Jack T. Sanders, and Charles W. Hedrick, 35–48. Sonoma, CA: Polebridge Press, 1990. ©Polebridge Press. Reprinted with permission. I am indebted to Leif Vaage for his useful comments on drafts of this paper.

[2] "Basic Shifts in German Theology," *Int* 16 (1962): 76–97; "Kerygma and History in the New Testament," in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 20–70.

[3] James M. Robinson, "Jesus – From Easter to Valentinus (or to the Apostles' Creed)," *JBL* 101 (1982): 5–37.

[4] James M. Robinson, "The Sayings of Jesus: Q," *Drew Gateway* 54, no. 1 (1983): 26–38 (32).

idealized Torah. Here, Robinson puts his finger on a matter that touches on both the soteriology and the sociology of the sayings gospel.

Indeed, although there has been a virtual avalanche of literature on Paul and the Law, little systematic has been said on how the sayings gospel [36] conceives of the Torah. This in itself is not too surprising. As far as it can be reconstructed, Q has little to say in regard to individual laws or indeed the Torah as a whole. Q lacks Markan-type controversies that account for Jesus' nonobservance of the Sabbath laws and regulations concerning purity. And unlike Paul, Q does not reflect on the position of the Law within the scheme of salvation.

Initially these facts could lead to two mutually exclusive conclusions. Either Q takes for granted the validity of the Torah and therefore never engages such legal issues; or it ignores the issues with which Mark and Paul struggled, because the Torah does not figure importantly in the soteriology and paraenesis of the group. In one case we would arrive at a Torah-observant Jewish Christianity and in the other a group in which covenant and Law are not important categories.

Of these two options, most interpreters appear to have favored the former. Recently Robert Wild suggested that two of Q's woes against the Pharisees – Luke 11:39–41 (on purifying cups) and 11:42 (on tithing) – reflect not, as is usually assumed, the controversies of Christians with Pharisees, but of *Christian Pharisees* with other Pharisees or with other Christians.[5] Q indeed focuses precisely upon those issues-tithing and the observation of purity laws outside the Temple-which lay at the heart of Pharisaic self-understanding, Even if Q 11:42 (to use Lukan versification) criticizes those who tithe meticulously for neglecting more important matters, it nonetheless accepts the need to tithe, as is made clear by the phrase, "these you ought to have done without neglecting the others." Wild interprets Q 11:39–41 similarly. The importance of the purity of vessels and utensils is not in dispute; it is only set within a more comprehensive context of divine demands. Q's attention to the issues at the core of Pharisaic piety suggests that its criticisms are made from *within* a Pharisaic context. Wild compares similar debates between Hillel and Shammai on the circumstances under which various items are subject to tithe and on the *halakah* regarding impurity.[6]

To grant Wild's hypothesis that "Christian Pharisees" were influential in the formation of the Q Woes (Q 11:39–52) immediately raises other questions. Did such Christian Pharisees also understand the Torah to be the definitive and authoritative expression of divine will? And did they understand salvation – or

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[5] Robert A. Wild, "The Encounter Between Pharisaic and Christian Judaism: Some Early Gospel Evidence," *NovT* 27, no. 2 (1985): 105–24 (113–17).

[6] See Jacob Neusner, *The Rabbinic Traditions About the Pharisees Before 70* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971), 1:303–40, and especially idem, "'First Cleanse the Inside': The Halakic Background of a Controversy Saying," *NTS* 22 (1976): 486–95.

more properly, sanctification – to consist in the faithful observance of Torah, however they may have interpreted the import of individual laws? Wild does not pursue these issues. Siegfried Schulz, however, proposes an understanding of Q as an expression of the "messianic Torah and *halakah* of Jesus" and claims that for Q the saving event is located in Jesus' "messianic Torah, his prophetic-apocalyptic word, and his priestly instruction."[7] [37]

Although Schulz distinguishes two strata in Q, an early "Palestinian Jewish Christian" (Q^1) and a later "Hellenistic Jewish Christian" stratum (Q^2),[8] he sees no significant shift in the understanding of the Torah. For both the Torah remains absolutely binding both in its ethical and in its cultic aspects. Schulz assumes that the community practiced circumcision and tithing, observed *kashruth* and Pharisaic purity laws, frequented the Temple, and observed the Passover (rather than primitive Christian sacraments).[9] It was not an abrogation of the Torah that led to Q's disagreements with Pharisees, but rather Q's radicalized Torah-observance. In opposition to Deut 24:1 and current Pharisaic practice, divorce was disallowed; the ordinary means of retaliation and retribution permitted by the *lex talionis* were eschewed; and the demands of mercy and love – even of one's enemies – were given more prominence than cultic observance, though the latter was by no means rejected.[10] Accordingly, Jesus was viewed as the eschatological Torah-exegete and as the coming Son of man.

The impulse for such radicalized Torah-observance derived, according to Schulz, from the Parousia expectation that dominated group consciousness. And the earliest stratum of Q had not yet taken the decisive theological step of interpreting the *earthly Jesus* kerygmatically. This, for Schulz, did not occur until a later stratum of Q, when Jesus was understood as the envoy of Sophia *par excellence*.[11] The theological program of Bultmann looms large in this view of Q. For Schulz as for Bultmann, the earliest Palestinian community (Schulz: Q^1) had not yet drawn the boundary between itself and Judaism.[12] Fulfilment of the Law remained the condition of salvation,[13] and christology

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[7] Siegfried Schulz, "Die Bedeutung des Markus für die Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums," *SE* 2 (= TU 87) (1964): 138–39.

[8] Schulz's division has been criticized extensively by Paul Hoffmann in his review "Besprechung von S. Schulz, *Q: Spruchquelle der Evangelisten*," *BZ* 19 <neue Folge> (1975): 104–15 and by the present author in "Tradition and Redaction in the Synoptic Sayings Source," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 34–62.

[9] Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), 169, 485.

[10] Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 172–73. Robinson ("Judaism, Hellenism, Christianity: Jesus Followers in Galilee Until 70 C.E," *Archivio de Filosophia* 53, no. 1 [1985]: 244) seems to concur with Schulz's proposal that Q radicalized rather than rejected the Torah, although he also notes that "*Q* does not seem to be more comfortably Jewish...."

[11] Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 482–83.

[12] Rudolf K. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament* (trans. K. Grobel; New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1951–55), 1:53; Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 171.

[13] Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:54–55; Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 167–68.

focused on Son of man expectation. Schulz describes Q[1] in precisely the terms which Bultmann uses for the earliest community that had not yet explicitly grasped Jesus' person and fate as "*the* eschatological occurrence in Paul's sense" and for that reason "was in danger of remaining a Jewish sect."[14]

Pharisaic Halakah and the Q-Woes

It is the Q woes and especially Q 11:39–41 and 11:42 that Schulz and others adduce in support of the thesis that the Q group was Torah-observant.[15] Since Lührmann, however, it has been recognized that the redaction of the [38] woes emphasizes not simply a disagreement with Pharisaic *halakah*, but a sharp polemic against *all Israel* for her rejection of Q's prophetic preaching (Q 11:49–51).[16] That is, what may have begun as controversy with Pharisaic groups has been broadened substantially at the stage of the assembling of the woes into the present form of Q 11:39–52. This literary observation in itself should serve as a caution against generalizing the implications of two preredactional components of a cluster of Q sayings into a conclusion about the final redaction of Q as a whole.

Q 11:39–41: On purifications

Although there are some differences in wording between Matt 23:25–26 and Luke 11:39–41, the shape of Q's woe is still visible.[17]

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[14] Bultmann, *Theology*, 1:37.

[15] Thus Paul Donald Meyer, "The Community of Q," Ph.D. diss. (University of Iowa, 1967), 68–69, 87–88; Ulrich Luz, "Die wiederentdeckte Logienquelle," *EvT* 33 (1973): 533; Karl Hermann Schelkle, "Israel und Kirche im Anfang," *TQ* 163 (1983): 89–90.

[16] Dieter Lührmann, *Die Redaktion der Logienquelle* (WMANT 33; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 43–48.

[17] Reconstruction: Q *11:39.* Matthew has assimilated this woe to the structure of those in 23:13, 15, 23, 27 by introducing the justification of the woe-cry with ὅτι and by placing the verb καθαρίζετε immediately after ὅτι. Second, since he prefers adverbial uses of ἔσωθεν (cf. 7:15; 23:27, 28; see Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* [Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1982], 465; Wolfgang Schenk, *Die Sprache des Matthäus* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987], 282), he is obliged to omit the article, transpose δέ and ἔσωθεν, and change Luke's (=Q's) γέμει into a plural. However, since πονη- words are elsewhere favoured by Matthew (Gundry, *Matthew*, 647; Schenk, *Sprache*, 161), there is little reason for him to have altered Luke here; therefore Matthew's ἀκρασία is probably original.

Q 11:40. Harnack (*The Sayings of Jesus: The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke* [trans. John Richard Wilkinson; New Testament Studies 2; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908], 101), Schulz (*Spruchquelle*, 96–97), and Schenk (*Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelien: Q-Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung* [Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1981], 76) exclude both Luke 11:40 and Luke 11:41 || Matt 2326 from *Q*. Schulz argues first that no reasons can be given for Matthew's

Woe to you Pharisees, for you purify the outside of the cup and the dish, but the inside is full of rapacity and self-indulgence. Did not the maker of the outside also make the inside? Purify the inside (of the cup), and its outside will also be clean (or: and all will be clean for you).

Schulz takes the view that "the ceremonial law" is neither abrogated nor treated as a secondary issue. The force of the woe is to assert only that ritual purity must accord fully with ethical purity.[18] [**39**]

This conclusion, however, seems unjustified. Q 11:39–41 indeed betrays knowledge of the Pharisaic view that in matters of purity, vessels are divided into inner and outer parts.[19] Neusner has convincingly demonstrated that the Q saying can only be directed at the Shammaite opinion (which was dominant before 70 CE) that the inside and outside of cups function autonomously and that either or both might be clean or unclean. Under such circumstances, care

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omission of Luke 11:40 and that 11:40 contains Lukan vocabulary (ἄφρων and ποιέω used of divine creative activity), and second that Matt 23:26 and Luke 11:41 represent independent amplifications of the Q woe by Matthew and Luke. However, the presence of a parallel to Luke 11:40 in *Gos.Thom.* 89 (not in the form of a woe!) makes it difficult to regard 11:40 as Lukan. Moreover, ἄφρων occurs only here and at 12:20, which may derive from Q (see John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* [Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988], 128), and ποιέω is used immediately of the potter and only metaphorically of God. Bultmann (*The History of the Synoptic Tradition* [rev. ed.; trans. John Marsh; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968], 131–32) argues that Matthew omitted 11:40 because he did not understand the sentence, while Gundry (*Matthew*, 465) more plausibly urges that Matthew's polemical tone led to the omission of the didactic question in Luke 11:40.

Q 11:41. The agreement between Matthew and Luke in extending the discussion of inside vs. outside and, in particular, in the use of an imperative (καθάρισον/δότε) followed by a final clause which promises complete cleanness suggest strongly that something of the same structure existed in Q. Luke's δότε ἐλεημοσύνην (cf. Luke 12:33; Matthew is different) is suspect as redactional. Moreover, Luke's formulation completely abandons the metaphor of washing cups and dishes. To this extent Matthew's version is probably more original, though his second person singular verb should probably be restored to a plural (Athanasius Polag, *Fragmenta Q: Textheft zur Logienquelle* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979], 54 reads καθαρίζετε).

[Ed. note: the IQP's reconstruction is: οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ⟦‹τ›οῖ‹ς›⟧ Φαρισαίου⟦‹ς›⟧, ὅτι καθαρίζετε τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, ἔσωθεν δὲ γέμ⟦ουσιν⟧ ἐξ ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀκρασίας. ⟦40⟧ 41 ⟦καθαρίσ‹ατε›⟧ .. τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου, .. καὶ .. τὸ ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ καθαρόν .. , "Woe to you, Pharisees, for you purity the outside of the cup and dish, but inside ⟦they are⟧ full of plunder and dissipation. ⟦Purify⟧ .. the inside of the cup ... its outside ... pure." See James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 268–72.]

[18] Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 97–98. Schulz follows the lead of Herbert Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus: Jesus von Nazareth und die essenische Qumransekte* (2., durchgesehene und erg. Aufl.; BHT 24/1–2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1969), 2:12.

[19] *m. Kel.* 25.1, 7.

must be taken while handling the outside (or the handle) of the cup that one's hands do not contaminate the liquid clinging to the rim of a cup and thereby render the inside of the cup unclean.[20] The Hillelite view, which treated the outside of cups as permanently unclean (y. *Ber.* 8:2), accordingly held that the state of the inside of the cup was decisive. Q 11:39–41 is meaningful only to someone who takes for granted that the outside of vessels *can* be cleansed or that the state of the outside may (indirectly) affect the inside. This is not the Hillelite position.

Does this imply that Q criticized Shammaite Pharisees from a Hillelite standpoint? Hardly. While Q 11:39–41 acknowledges the Pharisaic distinction regarding cups, it immediately reduces this distinction to an absurd caricature and diverts the discussion onto an ethical plane by treating vessels as metaphors. No one, either Hillelite or Shammaite, would hold that cleaning the outside of a vessel would render the inside clean; moreover, since cleansing was normally done by immersion in a *miqweh*, it would have been virtually impossible to wash only the outside of a vessel.[21] And the mention of rapacity and self-indulgence is obviously not appropriate to eating utensils: something else is at issue.

Nevertheless, Q 11:39–41 maintains the metaphor of vessels throughout and creates double significations for several elements of the saying. Its logic is important to observe. It begins not as Matthew does by focusing on the hypocrisy of the Pharisees and the *danger* they represent,[22] but with the sheer contrast between outside and inside, a contrast that is deemed to be self-evident both for vessels and for the metaphorical significations that they have. Q 11:40 then ridicules the distinction of outside/inside by appealing to the process of the production of cups and, by analogy, lampoons any system which partitions human existence into discrete realms. The concluding imperative serves then to underscore the lack of a strong boundary, either in matters of table utensils or in human matters. Fluid boundaries, based on the fact of creation, permit "purity" an unobstructed movement. [**40**]

The Q woe betrays knowledge of Shammaite distinctions, but no sympathy with them. By subverting the boundaries between inside and outside and by diverting attention to ethical issues, Q is actually undermining the entire system of purity that depends for its existence on a well-defined taxonomy of the cosmos. In its use of lampoon, Q resembles some of the cynic criticism of

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[20] Neusner, "First Cleanse the Inside". The schools' opinions and their rationale are detailed in *m. Ber.* 8.2, *m. Kel.* 25.1, 7; *y. Ber.* 8.2, and *b. Ber.* 52b.

[21] *m. Miqw.* 5.6; 6.2, 5, 6. Mark 7:4 speaks of the immersion (βαπτισμός) of cups. See Hyam Maccoby, "The Washing of Cups," *JSNT* 4, no. 3 (1982): 5.

[22] This is also the dynamic of Matt 23:23–24 (Pharisaic halakah identifies small defilements, only to permit great ones); 23:27 (outward beauty *vs.* inward corpse uncleanness); Matt 23:28 (outward righteousness *vs.* inward lawlessness); 23:29–33 (outward piety *vs.* inward homicidal intentions).

ritual,[23] but in its substance, Q approaches Pseudo-Phocylides' sentiments: ἁγνείη ψυχῆς, οὐ σώματός εἰσι καθαρμοί "purifications are for the soul, not for the body," 228).[24] To invoke the terms καθαρίζω or καθαρμοί in this manner is to take terms belonging to a realm of discourse that pays close attention to the state of bodies and bodily orifices and to redeploy them in a realm which implicitly denies the utility of rigid controls on the body – both the social body and the physical one. This is not simply a redefinition of the system of "purity" but a rejection of it.

Q 11:42: On tithing

The other woe that bears on Q's attitude toward the law is Q 11:42. It appears that Matthew rather than Luke has preserved the original list of spices to be tithed: *mint* (ἡδύοσμον), *dill* (ἄνηθον) and *cummin* (κύμινον). Luke agrees in the mention of mint but has *rue* (πήγανον) instead of dill, and *every herb* (πᾶν λάχανον) instead of cummin. The latter divergence is best understood as a typically Lukan generalization.[25] The change from dill to rue is perhaps due to the fact that *dill* (ἄνηθον, ἄννητος) was less familiar to Luke than rue. Theophrastus (*Historia plantarum* 9.7.3) lists dill among the aromatic herbs which are not native to Europe, whereas πήγανον well known.[26]

On the other hand, it is Matthew who added the phrase "the weightier things of the law" (τὰ βαρύτερα τοῦ νόμου), consistent with his understanding of the law of love as the canon for interpreting the Law. In their descriptions of what the Pharisees neglect, Matthew and Luke concur in naming κρίσις ('justice'). Matthew adds ἔλεος ('mercy') and πίστις ('faithfulness'), while Luke has ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ ('love of God'). The prominence of mercy (ἔλεος), always understood as God's demand[27])in Matthean redaction (9:13; 12:7

) makes its appearance suspect here. Luke has no aversion to the term,

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[23] See Diogenes Laertius 6.42: "Seeing someone perform religious purification, he said, 'Unhappy man, don't you know that you can no more get rid of errors of conduct by sprinklings than you can of mistakes in grammar)'"; 6.63: "Someone having reproached him for going into dirty places, his reply was that the sun too visits cesspools without being defiled." I owe these references to Leif E. Vaage, "The Woes in Q (and Matthew and Luke): Deciphering the Rhetoric of Criticism," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLASP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 5–6.

[24] See the discussion of this in Pieter Willem van der Horst, *The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides: With Introduction and Commentary* (SVTP 4; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 258–60.

[25] For documentation of this tendency see Henry J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (New York: Kraus Reprint Co. 1969; repr., HTS 6; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920), 115–18.

[26] Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum* 1.3.4: Nicander. *Alexipharmica* 49. If the ruling of *m. Šebi.* 9.1 is in effect, Luke is also incorrect in assuming that either rue or "every herb" was to be tithed.

[27] Benno Przybylski, *Righteousness in Matthew and His World of Thought* (SNTSMS 41; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 100–101.

which he normally uses to mean God's display of mercy (1:50, 54, 58, 72, 78), and thus there would have been no reason for Luke to have substituted love (of God), which occurs only here in Luke-Acts had he found mercy in his, *Vorlage*. [41]

Faithl(fulness) (πίστις), however, may be pre-Matthean. While the term is important in Matthew's redaction, it is used redactionally to denote the belief of those seeking (or performing) miracles. Here, by contrast, it means "faithfulness" or "fidelity." Luke seems unfamiliar with this latter sense and for that reason may have omitted the word.

The trio of words κρίσις, ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ and πίστις probably reflect the Hebrew terms *mišpat, ḥesed* and *ʾemûnāh*, which occur together in the Hebrew Bible denoting both attributes of God and expectations of humankind.[28] The qualification "of God" in Q indicates that the perspective is theocentric rather than anthropocentric. Q's accusation is that the Pharisees neglect *God's* justice, love, and fidelity and the demands that these impose upon humankind. By contrast, Matthew construed the terms as divine demands which the Pharisees do not obey. Luke, however, preserved the original theocentric dimension of the Q saying.[29] Accordingly, it seems preferable to reconstruct Q 11:42b with Luke's παρέρχομαι ("disregard," "overlook") rather than with Matthew's ἀφίημι ("abandon"), which appears to reflect Matthew's accusation that his opponents are violating the basic demand of the Law. Hence, I propose the following reconstruction[30]:

> Woe to you, Pharisees, for you tithe mint and dill and cummin and disregard the justice and love of God (and faithfulness). These you ought to have done without neglecting the others.

There are several important points to be made regarding the Q saying. First, the woe begins with Pharisaic practice but, as with the woe concerning purifications, immediately directs attention to God's activity as a means of refocusing the question of bow humans ought to view themselves and their obligations. Like Q 6:27–35, which finds the warrant for merciful action in the *imitatio Dei*, Q 11:42 invokes the justice and love of God as a warrant for human action. It could be added that elsewhere in the Q tradition, the examples of divine generosity (11:9–13), providence (12:4–7), and nurture (12:24–31) are invoked as the basis for imitation or consolation.

Of course, Pharisees would rightly retort that their tithing and the extensions of biblical purity laws are also grounded in an attribute of God, namely, holi-

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[28] Przybylski, *Righteousness*, 100–101.

[29] Thus A.H. M'Neile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indices* (London: Macmillan, 1915), 335. Schulz (*Spruchquelle*, 101) thinks that it is Luke who has introduced this perspective.

[30] [Ed. note: The IQP reconstruction is: οὐαὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς⟧ Φαρισαίοι⟦ς⟧ ὅτι ἀποδεκατοῦτε τὸ ἡδύοσμον καὶ τὸ ἄνηθον καὶ τὸ κύμινον καὶ ⟦ἀφήκατε⟧ τὴν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ ἔλεος καὶ τὴν πίστιν· ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα μὴ ⟦ἀφιέ⟧ναι. See Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition of Q*, 266.]

ness. The dispute between Q and the Pharisees thus turns on the norms of theological and ethical hermeneutics; but Q shows no special concern for legal hermeneutics. The Torah and its interpretation are not at issue; this is only [42] true for Matthew. Neither Q's criticism of the Pharisees nor its counterproposal is obviously nomocentric.

This raises a second point: What is Q's view of tithing? Schulz argues that Q fully approved the Pharisees' practice and like them required even the tithing of herbs.[31] This is unlikely. Like Q 11:39–41, this woe engages in rhetorical exaggeration and caricature. That it accurately reflects current tithing practice is most unlikely. Even a cursory glance at the Mishnaic discussions of tithing is sufficient to indicate that there was no unanimity in regard to the liability of any of the items of 11:42a. The ruling that the dill plant was liable to tithe (*m. Maʿaś*. 4.5) derives from Eliezer (b. Hyrcanus).[32] His view was based on the principle that the act of cultivation is decisive rather than any unstated intention regarding the use of the product or parts thereof. Yet this principle was open to dispute as related rulings of Akiba show (*m. Maʿaś*. 4.6). In any case, it is difficult to imagine that Eliezer's view was universally adopted. Though there is no ruling on the matter, it is likely that an uncultivated (and perennial) crop such as mint would have been regarded as exempt by many.[33] *m. Demai*. 2.1 includes cummin in the *demai*-produce to be tithed; but this ruling is unattributed and therefore its date is uncertain.

The tactic of this woe resembles that of 11:39–41. The framers of these woes know that Pharisees discuss the susceptibility of parts of vessels to uncleanness and the susceptibility of various produce to the tithe. But the woe conjures up absurd spectres: someone washing only the outside of a cup, or someone tithing in a way that corresponds neither with the actual practice of all Pharisees nor even with that of any particular house or school. The point is sheer ridicule.

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[31] Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 101–3.

[32] Neusner (*Eliezer Ben Hyrcanus: The Tradition and the Man* [SJLA 3–4; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973], 1:71, 2:175) classifies the tradition as "fair" (i.e., not among the "best" or "better" traditions) but notes that its logic is consistent with Eliezer's rulings elsewhere. See also Martin S. Jaffee, *Mishnah's Theology of Tithing: A Study of Tractate Maaserot* (Brown Judaic Studies.19; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 135–40.

[33] According to *m. Šebi*. 7.1 mint leaves (*dandanah*) were subject to the Sabbaticali year law on the grounds that it was fit far human or animal consumption, The same text exempts it from the law of removal because it is a perennial and therefore is never deemed to have disappeared from a field. No clear statement exists in regard to its liability to tithe. However the ruling of *m. Šebi*. 9.1 which exempts other wild crops suggests that wild mint is exempt from tithes. Since such crops are not cultivated, there is no question either of the intention of the grower or even of the plain sense of his act. See further Louis E. Newman, *The Sanctity of the Seventh Year: A Study of Mishnah Tractate Shebiit* (Brown Judaic Studies.44; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 137–50, 179–97.

The third point concerns 11:42c. This phrase is widely construed by commentators as evidence of a Torah-observant Q group.[34] It is equally widely suspect as an interpolation by an anxious Jewish-Christian redactor of Q.[35] The clause fits awkwardly with a saying which is already complete in itself (11:42ab). It is all the more awkward in a collection of woes which otherwise [43] interpret Pharisaic actions in a uniformly negative way. Q 11:42c differs from the remainder of 11:39–42, 44 by casting its gaze beyond the Pharisees to another audience to warn them that *not everything* that the Pharisees do is entirely wrong-headed and to be disregarded. Moreover, the use of the verb ποιεῖν in connection with the items of 11:42b shows that these have now been construed (as in Matthew) as divine demands, rather than as divine attributes which create ethical demands.

What was the intention of the glossator who added 11:42c? Given what was said above regarding the contrived nature of the accusation of 11:42a, it is scarcely likely that the glossator of Q meant to enjoin upon the Q group a tithing practice that surpassed in scrupulousness each and every Pharisee! On the contrary, the intention of the gloss is, at most, to affirm the importance of tithing as it is articulated in Num 18:12 and Deut 14:22–23. But perhaps it is more an "e.g.," signalling more generally the allegiance of the glossator to Torah.

If 11:42c is an interpolation, it is important to ascertain the point in the literary evolution of Q at which this addition occurred, and correspondingly, the point in the history of the group when it was deemed necessary to reinforce tithing practice. Obviously, this question cannot be answered in isolation. It is necessary to determine on the basis of a redactional analysis of the Q materials whether there is a discernible stage in Q's literary evolution when similar concerns over the validity of individual laws (or the Law as a whole) were expressed. What may be said at this point is that none of the extended compositions shows a tendency either to buttress admonitions by means of an appeal to the Torah or to frame them in such a way as to contrast the admonitions with the Torah. This is true of the programmatic opening sermon (Q 6:20b–

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[34] On the basis of absence of the Luke 11:42c in Codex Bezae and Marcion several commentators argue that the phrase belonged neither to Luke nor to Q but was a Matthean interpolation. Thus Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, 101; Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1904), 61; T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1949 [repr. 1971]), 98.

[35] Thus Bultmann, *History*, 131; Paul Hoffmann, "Die Anfänge der Theologie in der Logienquelle," in *Gestalt und Anspruch des Neuen Testaments* (ed. Josef Schreiner; Würzburg: Echter, 1969), 148 n. 33; Dieter Zeller, *Kommentar zur Logienquelle* (Stuttgarter kleiner Kommentar, Neues Testament 21; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984), 69; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 76; Athanasius Polag, *Die Christologie der Logienquelle* (Dr. Theol. diss., Trier (1969); WMANT 45; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 80.

49), the commissioning speech (Q 9:57–62; 10:2–16)[36]: the instructions on prayer (11:2–4, 9–13) and anxiety (12:2–12, 22–31), the controversies with "this generation" (11:14–26, 29–32, 39–52 [minus 11:42c]), and the two apocalyptic collections (12:39–59; 17:23–37). This in itself suggests that nomistic concerns are foreign to the formative components of the Q tradition and appear only at a later stage, probably the result of local social interactions in a Jewish environment where it became advantageous or necessary to affirm the Torah in some way. As will be seen, anxious reflection on the theological trajectory of Q is in evidence elsewhere in the collection.

Q 16:16–18

The most direct statements regarding the validity of the Law are found in a brief cluster of sayings in Q 16:16–18. This cluster is not part of a longer Q-[44]composition and is not clearly related to its surrounding context. It is preceded by the parable of the lost sheep (15:4–7) and the proverb about serving two masters (16:13) and is followed by a series of sayings treating scandal (17:1–2, 3–4), faith (17:6), and the coming of the Son of man (17:23–37). The original location of the first saying, 16:16, is disputed. Some authors argue that it originally belonged with Q 7:18–35 where Matthew placed it.[37] However, it is difficult to overcome the force of the observation made long ago by Johannes Weiss that if Luke had seen 16:16 in its present Matthean location (in a cluster of sayings about John the Baptist), it is hard to imagine why he would have moved it to its current context.[38]There is hardly any doubt, however, as to the extent of Lukan redaction of the saying, and most authors hold that Matthew reproduces the saying better than Luke apart perhaps from inverting the order of the two clauses.[39]

A plausible reconstruction of the three sayings is[40]:

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[36] If Luke 10:8 ("eat what is placed before you") comes from Q (thus Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums* [BBB 54; Königstein: Peter Hanstein, 1980], 219–20; Risto Uro, *Sheep Among the Wolves: A Study on the Mission Instructions of Q* [Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 47; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987], 83) the implication would be that Q's missionaries at least had abandoned the observance of *kashruth*. Meyer's suggestion ("Community of Q," 68) that the missionaries are only exempted from the prohibitions against eating untithed food is improbable.

[37] E.g., Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, 16; Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 27–28; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 44.

[38] Johannes Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892), 192.

[39] See Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 262; Paul Hoffmann, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 [2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980]), 51–52.

[40] Matthew's version, "for the prophets and the Law prophesied until John" (11:13) emphasizes the prophetic character of the scriptures and avoids the impression of the abrogation of the Law. Both features are probably due to Matthew. See Wolfgang Trilling, "Die

16:16a The Law and the Prophets were until John.
16:16b From the days of John until now, the Kingdom of God suffers violence and the violent take it by force.[41]
16:17 I say to you, until heaven and earth pass away, not one serif will pass from the Law. [42]
16:18 Anyone who divorces his wife (and marries another) commits adultery. And whoever marries a divorée commits adultery.[43]

With regard to the divorce saying, two points are important. First, this saying should not be construed as implying an abrogation of the Law. Indeed the saying prohibits what Deut 24:1–4 permits. However, Q 16:18 is not framed in such a way as to confront the Torah text directly and in any event, it is an example of the imposition of more stringent demands than the Torah requires, not of allowing what the Torah prohibits. Q does not violate the [45] Torah any more than the authors of the *Cairo Damascus Covenant (CD* 4.20, 21), who considered divorce and remarriage to be a matter of successive polygamy.

Second, if the stringent divorce saying is not framed as rejection of the Torah, neither is it presented as an explication of Deut 24:1. It belongs tradition-historically with other Q sayings such as the prohibitions of retaliation and violence (Q 6:27–31) that are better understood as sapiential than as intentional "intensifications of the Torah."[44] Of course such admonitions go far beyond most conventional wisdom, as indeed Q 16:18 goes far beyond contemporary Jewish understandings by equating divorce (and remarriage) with the capital offense of adultery. The stringency of these admonitions has as its

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Täufertradition bei Matthäus," *BZ* 3 <new series> (1959): 276–79; Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 261 and the literature cited there.

[41] There is virtual unanimity that Matt 11:12bc (apart from "of the heavens") represents Q. See Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 261–62; Polag, *Fragmenta Q*, 74–75;. There is more dispute concerning whether Luke's ἀπὸ τότε ('from then'–only here in Luke-Acts) or Matthew's ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν Ἰωάννου (τοῦ βαπτιστοῦ) ἕως ἄρτι ('from the days of John [the Baptist] until now') is from Q. 'From the days of John' is not demonstrably Matthaean *pace* Trilling, "Täufertradition," 277–78): ἐν (ταῖς) ἡμέραις appears in *Sondergut* at 2:1 and 23:30 and is from Q at 24:37. Moreover, if we assume that 16:16a and 16:16b are originally independent sayings (see Jacques Schlosser, *Le règne de Dieu dans les dits de Jésus* [EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1980], 516–17), 16:16b requires both a beginning and a link to provide an eventual connection to 16:16a. The Matthaean version supplies both. Thus also Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 44. [Ed. note: The IQP reconstruction is: ὁ .. νόμος καὶ οἱ προφῆται ⟦ἕως⟧ Ἰωάννου· ἀπὸ τότε ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βιάζεται καὶ βιασταὶ ἁρπάζουσιν αὐτήν.]

[42] [Ed. note: The IQP reconstruction is: ⟦εὐκοπώτερον δέ ἐστιν τὸν⟧ οὐρανὸ⟦ν⟧ καὶ ⟦τὴν⟧ γῆ⟦ν⟧ παρελθ⟦εῖν ἢ ἰῶτα ἓν ἢ⟧ μία⟦ν⟧ κεραία⟦ν⟧ τοῦ νόμου ⟦πεσεῖν⟧.]

[43] The reconstruction of Q 16:17–18 is that of Polag, *Fragmenta Q*, 74. It agrees substantially with the reconstruction of Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 114 (16:17), 118–19 (16:18). [Ed. note: The IQP reconstruction is: πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ⟦καὶ γαμῶν ‹ἄλλην›⟧ μοιχεύει, καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμῶν μοιχ⟦εύει⟧.]

[44] See Gerhard Lohfink, "Jesus und die Ehescheidung. Zur Gattung und Sprachintention von Mt 5,32," in *Biblische Randbemerkungen: Schülerfestschrift f. Rudolf Schnackenburg z. 60. Geburtstag* (ed. Helmut Merklein and Joachim Lange; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1974), 207–17.

presupposition the dawning of God's dominion and the radically new ethos that it brings. The divorce saying thus serves as a pointer to this ethos, as do sayings such as Q 6:27–35 or 16:13.

Q 16:16 shares a similar perspective. Although Wernle took it as a Hellenistic saying that implied the abrogation of the Law,[45] this is probably not its intention, at least in its Q form (16a + 16b). Instead the saying concerns *heilsgeschichtliche* periodizing: the time of the "Law and Prophets" ended with John; and with John's appearance the time of the Kingdom had come.[46] It implies too that the position of the "Law and the Prophets" – a summary reference to Hebrew Bible preaching[47] – is relativized in the era of the Kingdom. Polag comments[48]:

> In any event it is certain that the Kingdom is contrasted with the Scripture, and indeed it becomes clear that the Kingdom is independent of the Law and the Prophets, i.e., the scriptures understood as a norm for conduct; obviously it is a matter of God's new intervention that alters the situation and represents a new claim of God upon humankind.

This intensified claim of God upon humankind is perfectly consistent with a host of Q sayings, including Q 6:27–35 and Q 16:18. There is no doubt, however, that to a later editor 16:16a might be cause for concern. Matthew's rewording of the statement shows that it continued to pose a problem for him. Q 16:17 appears to be one attempt on the part of an editor of Q to obviate the possibility of an antinomian interpretation of Q's parenesis. This saying interposes itself between two sayings that evince the theme of the new situation that the Kingdom brings about (16:16, 18). Indeed 16:13, which radically opposes service to God with service to wealth, seems also to be formulated from this perspective. In other words, Q 16:17 is intrusive in 16:13–18, just as 11:42c [46] intrudes into the original collection of woes. Both glosses express the same anxiety regarding the enduring validity of the Law.

A Nomocentric Redaction of Q?

At what stage in the composition of Q did such concerns arise? While it is usual to think that the further one traces the tradition back the more "Jewish" it

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[45] Paul Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage* (Leipzig, Freiburg im Breisgau, Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1899), 229. The same interpretation is adopted by B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins, Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1924), 233 and Gerhard Barth, "Matthew's Understanding of the Law," in *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew* (ed. Günther Bornkamm, Heinz Joachim Held, and Gerhard Barth; trans. P. Scott; Philadelphia: Westminster Press; London: SCM Press, 1963), 64.

[46] See on this Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 26–29; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 44.

[47] For references see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28–28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981–85), 1116.

[48] Polag, *Christologie*, 79 (my translation–JSK).

becomes and the greater the likelihood of nomocentric piety, this does not appear to be the case with Q. Almost a century ago Paul Wernle characterized Q as the product of a Greek-speaking church and, more significantly, a non-Jewish community. In order to explain the transition from Q to Matthew, Wernle posited a "Judaizing form" of the collection (Q^J, which contained sayings such as Matt 5:17–20; 10:5–6, and 23:3.[49]

One may recognize a thorough "methodological anti-Judaism" in Wernle's reconstruction of Q, which he declared to contain "the free, almost revolutionary gospel of Jesus himself" with no admixture of "Judaism."[50] Nevertheless, his suggestion is not without merit even if it requires considerable nuancing. Both of the sayings that express concern over the validity of legal observance (11:42c; 16:17) appear to be glosses added to obviate difficulties created by earlier sub-collections within Q. Furthermore, there is little evidence from the larger compositional units within Q-the inaugural sermon (Q 6:20b–49) for example – of a nomocentric piety. On the contrary, salvation is a matter of obeying Jesus' words (6:46–49), not of maintaining oneself within the framework of the covenant. This suggests that at its earliest stages, Torah observance was not an issue, but only became one in the later stages. A clue to locating the stratum at which this concern emerged may be provided by the Temptation story (Q 4:l–13). There is now a broad consensus that the story is the latest addition in the evolution of Q.[51] While several features distinguish this pericope from the rest of Q, one is important for our purposes. No other Q text employs Hebrew Bible quotations (in Septuagintal form) preceded by the formula, "It is written," in an argumentative context. And apart from 7:27 Q refers to the Hebrew Bible allusively rather than by direct quotation. Though the Temptation account is not a "halakic dispute" as it has incongruously been termed, the story does presuppose the validity of Torah texts for settling arguments and for determining behavior. Hermann Mahnke aptly observes that the account presents Jesus not so much as learned in the Torah as obedient to it.[52] This is very near the perspective from which Q 11:42c and 16:17 are formulated. In this light, it seems a plausible solution to [47] locate the additions of these two glosses at the same (late) stage at which the Temptation story was added.

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[49] Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage*, 229–31.

[50] Wernle, *Die synoptische Frage*, 230.

[51] For detailed argumentation, see Hermann Mahnke, *Die Versuchungsgeschichte im Rahmen der synoptischen Evangelien* (BBET 9; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1978), 186–87; Polag, *Christologie*, 146–51; Dieter Zeller, "Die Versuchungen Jesu in der Logienquelle," *TTZ* 89 (1980): 61–62; Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978), 40.

[52] Mahnke, *Versuchungsgeschichte*, 198.

Law and Salvation in Q

The assertions that Q reflects a Torah-observant Jewish Christianity or that it presents Jesus as a radicalizer of the Torah depend in large measure upon elements in Q that are rather late additions to the collection. So too they presuppose, tacitly or not, that the conviction that salvation or sanctification is mediated in the context of the Law and the covenant was a common denominator that is to be assumed unless there is reason to suppose otherwise. Such a view would find support in E. P. Sanders' ambitious attempt to discover "covenantal nomism" as the basic pattern of religion in both Palestinian and Hellenistic Judaism.[53] Hellenistic Judaism, however, resists the attempt to impose the categories of covenantal nomism, as Collins has convincingly demonstrated.[54] *Pseudo-Phocylides* and *Pseudo-Menander* attach no significance to the covenant, and while a view of law is presupposed, it is one of a universal moral law lacking any references to specifically Jewish observances. On the Wisdom of Solomon, Collins comments[55]:

> The primary distinction is not between Israel and the gentiles but between the righteous and the wicked. While Israel is presented as the paradigm of the righteous, it is not necessarily an exclusive paradigm.

The Sayings Gospel Q not only lacks any inclination to demark Jews from Gentiles but depicts Gentiles such as the centurion (7:1–10) and the Ninevites and the Queen of the South (11:30–32) in a favorable light. And as in these Hellenistic Jewish documents, neither the Covenant nor the Torah has a determinative function in the symbolic universe constructed by Q, though "Israel" and terms related to it remain important, especially in the later strata of Q (3:8; 13:28–29; 22:28–30) although even here the boundaries of "Israel" are rather fluid (cf. Q 7:9; 13:28–29). Salvation is better understood on the model of *paideia* provided by antique sapiential genres and chriae collections. The goal of instruction is the assimilation of an ethos that is ultimately grounded in divine order. In the idiom of Egyptian instructions the goal is to "do Maʿat, speak Maʿat"; in the Hebrew biblical tradition, it is to pursue and learn from Sophia. There is no hint that the Torah mediates between the divine and the cosmos. On the contrary, intuition of the divine is directly available in the observations of the transactions of human families (Q 11:9–13), of birds and plants (12:4–7, 22–31), and of the indiscriminate goodness of [48] the sun and

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[53] E. P. Sanders, "The Covenant as a Soteriological Category," in *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honor of William D. Davies* (ed. Robin Scroggs and Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly; SJLA 21; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), 11–44.

[54] John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (New York: Crossroad, 1983); "Cosmos and Salvation: Jewish Wisdom and Apocalyptic in the Hellenistic Age," *HR* 17, no. 2 (1977): 121–42.

[55] Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 185.

rain (6:35). The sayings gospel directs attention to the ethos of the divine and enjoins imitation and emulation.

Since this new ethos is depicted as dissimilar from the old, Q engages in polemic and lampooning to underline that difference. The woes (and Q 16:16) function importantly in this respect. It would seem, however, that to a later eye and in another situation some of Q's statements appeared troublesome and steps were taken to mitigate their implications. Even though the basic soteriological thrust of Q is not substantially revised by these later additions of Q 11:42c, 16:17 and 4:1–13, these glosses do have the effect of bringing Q closer to the orbit of a nomocentric view and are, perhaps, steps in the direction of Matthew.

Addendum

On the reconstruction of Q 11,39–52 see now Ronald Jolliffe, *Q 11:39a, 42, 39b, 41, 43–44*, in *Documenta Q: Reconstructions of Q Through Two Centuries of Gospel Research Excerpted, Sorted and Evaluated* (ed. Gertraud Harb and Christoph Heil; Leuven: Peeters, 2012) and idem, *Q 11:46b, 52, 47–51*, in *Documenta Q: Reconstructions of Q Through Two Centuries of Gospel Research Excerpted, Sorted and Evaluated* (ed. Gertraud Harb and Christoph Heil; Leuven: Peeters, 2012).

Two kinds of arguments were made in this paper, one literary-critical, and the other socio-historical. The literary critical argument, which still seems to me to be cogent, concerns the relationship of Q 11:42c, 16:17, and 4:1-13 to the remainder of Q. As argued above, each of these appears to derived from the same perspective, one that expressed some anxiety about the relationship between earlier clusters in Q and the Torah. Similarly, Marco Frenschkowski, "Galiläa oder Jerusalem? Zum topographischen und politischen Hintergrund der Logienquelle," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 535–559 (550): "Es unterliegt kaum einen Zweifel, daß die nomistischen Passagen Q 11,42d; 16,17 etwas festhalten wollen, was sonst zu entgleiten droht, und daß sie der letzten Phase der Q-Buchwerdung angehören." On the other hand, Paul Hoffmann ("Mutmaßungen über Q: Zum Problem der literarischen Genese von Q," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* [ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001], 255–288 [285–286]) has challenged this analysis: "Gerade diese Stelle [Q 13:27 ἀνομία] macht aber deutlich, dass auch in der Sicht von Q^2 der Tora-Bezug latent hinter der Rezeption der Weisungen Jesu steht.... Wenn die Redaktion von Q entscheidend von deuteronomistischer Theologie bestimmt ist, was auch miener Auffasung entspricht –, dann gibt es keinen Grund dieser Texte [4:1-13; 11:42c; 16:17] also spätere Interpolationen auszuscheiden. Q erhebt den Anspruch mit der Weitergabe der Weisungen Jesu gerade der Tora zu dienen." On the other hand, Leif E. Vaage, "Jewish Scripture, Q and the Historical Jesus: A Cynic Way with the Word?" in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL

158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 479-495 (480): "Jewish scripture is not obviously at the centre of Q's reasoning. Unlike ... Matthew, which makes the question of Jesus' relation to the "law and the prophets" and their "fulfillment" through him a primary axis of this gospel's representation of Jesus, there are only two verses in Q (11,42d; 16,17) that obviously treat any such theme and neither of these plays any important role in the construction of Q's general argument or literary architecture."

More problematic, in retrospect, is the view expressed in the last two sections, that "neither the Covenant nor the Torah has a determinative function in the symbolic universe constructed by Q." I continue to maintain against Schulz and others that nothing in Q suggests that it evidences a "radicalization" of the Torah, analogous to what Herbert Braun described in *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus: Jesus von Nazareth und die essenische Qumransekte* (2., durchgesehene und erg. Aufl.; BHT 24/1–2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1969). It is still true that at a number of points Q might have invoked the Torah in support of its arguments, but it does not. Unlike Matthew, the Torah does not constitute an orientation point for argument (as it does in Matt 5:21–48 or *Didache* 3.1–6) and Q feels no need to situate Jesus' saying vis à vis the Torah, as is the case with James 2:1–13. On the other hand, there is no strong reason to suppose that the persons Q addressed did not practice circumcision, or keep the Sabbath, or observe food laws. These, after all, are part of Judaean identity and not easily or casually disregarded. Moreover, the sayings that invoke Gentile faith should not be taken as evidence that the Q group had welcomed Gentiles or were engaged in a Gentile mission à la Paul. On the contrary, Gentile response to Jesus – actual or hypothetical – functions for Q as a way to shame the persons Q wants to address – Judaeans. As I have suggested in this article the Woes against the Pharisees and Lawyers is not a real argument with actual opponents – in fact, it is doubtful that the Pharisees ever heard Q's woes. The woes are replete with exaggeration and caricature, the marks of burlesque. Q lampoons its opponents for their fastidious nomocentric piety; but that hardly means that for Q the Torah is irrelevant. See further, Markus Tiwald, "Hat Gott sein Haus verlassen (vgl. Q 13,35)? Das Verhältnis der Logienquelle zum Frühjudentum," in *Kein Jota wird vergehen: Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie* (ed. Markus Tiwald; BWANT 200; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012), 63–88.

On Q and the Torah, see Daniel Kosch, *Die eschatologische Tora des Menschensohnes: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Stellung Jesu zur Tora in Q* (NTOA 12; Freiburg Sw.: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Christopher M. Tuckett, "Q, the Law and Judaism," in *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (ed. Barnabas Lindars; Cambridge: J. Clarke, 1988), 90–101; idem, "Scripture and Q," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; BETL 131; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1997), 3–26; Hermut Löhr, "Jesus und der Nomos aus der Sicht des entstehenden Christentums. Zum Jesus-Bild im ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr. und zu unserem Jesus-Bild," in *Der historische Jesus: Tendenzen und Perspektiven der*

gegenwärtigen Forschung (ed. Jens Schröter and Ralph Brucker; BZNW 114; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 337–354; Joseph Verheyden, "The Violators of the Kingdom of God: Struggling with Q Polemics in Q 16:16–18," in *Jesus, Paul and Early Christianity: Studies in Honour of Henk Jan de Jonge* (ed. Rieuwerd Buitenwerf, Harm W. Hollander, and Nicholas Tromp; NovTSup 130; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2008), 397–415 and Dieter Roth, "The Words of Jesus and the Torah: A Consideration of the Role of Q 6,47–49," in *Kein Jota wird vergehen: Das Gesetzesverständnis der Logienquelle vor dem Hintergrund frühjüdischer Theologie* (ed. Markus Tiwald; BWANT 200; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2012), 89–110.

Chapter 9

City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)[1]

Introduction

Writing sometime after 314 CE, Eusebius put the question, "Why did John preach in the wilderness and not in the cities or in Jerusalem itself?" He gave two answers. It might be fulfillment of prophecy. But the "critical questioner" would not be satisfied with this bare assertion. A second explanation is demanded[2]:

> [John's locale] is a symbol of the destruction of Jerusalem and the altar there, and of the sacrifices prescribed by the Law of Moses, because forgiveness of sins was no longer extended to them by sacrifices prescribed by the Law but by the cleansing and washing delivered to the one who was thirsty and deserted: I mean the church of the gentiles (*Demonstratio evangelica* 9.5.429).

Although Eusebius' answer does not qualify as a good exegesis of the probable intent of any of the Synoptic evangelists, his question turns out to be a good one for the Sayings Gospel Q. Why begin with a fiery speech of John? And why insist that one must "go out" to the wilderness to see John (Q 7:24–26). Why mention the wilderness at all? Eusebius regarded an explanation which appealed to the fulfillment motif to be secondary for the Synoptics; in the case of Q it must be dismissed entirely, since the idiom of fulfillment is not a significant part of Q's vocabulary. I will argue in this paper that the beginning of Q helps to define a "narrative world" [**146**] both by establishing a sacred geography and by situating the sayings of Jesus and John with reference to sacred time. Both features are important to the intelligibility of Q's rhetorical stance.

The term "narrative world" does not, of course, imply that Q employed a narrative framework, or that there is a plot which defines the interactions of the principal characters within space and time. Rather, I use this term to signify the

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[1] First published as "City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)." *Semeia* 52 (1990): 145–60. ©Scholars Press. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.

[2] Ivar A. Heikel, ed., *Die Demonstratio Evangelica* (vol. 7 of *Eusebius Werke*; GCS 23; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1913), 414–15.

spatial and temporal world within which the sayings are framed and heard.[3] The narrative world is to be distinguished on one side from the "real" world, from whose events the narrative world makes a selection (and sometimes, a transformation). On the other side, the narrative world provides the space within which the plot occurs and in whose context plot elements are evaluated and interpreted. The narrative world includes both temporal aspects and spatial ones.[4] It is true that the barest beginnings of a plotted time are provided by the opening sequence of Q, with John's announcement of the Coming One followed by the temptation story, and by John's later inquiry into the identity of the Coming One (Q 7:18–23). But the narrative world of Q is much broader, defined temporally by the references to Abel and the prophets sent by Sophia since the beginning (Q 11:49–51) and by the judgment and the day of the Son of Man (Q 10:12, 13–15; 11:31–32; 17:23–24, 26–30, 34–35). The times of Noah and Lot (Q 17:26–30) are singled out as paradigmatic, and the period from "John until now" (Q 16:16) is of special significance. Spatially, Q moves within boundaries defined by the wilderness, in which John is found and into which Jesus is led by the Spirit, and the sea (17:2, 6?); by the Galilean "cities" – although Bethsaida, Chorazin and Capharnaum were hardly cities in the true sense – and Jerusalem; and by the non-Israelite cities of Nineveh, Tyre and Sidon and the residence of the Queen of the South. At a higher level of magnification, the world of Q includes agoras (7:31), palaces (7:25) and plazas (13:26); houses and synagogues (11:43); and fields (12:28; 14:18), farms (cf. ἀποθήκη: 3:17; 12:18, 24), gardens (13:19) and waterless regions (11:24).

These spaces are peopled by John, Jesus, their followers and immediate opponents, but also by the heroes of Israel: Abel and the prophets (Q 6:23; 10:24; 11:49–51; 13:34), Abraham and the patriarchs (3:8; 13:28), Solomon, Jonah, Noah, and Lot. The gentile world, however, encroaches upon this largely Israelite narrative space in the form of a centurion of extraordinary faith, the Ninevites, the Queen of the South and the people of Tyre and Sidon. Gentiles, surprisingly, are, with the exception of Q 12:30, employed as positive counterparts to unfaithful Israel.

The point of this essay is to examine Q's elaboration of narrative space and to determine what role the beginning of Q has in this construction. [147] While much attention has been devoted in recent years to the archeology and stratigraphy of the Sayings Gospel (Q), less effort has been expended on its synchronic and architectural aspects. Almost two decades ago Ernst Bammel

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[3] Norman R. Petersen, *Literary Criticism for New Testament Critics* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship: New Testament; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 47.

[4] Elizabeth Struthers Malbon, *Narrative Space and Mythic Meaning in Mark* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1986); Seymour Benjamin Chatman, *Story and Discourse: Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film* (1983; repr., Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 138–45.

devoted an essay to the ending of Q in which he argued that Q 22:28–30 had the best claim to be its concluding pericope.[5] Since this saying seemed to represent the departing Jesus as conferring certain rights upon his followers, its presence and position suggested that Q had been cast as a testament. Bammel even suggested that the beginning of Q must have been influenced by the testament form.

Bammel's hypothesis has not attracted much of a following, perhaps because of the difficulty of building a generic characterization of Q upon a single pericope. It is not even clear that Q 22:28–30 intends to depict a situation comparable to that of a dying patriarch: this impression derives mainly from the Lukan placement of the saying within the last supper sequence and hence is redactional. Nor is there any evidence that the beginning of Q resembled the opening typical of a testament.

Reconstructing the Beginning of Q

In discussing the beginning of the Sayings Gospel one operates, of course, in the realm of reconstructions. Fortunately, some of these reconstructions are quite secure. The first two pieces of speech material, John's preaching to the crowds (Q 3:7b–9) and the announcement of the Coming One (Q 3:16b–17), are remarkably well attested, with Matthew and Luke agreeing in 62 of the 63 Matthean and 64 Lukan words in 3:7b–9 and in 48 of 57 Matthean and 53 Lukan words in 3:16b–17. The opening oracle can be reconstructed with relative ease[6]:

7 γενν[ήματα ἐχιδνῶν,
τίς ἐπέδειξεν ὑμῖν φυγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς
8 ποιήσατε οὖν καρπὸν ἄξιον τῆς μετανοίας
καὶ μὴ δόξητε λέγειν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· πατέρα ἔχομεν τὸν Ἀβραάμ.
λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγεῖραι τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ.
9 ἤδη δὲ ἡ ἀξίνη πρὸς τὴν ῥίζαν τῶν δένδρων κεῖται·
πᾶν οὖν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται.

Brood of vipers!
Who warned you to flee from the coming wrath?
8 Bear fruit worthy of repentance,
and do not presume to say to yourselves, "We have Abraham for our father,"

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[5] Ernst Bammel, "Das Ende von Q," in *Verborum Veritas: Festschrift für Gustav Stählin zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Otto Böcher and Klaus Haacker; Wuppertal: Rolf Brockhaus, 1970), 39–50.

[6] [Ed. note: This is the IQP reconstruction: James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 8–13.]

for I tell you that God is able to raise up children for Abraham from these stones.
[9] Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree;
every tree which does not bear healthy fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire. [**148**]

Luke's plural form καρποὺς ἀξίους ("fruit [pl.] worthy of") is normally held to be redactional, anticipating the examples cited in 3:10–14. Moreover, he uses a similar plural expression in Acts 26:20, ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα πράσσοντας (" doing deeds worthy of repentance"). The choice between Matthew's δόξητε ("presume") and Luke's ἄρξησθε ("begin") before "to say" is a bit more difficult, since both ἄρχομαι and δοκέω are attested in Q (at 7:24; 12:45 and 12:40) and since Matthew and Luke use both verbs redactionally. However, Matthew's redactional use of δοκέω is confined to the insertion of the formula τί ὑμῖν (σοι) δοκεῖ ("what do you think?" 22:17, 42; 26:66; cf. 17:27; 18:12; 21:28) or related formulae (22:53) and he never elsewhere uses the verb with an infinitive. On the other hand, Matthew uses ἄρχομαι with an infinitive, taking the construction from Mark six times and twice from Q. This suggests that Matthew's δόξητε λέγειν is not his creation; had he seen ἄρξησθε λέγειν in Q, he probably would have retained it.[7] The final variation, Luke's use of καὶ following δέ in 3:9a, is easily decided in Matthew's favor, since δὲ καί is a Lukan characteristic.[8]

[16] ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ⟦ἐν⟧ ὕδατι,
ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος
– οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ –
αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ⟦ἁγίῳ⟧ καὶ πυρί·
[17] οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ
καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ
καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ,
τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ.[9]

[16] Now I am baptizing you with water,
but the One coming after me
– whose sandal thongs I am not worthy to untie –
he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and fire.
[17] The winnowing fork is in his hand
and he will clear his threshing floor

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[7] Luke uses ἄρχομαι with λέγειν frequently: 3:8; 4:21; 7:24 (Q); 7:49; 11:29; 12:1; 13:26; 20:9; 23:30.

[8] Henry J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (New York: Kraus Reprint Co. 1969; repr., HTS 6; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920), 146.

[9] [In the original publication, καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, was omitted by accident. This reconstruction differs slightly from that of the *CEQ*: [16] ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμᾶς βαπτίζω ⟦ἐν⟧ ὕδατι, ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μού ἐστιν, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς τ⟦ὰ⟧ ὑποδήματ⟦α⟧ ⟦βαστά⟧σαι· αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι ⟦ἁγίῳ⟧ καὶ πυρί· [17] οὗ τὸ πτύον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ διακαθαριεῖ τὴν ἅλωνα αὐτοῦ καὶ συνάξει τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκην αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἄχυρον κατακαύσει πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ. See Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition of Q*, 14–17.

and gather the wheat into his granary,
but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.

Apart from minor disagreements in the relative placement of ὑμᾶς ("you") and (ἐν) ὕδατι ("with water"),[10] the most significant discrepancies between Matthew and Luke are found in the naming of the one who is to come, and in John's statement of unworthiness. Since Luke's ἔρχεται δὲ ὁ ἰσχυρότερός μου ("one who is stronger than I is coming") appears to depend upon Mark 1:7, and since Matthew's ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ("the One who is coming after me") coincides with the presumably independent Johannine version (1:27), Matthew's formulation is probably original.[11] Matthew's ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστίν ("is stronger than I") may betray the influence of a phrase that is probably Markan redaction; in that case Q, like John 1:27, used a syntactically incomplete nominal phrase with a [**149**] relative clause to describe the relation of John to the Coming One. The αὐτός ("he") in v. 16d then functions as a resumptive pronoun.

Thus while Mark and Luke singlemindedly stress the strength of the one who is to come and John 1:26–27 emphasizes the fact of his (unrecognized) coming, Matthew somewhat awkwardly juxtaposes the ideas of sequence (coming after) with strength, taking the former from Q and the latter from Mark. Harry Fleddermann has persuasively argued that Matthew has simplified the image in the οὗ clause (3:16c) from loosing the thongs of sandals to simply carrying them.[12] Hence Q's version closely approximated both Mark 1:7 and John 1:27: οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ, "the thong of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie."

In Q 3:17 the only differences between Matthew and Luke are in Luke's use of infinitives (διακαθᾶραι "cleanse," συναγαγεῖν, "gather") in place of Matthew's paratactic finite verbs and in the substantive to which αὐτοῦ ("his") is attached. The former is no doubt a Lukan improvement, comparable to his introduction of three infinitives into the Markan baptismal account (Luke 3:21–

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[10] Luke prefers to place pronouns after the verb and regularly rearranges sentences to achieve a S-V-O order. See Cadbury, *Style*, 152–54. Matthew's positioning of ὕδατι ("with water") corresponds to the position of πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ("Holy Spirit") in Q 3:16d, and the absence of ἐν in Luke is best explained as due to the influence of Mark 1:8a and to Luke's preference for the instrumental dative (also in Acts 1:5; 11:16; see BDF §195). There is little likelihood that Luke would have omitted εἰς μετάνοιαν ("for repentance") had he seen it in Q; more likely, Matthew added it in order to connect 3:16 with 3:2,8.

[11] It is normally observed that Luke omitted ὀπίσω μου ("after me") in order to avoid giving the impression that Jesus was a follower of John. Contrast Acts 10:37; 13:25; 19:4 where the temporal μετά ("after") is used.

[12] Harry T. Fleddermann, "John and the Coming One (Matt 3:11–12 // Luke 3:16–17)," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1984 Seminar Papers* (ed. Kent H. Richards; SBLASP 23; Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 379. [Fleddermann maintains this reconstruction in *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary* (Biblical Tools and Studies 1; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 219–21].

22). On the other hand, Matthew's attachment of the pronoun to "wheat" betrays a slight allegorizing of wheat as the elect, analogous to his interpretation of the parable of the weed and wheat (Matt 13:36–43).[13]

The Sayings Gospel cannot have commenced simply with 3:7b, however. Since Matthew and Luke agree in placing 3:7b–9, 16b–17 on John's lips, at least John's name must have been mentioned in 3:7a. In a careful examination of the pericope, Fleddermann reconstructs the introduction with the bare εἶπεν Ἰωάννης ("John said").[14] However, Matthew and Luke also agree by framing John's words as a circumstantial chreia rather than as an apophantic one[15]: the pronouncement is occasioned by crowds (Luke) or Pharisees and Sadducees (Matthew) coming for baptism. Fleddermann is undoubtedly correct in concluding that "Pharisees and Sadducees" is Matthean and that ὄχλοι ("crowds") is Lukan, and that Luke's wording of 3:7a has been influenced by Mark 1:5.[16] Nevertheless, John's question "Who warned you to flee?" presupposes precisely what Luke 3:7a envisages: a group of persons coming out to John (cf. Q 7:24). Moreover, John's own clarification of the nature of his baptism in contradistinction to that of the Coming One is intelligible if the audience has come either to participate in or perhaps simply to be spectators at John's baptism.

A final agreement between Matthew and Luke may assist in determining the shape of the beginning of Q. While most of the Matthew-Luke agreements in Matt 3:1–6 || Luke 3:1–6 (i.e., "in the wilderness," "preaching" and the LXX quotation of Isa 40:3) are due to the use of Mark 1:2–6 [**150**], the coincidence in the use of πᾶσα(ν) ἡ (τὴν) περίχωρος(ν) τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ("all the region of the Jordan") is striking, especially because both Matthew and Luke use the phrase quite awkwardly. The term *kikkar hayyardēn,* translated by the LXX as ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰοδράνου (Gen 13:10, 11, 12; 19:17, 28; 2 Chr 4:17) or ἡ περίοικος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ("the neighborhood of the Jordan," Gen 19:25, 29; 1 Kgs 7:46 [3 Kgs 7:33]), was used synonymously with τὰ περίχωρα Ἰερειχω ("the country around Jericho," Deut 34:3). Although the exact extent of the region is unclear, it certainly included the region north of the Dead Sea, the area around Jericho, and perhaps as far north as Zarethan. The southern limits are unclear, mainly

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[13] Fleddermann, "John and the Coming One (Matt 3:11–12 // Luke 3:16–17)," 380; Paul Hoffmann, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (2 1975; repr., NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972), 19.

[14] Harry T. Fleddermann, "The Beginning of Q," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1985 Seminar Papers* (ed. Kent H. Richards; SBLASP 24; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985), 153–59 [Similarly, Fleddermann, *Q*, 213, 217].

[15] This typology derives from Theon, *Progymnasmata*, "on the Chreia" (Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Volume 1: The Progymnasmata* [SBLTT Vol. 27.9, Graeco-Roman Religion Series; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986], 84–85).

[16] Fleddermann, "Beginning of Q," 154.

because the locations of Sodom, Gomorrah and Zoar, which this region is said to include, are unknown.

Matthew exhibits some geographical confusion, assigning John's activity to the wilderness of Judaea (3:1), which technically did not include the Jordan valley (Judg 1:16 LXX B; Ps 63:1) even though it is obvious that Matthew supposes that it did. Indeed, Matthew may be using "the wilderness of Judaea" very imprecisely to refer to wilderness areas in the Roman province of Judaea. He conflates the term "the region of the Jordan" with two phrases drawn from Mark, Judaea and Jerusalem (Mark 1:5), to enhance the idea of John's popularity. His intent is probably to anticipate the description of the locales from which Jesus' followers come in Matt 4:25. There, however, he expressly names the Decapolis and the Transjordan (πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου) rather than using the technical term for the southern Jordan basin. In 3:5 it would seem that Matthew wishes to suggest that people who "came out" to John were those who would later follow Jesus. This means, however, that he is using "the region of the Jordan" in a much broader sense than normal.

On the other hand, Luke also shows confusion about geography. He distinguishes between the ἔρημος ("wilderness") where John's call occurs and the circuit of the Jordan where he preaches, despite the fact that he later takes over unchanged from Q 7:24 Jesus' saying which clearly links John's activity with the ἔρημος. In view of the mention of reeds in Q 7:24 this can only mean the lonely or uncultivated regions of the Jordan,[17] not the arid wilderness of Judaea as Matt 3:1 has it.[18] He introduces a further complication by suggesting that John is an itinerant in the "region of the Jordan," a notion which is otherwise unattested, but which parallels the itinerancy of Jesus which Luke elsewhere stresses (4:14–15,44; 9:57–59; 10:1; 13:22; 17:11).

It seems appropriate to conclude with C. C. McCown that neither Matthew nor Luke had a very clear idea of the technical connotations of the term "region about the Jordan," and neither seems to have connected the phrase with its principal OT context, the Lot story.[19] This [**151**] makes it all the more striking that they coincide in using the phrase, and suggests that each has been influenced by its presence in source material. Matthew, as usual, conflated phrases drawn from Mark with this phrase, while Luke just as typically chose between Mark and Q.[20]

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[17] Josephus (*Bell.* 3.515) describes the region through which the Jordan passes north of the Dead Sea as πολλὴν ἐρημίαν, "a long wilderness."

[18] C. C. McCown, "The Scene of John's Ministry and Its Relation to the Purpose and Outcome of His Mission," *JBL* 59 (1940): 114–17.

[19] McCown, "Scene," 117.

[20] Several others have suggested that πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου appeared in Q: Adolf von Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus: The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke* (trans. John Richard Wilkinson; New Testament Studies 2; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 27; McCown, "Scene," 117; Heinz Schürmann, *Das Lukasevangelium. 1: Kommentar zu Kap.1,1–9,50. 2/1: Kommentar zu Kapitel 9,51–11,54*

The Beginning of Q and the Story of Lot

I suggest, then, that the opening lines of the Sayings Gospel framed John's speech as an address to persons – either the curious or those coming for baptism – seeking out John in the circuit of the Jordan. But what indication is there that Q understood the phrase πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου any more precisely than did Matthew or Luke? The phrase itself is firmly anchored in the Lot narrative: the full phrase occurs twice at Gen 13:10–11, the abbreviations πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος ("the entire region") and πᾶσα ἡ περίοικος ("the entire neighborhood") are found at 19:17, 25, 28, 29 and the phrase recurs in the retelling of the destruction of Sodom in Jubilees 16.5 and *1 Clem.* 11.1. In addition to the geographical allusions, John's speech itself contains several images which evoke the story of Lot: the images of flight (3:7b: φευγεῖν, "flee") and fiery destruction (Q 3:9, 16d, 17) are for obvious reasons associated with Lot (Gen 19:20, 24; Wis 10:6; 3 Macc 2:5; *1 Clem.* 11.1). Perhaps even more significantly, the hypothetical objection that John imputes to the crowd, "Do not presume to say to yourselves, 'We have Abraham for a father'" (3:8b), recalls the fact that Lot was Abraham's kinsman (Gen 18:17–19; 19:29). Indeed, from the narrative in Genesis one might get the impression that Lot was spared merely because he was kin to Abraham. It is perhaps for this reason that later treatments of the Lot story corrected this impression by referring to Lot as "righteous Lot" (Wis 10:6; 2 Pet 2:6–7) or by expressly stating that he was rescued because of his piety and hospitality (*1 Clem.* 11.1). John's oracle follows this corrective tradition: only the "fruit of repentance" will serve as exculpatory evidence in the judgment. Hence Q 3:(3a), 7–9 raises the specter of Sodom's destruction and seals off the most convenient avenue of escape, offering moral reform as the only route.

The impression that the story of Sodom looms large in the architecture of Q is confirmed by the fact that there are two further allusions to Genesis 18–19. The redactional phrase at Q 10:12[21] which serves to attach the commissioning

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(HTKNT 3/1–2/1; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1969–84), 116; Hoffmann, *Studien*, 17; Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978), 28–30; Athanasius Polag, *Fragmenta Q: Textheft zur Logienquelle* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 28; Dieter Zeller, *Kommentar zur Logienquelle* (Stuttgarter kleiner Kommentar, Neues Testament 21; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984), 71 (hesitantly); Migaku Sato, "Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q" (Ph.D. diss., Bern: Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät, 1984), 12 ("wohl möglich aber unsicher") [This view is maintained in the published version of the dissertation, *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988), 21]. [This is now the reconstruction of the International Q Project: Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition of Q*, 6.]

[21] On the redactional nature of Q 10:12 see Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978), 192; John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and

sayings (10:2–11) to the woes against the Galilean towns (10:13–15) declares that the judgment will go lighter upon Sodom than upon cities inhospitable to the Q people.[22] Since the inhabitants of Sodom are regularly remembered as being the worst of sinners, even occupying the lowest reaches of the abyss (*T. Isaac* 5.27), this is strong criticism indeed. Yet it is not new. Q 10:12 echoes Ezekiel's reproach of Jerusalem: [**152**]

> Behold, this was the guilt of your sister Sodom: she and her daughters had pride, surfeit of food, and prosperous ease, but did not aid the poor and needy. ..you [Jerusalem] have committed more abominations than they [Sodom and Samaria] and have made your sisters appear righteous by all the abominations which you have committed. Bear your disgrace, you also, for you have made judgment favorable to your sisters; because of your sins in which you acted more abominably than they, they are more in the right than you (Ezek 16:49, 51b–52).

The story of Lot is invoked a final time at Q 17:28–30,[23] which develops the motif of Lot's unheeded warning to his sons-in-law (Gen 19:12–14). The following Q saying raises the specter of coworkers (in Matthew) or coworkers and friends (in Luke[24]) being torn apart. Although the language of "taking" (παραλημφθήσεται) and "leaving" (ἀφεθήσεται) might in another context connote the taking up of the faithful to which Paul refers, here the allusion is to the Lot story, and the imagery is reversed: some are "swept away" (συμπαραλαμβάνω) as in Gen 19:17 while Lot and his kin are spared (ἀφίημι, Gen 18:26).[25]

The Social Map of Q

Let us return to the initial question and ask how Q's opening evocation of the specter of Sodom and its subsequent reiterations help to define its narrative space, and how that narrative space shapes the reading of Q. Its most obvious effect is to embed John's preaching solidly within a sacred time, namely, the

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Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 195–96; Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums* (BBB 54; Königstein: Peter Hanstein, 1980), 274–75; Risto Uro, *Sheep Among the Wolves: A Study on the Mission Instructions of Q* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 47; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 100, 112 [and 282–283 in this volume].

[22] There is also a possibility that Matt 11:23b–24, which alludes to the destruction of Sodom, also belonged to Q. See John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988), §23.

[23] Vv. 28–29 are not paralleled in Matthew. For a summary of the arguments in favor of including them in Q see Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, §66.

[24] Matt 24:40–41 speaks of men in the field and women at the mill; Luke refers to the latter (17:35) but also mentions men ἐπὶ κλίνης μίας ("on one couch"), probably meaning "at table."

[25] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 302–3.

epic history of Israel. John stands on the side of Abraham and Lot while his interlocutors are as it were consigned to stay in Sodom. The portrait of John in Q differs markedly from the impression left by Josephus' treatment of John. And in contrast to Mark's treatment in 1:2–6 and 11:31–33, both of which note John's popularity, Q implies that John, like Jesus, was for the most part rejected (Q 7:33–34) even though it preserves the memory that many people "went out" to see him (3:7a; 7:24). When Q views John through the lens of the story of Lot, it clearly lends to him a dignity and substance and assigns to him a key place on the temporal map of Q, appearing as he does to herald the judgment, understood here as a reiteration and intensification of the destruction of Sodom. *Urzeit ist Endzeit.* But this alignment also promotes Q's imagination of the respective activities of John (and Jesus) as failing largely to win support in "this generation."

When the Sayings Gospel sets the activity of John and the response of "this generation" within the framework of a sacred time defined by Gen 18–19, it is invoking a powerful image indeed. In the literature of the second temple period the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah regularly [153] served as a paradigm of persons who bore the full force of God's wrath, being cut off without remembrance (*Jub.* 16.9; 22.22; 3 Macc 2:3–5). This made the image of Sodom especially useful for defining social boundaries. For example, Sodom afforded an apt image with which to imagine the destruction of Israel's enemies: Moab (Zeph 2:9), Babylon (Isa 13:19; Jer 27 [50]:40) and Edom (Jer 30:12 [49:18]). But it was also used in prophetic criticism of Israel herself, that is, as a means to realign internal boundaries. Isaiah of Jerusalem addressed the hierocracy in Jerusalem as "rulers of Sodom" when he denounced their sacrifices as inefficacious (1:9–10; cf. 3:9). Jeremiah castigates the "prophets of Jerusalem" for abetting evil, declaring that "they have become like Sodom" (Jer 23:14) while Ezekiel 16 raises an even more dramatic specter: Sodom will be restored in order to shame Jerusalem, since Jerusalem's sins make Sodom look righteous by contrast (16:49–58).

The beginning of Q has already set about defining a social world in which there are only two states: embracing the Q preaching of repentance or consignment to a fiery judgment. This, of course, is carried further in the two later references to the Sodom story. In much the same vein as Ezekiel 16, Q 10:12 suggests that Sodom, which according to Ezekiel displayed a lack of hospitality to the poor while basking in its own prosperity (16:49), will be better off in the judgment than the towns that do not welcome the Q people. Q 17:28–30 on the one hand compares the situation of Sodom at the time of Lot's departure with the present hour and by implication suggests that the majority will fare no better than Sodom. On the other hand, the scenario Q depicts is even more ominous. Rather than dwelling in rather typical fashion upon the sinfulness of Sodom – whether a matter of inhospitality, sexual perversion or other unspecified sins – Q depicts the *normalcy* of the activities of the Sodomites:

eating, drinking, buying, selling, planting and building. To be sure, the sinfulness of Sodom and of "this generation" is taken for granted. But the point is that none but the Q people will be aware of and prepared for the coming catastrophe, which will not only "destroy all" (17:29: ἀπώλεσεν πάντας) but will even sunder the bonds of kinship and clan (17:34–35). Thus the image of destruction of Sodom is used by Q to define a social world: by refusing hospitality to the Q people, the representatives of "this generation" show themselves to be even worse than the Sodomites and will suffer a similar fate. Moreover, any easy attempt to identify with the survivors of Sodom by invoking the security of the name of Abraham is foreclosed. To escape the fate of Sodom, one must embrace the ethos of repentance endorsed by the Q people. [**154**]

Spatiality and the Narrative Map of Q

The world of Q is not only defined by invoking the *ideas* associated with Abraham, Lot and Sodom; it has a spatial dimension too. When Q deliberately situates John in the "circuit of the Jordan" it is not placing him conveniently near a lot of water, as John 3:23 somewhat prosaically notes. Quite the contrary. Q is not especially interested in John's baptizing efforts. Instead, the mention of this locale brings the reader (along with John's audience) out into the region of judgment and destruction or as Wis 10:7 puts it, into the "smoking wasteland" which is an enduring "witness to evil." The reader is brought along on a pilgrimage, but it is a pilgrimage of unholy, not holy sites. And the message delivered by John is, of course, completely consonant with the physical surroundings.

The spatial dimension of Q's world is evoked again at Q 7:24–26, with the thrice repeated question, τί εξήλθατε (εἰς τὸν ἔρημον) ἰδεῖν; "what did you go out to see?" In the parallel passage in *Gos. Thom* (78), the contrast is not as sharply drawn: "Why have you come out to the countryside (ϲⲱⲩϣϵ) Thomas contrasts (presumably) cities or towns with the agricultural regions (ϲⲱⲩϣϵ = ἀγρός, χώρα), while for Q the contrast is between the populated cities and towns and the "smoking wasteland." But both Thomas and Q imply a critique of the cities where one might find people "clothed in luxurious clothing" *(Gos Thom.* 78; Q 7:25). Indeed, it is worth noting that *all* of the Israelite towns and cities named by Q – Bethsaida, Chorazin, Capharnaum, Jerusalem – are characterized as centers of unbelief, opposition and rejection of Jesus and the Q people. Moreover, it is in the agoras (7:31–34) and the plazas (13:26) and at the dinner parties of the affluent (14:16–20) that Q discovers obstinacy, ridicule, false allegiances and rude refusals. At the same time it finds divine self-disclosures in fields (12:27–28) and gardens (13:18–19) and in the simplest artifacts and processes of culture: family life (11:9–13), housebuilding

(6:47–49) and the simplest of agrarian transactions (12:6). It is not that the countryside has become an object of nostalgic affection; on the contrary, it is the city that is under attack. One must "go out" to see John and to hear his warnings; and the cities are not where Q expects to find a favorable hearing for the messages of John or Jesus.

Although it is mentioned only once (apart from Q 4:9), Jerusalem is the focus of unbelief and non-acceptance. If the Sayings Gospel, as Arland Jacobson has rightly shown,[26] views John, Jesus and their followers in a line of continuity with the prophets calling Israel to repentance and announcing God's judgment, then Jerusalem, which kills the prophets (13:34), stands at the opposite pole in the symbolic world of Q. [155]

It is not likely that the antipathy expressed toward Jerusalem was exclusively "theological." Cities are typically viewed with suspicion and hostility in agrarian societies, in large measure because of the parasitic relation of urban centers to the outlying villages.[27] MacMullen has documented many ancient examples which make this point admirably.[28] Such hostility is aggravated all the more in the situation of aristocratic empires where, typically, the culture of the urban ruling elites is distinct from that of the non-elite.[29] This was obviously the case under Herod the Great whose Idumean nationality and pro-Hellenic, pro-Roman sentiments were obvious and just as obviously resented. But as Martin Goodman has shown, even under Roman rule in Judaea, the Romans were unable to use an indigenous landed élite as an instrument of governance, but had to turn to families whose relationship to their subjects was precarious at best.[30] This could only exacerbate the normal hostilities between city and country, and perhaps even explains the few surviving reports of villagers rejoicing at the destruction of Jerusalem.[31] In any event, Q's view of cities, especially Jerusalem, is quite compatible with the perspective of villagers in agrarian societies, resentful of exploitation by the ruling elites of the city.

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[26] Arland D. Jacobson, "The Literary Unity of Q," *JBL* 101, no. 3 (1982): 365–89.

[27] Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960), 68–69.

[28] Ramsay MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 34–35.

[29] John H. Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* (with a new introduction; New Brunswick, NJ and London: Transaction Publishers, 1997; repr., Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 72–75.

[30] Martin Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt Against Rome, A.D. 66–70* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 29–50.

[31] See Shimon Applebaum, "Economic Life in Palestine," in *The Jewish People in the First Century* (ed. Schmuel Safrai and Menahem Stern; vol. 1/2 CRINT; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 663.

But theological factors were doubtless at work too. E. A. Wrigley observes, apropos of the question of whether cities were parasitic on the countryside, that the apprehension of urban parasitism among the villagers might be lessened if the city provided a return flow of services, especially religious services.[32] Ostensibly, Jerusalem served in precisely this way. But it is extremely important to note that the redemptive media for Q do not include the Torah, sacrifices, Temple, *kashrut* or purity considerations. In other words, for the Sayings Gospel the holy city and the temple *do not* provide any service, and to make matters worse, the city kills those who do. The typical peasant view of the city is that it is both morally and physically a death trap; in Q it is also theologically a death trap: for the prophets and for God's message.

It is perhaps not surprising, then, that Q 13:34–35 laments the role that Jerusalem has played in the divine economy and pronounces her temple to be abandoned. This saying is especially significant because of what it implies about the stance of the Q people to other "maps" of Israel. It is very likely that for the ruling hierocracy the temple provided a focal point of a hierarchy of status based on the idiom of purity. This hierarchy was replicated in various systems: socially, by placing the priests and Levites at the pinnacle, and spatially, by locating the Holy Place, the temple and Jerusalem (in descending order) at the at centre of the "world" and Judaea, Galilee, Samaria and the nations nearer to it or at the periphery.[33] [**156**] For those who embraced this hierarchy, the preeminence of Jerusalem in economic, social, religious, and political matters was self-evident. This makes it all the more significant that Q declares that the focal point of these homologous maps, the temple, is abandoned. The system and everything that derives from it is in ruins.

It is at this point that John's Coming One makes his final appearance. Even though direct allusions to the Sodom story are not obviously present, the spectre of judgment and destruction is. If the Lukan order of sayings reflects Q at this point, the Jerusalem lament is sandwiched between the announcement of the coming of the Gentiles to sit at table with the patriarchs and the corresponding exclusion of Jews (13:28–29), on the one hand, and on the other, the parable of the banquet (14:16–24), which for Q already served as an allegory of salvation history.[34] The mention of the killing of the prophets in 13:34 immediately recalls Q 11:49–51 where Sophia announces judgment upon "this generation" for their killing of the prophets. It is noteworthy that the chronicle of vaticide culminates in the murder of Zechariah, which is expressly connected with the Holy Place (Q 11:51a). Q's pronouncement that the Temple

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[32] Edward A. Wrigley, "Parasite or Stimulus: The Town in a Pre-Industrial Economy," in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology* (ed. Philip Abrams and Edward A. Wrigley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 307.

[33] Jonathan Z. Smith, "Jerusalem: The City as Place," in *Civitas: Religious Interpretations of the City* (ed. Peter S. Hawkins; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 29–31.

[34] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 229–30.

("house") is abandoned implies that divine judgment is already taking its course; and both the immediate context and the inter-textual connections which 13:34–35 has with other parts of Q reinforce the image of a harsh judgment. Now the reader sees that the Coming One of Q 3:16–17 will act against Jerusalem itself.

* * *

We return to Eusebius. His suggestion that the wilderness locale of John's preaching has both theological and geo-political significance can be adapted to an exegesis of Q. The opening of the Sayings Gospel deliberately evokes the spectre of Sodom's destruction by casting John's speech in such a way as to recall the Lot story and by placing him and his audience, as it were, within eyeshot of the "smoking wasteland" and its monument to evil. This has two consequences. First, it establishes Sodom and the story of Lot firmly in the narrative and social world of Q, and allows Q and the group it represents to define its relationships to others with that story in view. The preaching of John, of Jesus, and of the Q people becomes continuous with the world of Lot and Abraham, while the conduct of Q's neighbors is viewed in the dark colors of Sodom. The imagined opponents (i.e., persons who do not embrace Q's view of the kingdom) are prevented from calling upon Abraham, for later Abraham appears as a banqueter with the Gentiles who have responded to Q's preaching of repentance. Hence the Lot story serves broader social and theological goals, namely the establishing of social identity and the reaffirmation of certain theological values related to Israelite identity. [157]

The beginning of the Sayings Gospel and its allusions to the wilderness on the one hand, and to the cities on the other, also establishes a narrative map. The wasteland of Sodom now threatens the inhabitants of the cities, and in particular the (un)holy city of Jerusalem. Neither the temple and its redemptive apparatus nor the system of cultic purity and the various hierarchies that derive from it can be invoked in the face of the Coming One, for Jerusalem and the temple are already judged and abandoned. The city that was a death trap to the prophets is now to face its own destruction. The Sayings Gospel, then, poses an ambitious challenge to the hierocratic definition of sacred space. The periphery – both the wilderness and the Gentile regions and their inhabitants – is now depicted as threatening and indeed overthrowing the center, both socially and spatially. The beginning of Q, then, should be seen as a reappropriation of sacred time and a redefinition of sacred space which sets the stage for Q's preaching of repentance and its inversionary vision of a reign of God.

Addendum

On the spatial relations on Q, including the contrast between the wilderness and Jerusalem, see Alan Kirk, "Crossing the Boundary: Liminality and Tranformative Wisdom in Q," *NTS* 41, no. 1 (1999): 1–8 (9–10); Jonathan L. Reed, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-Examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000), 170–196; Seán Freyne, "The Geography of Restoration: Galilee-Jerusalem in Early Jewish and Christian Experience," *NTS* 47, no. 3 (2001): 289–311. On domestic space in Q, see Daniel A. Smith, "The Construction of a Metaphor: Reading Domestic Space in Q," in *Metaphorik und Narrativität in der Logienquelle Q* (ed. Ruben Zimmermann and Dieter Roth; WUNT 315; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 33–55.

Robert C. Tannehill ("Beginning to Study 'How Gospels Begin'," in *How Gospels Begin* [ed. Dennis E. Smith; Semeia 52; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990], 185–192 [190]) disputes the allusion to the Lot story in Q 3:2, arguing that περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου is not sufficient to establish a connection. He cites the one (of the eight) occurrences of the phrase that is not connected to Lot (2 Chr 4:17; cf. 1 Kgs 7:46). For his part, Frans Neirynck, "The Minor Agreements and Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 49–72 (69) takes the view that Matthew and Luke's περίχωρος is a matter of independent redaction of Mark's χώρα (1:5). The IQP has reconstructed Q 3:2–3 with the phrase ‹... Ἰωάννη... › [3a] ‹...› πᾶσα..η.. περίχωρο[( )] τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ‹....› (James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* [Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000], 6).

Chapter 10

Literary Convention, Self-Evidence and the Social History of the Q People[1]

Introduction

To discuss the particular social configurations reflected in the Sayings Gospel Q might at first glance seem a precarious undertaking. Frequently the very existence of a "Q community" is doubted.[2] Once, however, the general outlines of the Two Document hypothesis are granted and once it is recognized that on this hypothesis "Q" must be regarded as a document rather than a corpus of oral traditions, then it is a priori no less probable that Q was associated with a discrete group than is the case with the canonical gospels, where it is quite unexceptional to speak of Matthew's church or the Markan group.

There are, nonetheless, several caveats. First, the very fact that, as advocates of the Griesbach (or Two Gospel) hypothesis point out, there is a residue of data that the Two Document hypothesis must struggle to explain should at the very least caution us against assuming that the economy of this solution to the Synoptic problem is a completely adequate description of the actual relationships among the Synoptic gospels. The principle of parsimony is methodological; it is not an aspect of reality. Even if one is properly hesitant about embracing the so-called "complex solutions" put forth, e.g., by Boismard and Rolland, it is likely that the relationships among the gospels [78] were more complicated than we can ever know (or prove).[3] Accordingly, the profile of Q probably varied at least somewhat from what modern reconstructions suggest.

Second, even when one proceeds from the basic form of the Two Document Hypothesis, there remains the problem of various *Sondergut* texts which may

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[1] First published as "Literary Convention, Self-Evidence, and the Social History of the Q People." In *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus*, edited by John S. Kloppenborg, in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage. Semeia, vol. 55, 77–102. Atlanta: ©Scholars Press, 1991. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.

[2] [Ed. note: On the use of "community" and its avoidance in the reprinted essays in this volume, see Chap. 6, n. 39.]

[3] See Marie-Emile Boismard, "The Multiple Stage Hypothesis," in *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* (ed. David L. Dungan; BETL 95; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1990), 231–88; Philippe Rolland, "Les évangiles des premières communautés chrétiennes," *RB* 90 (1983): 161–201.

or may not belong to Q (e.g., Matt 5:41; 10:5–6, 23; Luke 9:61–62; 10:8b; 12:13–21). It would make, for example, a considerable difference to a reconstruction of the social profile of the Q group if the prohibition of contact with Gentiles (Matt 10:5b) were to be included in Q,[4] or, alternatively, Luke's concession regarding *kashruth* in 10:7, 8b.[5] Some of the items of the double tradition are not even immune from challenge. It is well known that the presence of the parables of the Supper (Q 14:16–24) and the Entrusted Money (Q 19:12–27) in Q has been a matter of longstanding dispute.[6] But what is not so widely realized is that at least since 1856 the presence of the Temptation story has been questioned.[7] For the purpose of the reconstruction of Q's social history, the inclusion of the Temptation story is of some import, since it is the sole instance in Q where a citation formula is used in an argument (contrast Q 7:27). The way that Q 4:1–13 reflects the assumption that the text of the Septuagint can serve as the basis for debate and riposte is telling in regard to the way in which the immediate audience of Q (if this pericope belonged to Q) understood itself with respect to the scriptures of Israel.

Finally, it would be naïve to suppose that every document of primitive Christianity associated with a group in fact mirrored the viewpoints of that group. Abraham Malherbe cautions that some documents may have been preserved precisely because they challenged rather than reflected the group's theology and practice.[8] It is also quite conceivable that a given document preserved an idiosyncratic vision which neither reflected any group's self-understanding nor was successful in propagating that vision.

But for Q this seems not to be the case. The probability of multiple recensions of Q suggests that it proved a serviceable document for a group or network of groups for a significant span of time, notwithstanding the fact that it required periodic revision and expansion. The same is perhaps suggested by the fact that it was evidently copied sufficiently to fall into the hands of both Matthew and Luke, perhaps in slightly differing recensions.

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[4] Thus Heinz Schürmann, "Mt 10,5b–6 und die Vorgeschichte des synoptischen Aussendungsberichtes," in *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien* (Kommentare und Beiträge Zum Alten und Neuen Testament; Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1968), 137–49 and David R. Catchpole, "The Mission Charge in Q," in *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage; Semeia 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 147–74.

[5] See Risto Uro, *Sheep Among the Wolves: A Study on the Mission Instructions of Q* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 47; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 80, 82–83.

[6] See John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988), §§55, 67.

[7] Christian Hermann Weisse, *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1856), 156–57; Dieter Lührmann, *Die Redaktion der Logienquelle* (WMANT 33; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 56.

[8] Abraham J. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), 13.

Internal indications also permit the inference that Q addressed a group or network of groups. First, the dominant mode of address is the second person plural typical of antique instructional literature. Yet [79] this mode of address by itself is not decisive. The second person plural became a stereotypical element of the instruction which we know to have been used in other social locales – most notably, the scribal school – that would scarcely qualify as "communities" in the sense in which we are here speaking. At this point material considerations become important. Q's inversionary rhetoric and its explicit and implicit criticisms of the values of others (e.g., in Q 6:20b–23, 27–29; 12:33–34; 16:13) are best understood as an attempt to promote and sustain a critical vision of the cosmos among a discrete group. So too the admonition to "Beg the master of the harvest to send out workers into his harvest" (Q 10:2) is obviously directed at a group that thinks itself capable of sending out envoys.

That the framers of Q were concerned to influence the self-understanding of a group is also evident in the obvious apologetic character of one layer of Q materials. At various strategic points Q conducts a campaign against impenitent Israel ("this generation") by invoking the Deuteronomistic motifs of Israel's repeated rejection of God's envoys and of the violent fate suffered by the prophets (Q 6:23c; 11:49–51; 13:34–35). It also contrasts unfavorably the fate of Israel with that of Gentiles at the judgment (Q 10:13–15; 11:19, 31–32; 13:28–30; cf. 22:28–30). The deployment of these motifs is best understood as the author's pastoral endeavor to rationalize an apparent failure to promote the Q people's own view of the kingdom among fellow Jews. Here the Sayings Gospel engages a strategy aimed at reducing the dissonance caused by the failure of group expectations with regard to the coming of the kingdom.

From Text to Social Entity

If it is reasonable on the basis of both formal and material considerations to speak of a "Q group," what sort of people might they be? The only data available for reconstructing the social entity of the Q group are, of course, the Q materials themselves. Obviously, the Sayings Gospel does not offer a complete catalogue of the group's beliefs. Nor can we avail ourselves of the kind of prosopographic analysis that has yielded evidence of the social level of Pauline Christians.[9] Nonetheless, if we suppose that the Sayings Gospel had a "canonical" function in the group, much is to be learned by attending to both the content and the form of the group's canonical document.

I begin with the premise that a homological relationship exists between the symbolic world of the social group and the formal and material characteristics of its documents, such that the "truth" of the canonical documents is rendered

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[9] See Wayne A. Meeks, *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

self-evident by its correspondence to the structure of the social world and, conversely, the appropriateness of the group's [**80**] manner of knowing the world is reinforced and buttressed by the way in which its canonical literature represents and explains the nature and processes of knowing. Insights that were once subjective are condensed into symbols that can be shared; thus they are objectified and generalized, and rendered self-evidently true. "It is thus ... that knowledge comes to have an overwhelming and at the same time taken-for-granted independence, which in the end is based on the subjective results of experience and explication, but which contrasts with the individual and the subjectivity of his experience and situation."[10]

The point of entry into Q's social world will be the series of literary features that reflect the various unspoken assumptions made by the Q people about the world they inhabited. These have to do with the nature of social boundaries and the means by which they are defined, the nature of authority, issues of social status and role, the specific role of ritual, the choice and adaptation of given literary genres in communication, and ways in which the group, the world, and God are perceived.[11] Literary and rhetorical considerations are key to the analysis of Q; it is not only the explicit statements of Q on any of these matters that are of interest, but even more importantly, the unspoken assumptions which are at work in the selection of one literary genre over another, the consciousness of the social catchment of the group implicit in the use of a particular mode and level of rhetoric, and the many unexpressed but "self-evident" premises at work in the formulation of explicit arguments. Despite its relatively short length (about 4500 words, only slightly longer than 2 Corinthians), the Sayings Gospel provides some answers to most of these questions.

Recent literary analyses have suggested that the Sayings Gospel is the result of several stages of literary growth.[12] Elsewhere I have offered a reconstruction

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[10] Alfred Schutz and Thomas Luckmann, *The Structures of the Life-World* (trans. Richard M. Zaner and H. Tristram Jr. Engelhardt; Northwestern University Studies in Phenomenology and Existential Philosophy; Evanston Il.: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 284; cf. Howard Clark Kee, *Knowing the Truth: A Sociological Approach to New Testament Interpretation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989).

[11] Cf. Kee, *Knowing the Truth*, 65–67.

[12] Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978); Wolfgang Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelien: Q-Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1981); Dieter Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse und wechselnder 'Sitz im Leben' beim Q-Material," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 395–409; John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); Uro, *Sheep Among the Wolves*; Migaku Sato, *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988); Ronald A. Piper, *Wisdom in the Q-Tradition: The Aphoristic Teaching of Jesus* (SNTSMS 61; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

of the literary history of the document in three stages. (1) The initial stage is characterized by clusters of admonitions which take the form of sapiential *Mahnsprüche* (i.e., imperatives with aphoristic motive clauses), prefaced by programmatic aphorisms and sometimes concluded by warnings to heed the words of the sage. This formalization of sayings is typical of the genre of a sapiential instruction, even though some of the contents of Q are not paralleled in Near Eastern instructions. (2) At a second level of redaction a substantial body of prophetic and polemical sayings, mostly framed as chreiai and elaborated chreiai, appear. It is at this level that one encounters the bitter polemic against "this generation," the sayings in Q 3 and Q 7 which treat the relationship between John and Jesus, and all of the apocalyptic Son of Man sayings. (3) A final stage was reached with the incorporation of the [81] Temptation story and the addition of a few glosses, most notably Q 11:42c and 16:17, all of which reflect – in contrast to the rest of Q – a strong concern for the validity and perdurance of the Torah.[13] While there are several variant reconstructions of the literary history of Q, I shall assume the stratigraphy described above in an endeavor to tease from it a coherent picture of the social entities represented by the various stages of Q.

The Instructional Layer and its Audience

1. Form, Content and Rhetoric

From the standpoint of form, the earliest stratum of Q may be characterized as an instruction, the dominant Near Eastern genre for prescriptive wisdom with representatives from the third millennium BCE (e.g., *Ptahḥotep)* to the first centuries of the common era (e.g., the *Teachings of Silvanus*). Although the morphology of the genre is quite complex,[14] the form-critical building blocks of the instruction are admonitions with supporting maxims, often collected into thematic clusters. These clusters may be prefaced by a narrative or non-narrative prologue and/or introduced by programmatic aphorisms and concluded with warnings or promises.

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[13] See Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 102–262 and John S. Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q," in *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (ed. James E. Goehring, Jack T. Sanders, and Charles W. Hedrick; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990), 35–48 [chap. 8 in this volume] To the instructional layer I assign: *(1a)* Q 6:20b–23b, 27–49; *(1b)* 9:57–62; 10:2–11, 16; *(1c)* 11:2–4, 9–13; *(1d)* 12:2–7,11–12; *(1e)* 12:22b–31,33–34; *(1f)* 13:14; 14:26–27; 17:33; 14:34–35 and probably also *(1g)* 15:4–7 (8–10?); 16:13, 18; 17:1–2, 3b–4, 6. The second layer consists of five large blocks of sayings, *(2a)* 3:7–9,16–17; *(2b)* 7:1–10, 18–28, 31–35; *(2c)* 11:14–26, (27–28?), 29–36, 39b–44, 46–52; *(2d)* 12:39–40, 42–46, 49, 51–59; *(2e)* 17:23–24, 26–30, 34–35, 37b; 19:12–27; 22:28–30 and various interpolations: 6:23c; 10:12, 13–15; 12:8–9, 10; 13:25–30, 34–35; 14:16–24. At the third level Q 4:1–13; 11:42c and 16:17 were added.

[14] See Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 264–89.

The first section of the inaugural discourse (Q 6:20b–35) provides a good illustration of how this form could be employed for framing sayings of Jesus. As in the case of the other late examples of the instruction,[15] the influence of Hellenistic rhetoric is visible. The unit opens with a quartet of beatitudes which, by their inversion of the usual understandings of blessedness, serve a programmatic function for the admonitions that follow. The anaphora created by the repetition of μακάριος ("blessed") is further enhanced by the parallel syntactical and rhetorical structure of the first three beatitudes: each is bipartite, with the second clause introduced by ὅτι ("for"), and each balances the present tense in the first clause with a contrasting future in the second. If it is the case that Luke 6:24–26 derives from Q,[16] the sermon opens with a balanced and anaphoric *synkrisis* on the nature of true blessedness.

The core of the instruction consists of between seven and ten thematically related imperatives (depending upon how one reconstructs Q 6:27–31), each recommending behavior that is at variance with the usual norms of social exchange. Its construction is not artless: the first set of admonitions, which place the imperatives (ἀγαπᾶτε [love], προσεύχεσθε [pray]) before their objects, is balanced by a second set of admonitions which begin with nominalized participles (τῷ ῥαπίζοντι [someone who strikes], ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴροντος [from someone who takes], τῷ αἰτοῦντι [to someone who begs], τὸν θέλοντα [someone who wants]) and place the imperatives at the [82] end of the clause.[17] Although 6:31 is also an admonition as well as a commonplace, it serves a summarizing function and from the perspective of rhetorical proof, its appeal to self-interest amounts to a pathetical argument.[18] The remainder of the proofs are furnished, first, by the trio of enthymemes or logical proofs (6:32–34) which operate on the assumption that the only truly meritorious behavior is that which surpasses the ordinary expectations of reciprocity and, then, by the rhetorical induction from the *paradeigma* supplied by God's own activity (6:35c).

What do these features imply about the intended addressees? Two observations are relevant. First, although Q 6:20b–35 proposes a countercultural ethic which claims divine sanction and appeals to the divine *paradeigma,* the examples are drawn from rather mundane exchanges in a village or town (small local conflicts, robbery, small loans). The arguments rest on appeals to

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[15] See Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 270 (Ankhsheshonq), 271 (Counsels of Amenotes), 288–89 (Teachings of Silvanus).

[16] Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, §26.

[17] For details of the reconstruction, see Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), 128, 121–23. I dissent from Schulz by reconstructing Q 6:29b following Luke.

[18] *Pathos* is used here in its technical rhetorical sense of an appeal to the emotions of the audience as a mode of proof, in contrast to ethos, the appeal to the character of the speaker, and logos, the appeal to reason. See Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1.2.5.

generalized values: honour achieved through public and divine approbation (6:23b, 32–34, 35b) and the self-evident status distinctions between toll collectors and Gentiles on the one hand and Jews on the other (Q 6:32–33). Nevertheless, the framer of Q 6:20b–35 has adopted a deliberative posture rather than, e.g., the style of prophetic pronouncement or apocalyptic revelation as a means of persuading the addressees to embrace this vision. Ronald Piper's recent study of the wisdom materials in Q has confirmed that this appeal to reason is not restricted to Q 6:20b–35, but can be found throughout the earliest levels of Q.[19]

Second, the instructional genre itself is most frequently associated with palace and scribal schools, although occasionally more general audiences seem to be envisaged. The genre typically reflects the values of the scribal sector: a celebration of human learning, the positive valuation of the process of tradition (usually, though not exclusively, represented as instruction *in loco parentis*) and concern for both the content of wisdom – however its criteria of adequacy might be framed – and the *origin, nature and means* by which wisdom is acquired.[20]

In its content, the advice typically offered in the instruction is not merely prudential and eudaimonistic as it is sometimes erroneously assumed. On the contrary, since wisdom has its transcendental origin in the divine world, the pursuit of wisdom is a form of piety. Ultimately, the sage assimilates and emulates the divine ethos – just as Q 6:35 recommends. The Hebrew sapiential tradition dramatized the means by which wisdom is acquired with a threefold schema. Wisdom is sometimes represented as openly available; at other times she is hidden beneath the veneer of chaotic everyday experience; or she has withdrawn and is therefore found only by those whom Wisdom herself seeks out. The second dramatization accounts in particular for the scribal penchant to view both transmitted texts and contemporary reality, both physical and social, as [83] fundamentally enigmatic and therefore the object of research. But whatever the means of acquisition, wisdom – both as a particular mode of conduct and as a vision of the divine – is for the scribe the redemptive medium itself. In regard to Sirach, Burton Mack observes[21]:

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[19] Piper, *Wisdom in the Q-Tradition*.

[20] See Daniel J. Harrington, "The Wisdom of the Scribe According to Ben Sira," in *Ideal Figures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. George W.E. Nickelsburg and John J. Collins; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980), 181–88 and especially Burton L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 89–107 for a superb exegesis of scribal values as seen in Sir 39:1–11.

[21] Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 98.

In that he is filled with the spirit of understanding as a benefaction from God, the scholar's piety is ultimately a special form peculiarly suited to his vocation. By means of it, he can lay claim to immediacy of vision, divine presence, and finally, to wisdom.

The content of the instructional layer of Q is consistent with this picture. Although the *topos* of parental instruction is avoided, reflection on the relationship of masters and students and on the process of transmission is present (Q 6:40, 46–49; 10:16; 14:26–27) and both God and Jesus are held up as mimetic ideals (Q 6:35, 36; 9:58; 11:13; 12:3; 14:26–27). Q 10:16 affords the clearest example of one of the fundamental hermeneutical assumptions of the genre: that the sage speaks with the mouth of God. Here Q reflects the same dynamics as those of Prov 1:20–33 or Sir 51:23–30 where human *logoi* are absorbed into the divine *logos*. The relationship of the speech of Jesus and his followers to the divine later becomes a matter for explicit reflection in the second layer of Q, appearing at Q 7:35; 11:49–51; 13:33–34 and especially in the so-called Johannine logion, Q 10:21–22.

In accord with scribal values, the Sayings Gospel places a premium upon both clarity of perception, especially when it comes to matters of guidance (Q 6:40, 41–42), and good speech, the characteristic mark of good thinking (Q 6:45). Guidance and moral example are also the subjects of the sayings on judging (Q 6:37–38), scandal (Q 17:1–2) and forgiveness (Q 17:3b–4). This reflects the self-consciously "public" character of the scribal pursuit: although the scribe necessarily requires leisure not at the disposal of the peasant or handworker, the scribe's responsibility is ultimately to the public and public approbation in the form of honor and fame crowns the sage's achievement.

The saying preserved in Q 12:2 on the revelation of things hidden is not only a wisdom saying; it reflects a characteristic sapiential interest in what is hidden as an object of research and conceives the process of disclosure of the order of things as grounded in the relationship between God and the world. Accordingly, Q can use 12:2 programmatically to introduce admonitions that understand the process of the preaching of the kingdom, with the opposition it provokes, to be analogous to the processes of research and discovery. A similar confidence appears in the pair of growth parables in Q 13:18–19, 20–21 which, in contrast to Mark's single parable of the mustard seed (Mark 4:30–32), develop the contrast between hidden (ἔκβαλεν εἰς κῆπον, ἐνέκρυψεν, "he cast [it] into a garden," "hid") and revealed (ηὔξησεν καὶ ἐγένετο εἰς δένδρον, ἐζυμώθη ὅλον, "it grew and [84] became a tree," "it leavened the whole") instead of Mark's treatment of the contrast as one of small and great. Natural processes are treated as analogies for social (or "religious") transformations. Much of the rhetoric of Q is founded upon related premises: the indiscriminate benefaction of the sun and the rain is invoked in support of the admonition to analogous behavior in the human sphere (Q 6:35); the biological processes of fruition, life, death and growth are correlated with activities in the human sphere (Q 6:43–44; 12:6b, 24, 27–28); and the ordinary transactions of human

families become the basis for an induction about divine benefaction (Q 11:11–13). The physical and social cosmos is for Q the medium of divine self-disclosure for those who have the ability to grasp it.

This point is extremely important because it helps to fix the social locale of the persons to whom Q appealed. We have three clues. The first is the perhaps surprising fact that neither the Temple nor the priesthood nor purifications nor *kashruth* nor Israel's epic history nor the Torah figures importantly as a redemptive medium for this layer of Q. The rhetoric of the Sayings Gospel does not proceed from the premise of the self-evident truth of the Torah or of the appropriateness of purity distinctions, nor does it represent itself as offering an exposition of these. Later stages of Q will turn from silence on these subjects to polemic and then to limited approval. But in the formative stratum we encounter only sheer confidence in the immediacy of divine presence in the ordinary and the availability of God's benefaction without the need of other mediators. Persons to whom this might have appealed would naturally be those who were geographically or socially distant from the redemptive media of the Temple or Torah, or those who had come to perceive those media as inefficacious.

A second clue is the frequency of sayings that idealize poverty and the simple life and that warn against the acquisition or service of wealth. The striking (and unusual) dichotomy that Q 16:13 draws between "serving" wealth and serving God is the clearest but by no means the only example of this. Q's rhetorical appeal is not based upon the sophisticated artifacts and processes of culture but upon "nature" – however much an idea of nature is itself socially constructed – and to the most rudimentary aspects of culture: the family (Q 11:9–13), simple house building (Q 6:47–49) and the lowest forms of market transactions (Q 12:6b). This suggests a lack of confidence in the "higher" forms of culture and a tendency to value "natural" objects as inherently more stable and trustworthy.

Finally, the instructional speeches are far from being "random collections of sayings." They display, on the contrary, signs of deliberate stylization and reflect some of the techniques fostered in rhetorical schools. Yet Q does not show the same sort of self-conscious and studied compo[85]sition expected in the products of the elite scribal establishments. The mode of organization is topical rather than by more complicated devices such as alphabetic acrostics or numeric schemata. There are few word plays apart from a possible pun on μωραίνω (Q 14:34) and rhetorical ornamentation does not go much beyond alliteration and assonance.

2: The Social Location

In view of the wealth of agricultural imagery found in Q, one might be tempted to conclude that the audience of the formative stratum consisted of peasant-

farmers, agricultural laborers and itinerant handworkers. Several factors weigh against this, however. The selection of a relatively learned and characteristically scribal genre by which to convey sayings of Jesus does not accord well with a peasant setting. The general lack of meaningful contact with the social settings in which this genre was cultivated renders it unlikely that peasants would have borrowed the instructional form.[22] And while peasants are quite capable of significant protest against oppressive structures (e.g., by social banditry or resistance to innovation), the visible and overt social radicalism of Q seems atypical of peasant protests.

A much more likely setting for this stage of Q is among those who might anachronistically be termed the "petit bourgeois" in the lower administrative sector of the cities and villages. It is plain from Egyptian evidence that it is precisely within these sectors that the instructional genre was cultivated. Nevertheless, we are faced with two immediate questions. Where would such a group be found in a sufficient density to account for the origin and transmission of the Q instructions? And what social factors might account for persons from this sector opting for the countercultural lifestyle advocated by Q?

Villages in Galilee, the region of the Decapolis, Peraea and Ituraea all undoubtedly had administrative infrastructures which saw to the collection and disbursement of various revenues and to the administration of justice. The best epigraphical data on village administration comes from Ituraea (including Auranitis [modern Hauran] and Trachonitis) and from a slightly later period.[23] What these data indicate is that the area east of the Jordan was "a country of villages," as A. H. M. Jones puts it.[24] The relative rarity of significant cities allowed the villages to develop structures which emulated those of the polis: assemblies (οἱ κωμῆται, τὸ κοινόν, ὁ ὄχλος, ὁ δῆμος), a village chief (πρωτο-

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[22] See Seán Freyne, *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian, 323 B.C.E. to 135 C.E.: A Study of Second Temple Judaism* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1980), 195 : "[The lifestyle of peasants] did not bring them into any kind of meaningful contact with the real agents for social change. When work or market did involve such interaction it was a purely formal affair that was not likely to alter people."

[23] See Jean-Marie Dentzer, "Les villages de la Syrie romaine dans une tradition d'urbanisme oriental," in collaboration with François Villeneuve, in *De l'Indus aux Balkans: Recueil à la memoire de Jean Deshayes* (ed. J.L. Huot, M. Yon, and Y. Calbet; Paris: Editions recherche sur les civilisations, 1985), 213–48; G. Maclean Harper, "Village Administration in the Roman Province of Syria," *YCS* 1 (1928): 102–68; A. H. M. Jones, "The Urbanization of Palestine," *JRS* 21 (1931): 78–85; Henry Innes MacAdam, "Epigraphy and Village Life in Southern Syria During the Roman and Early Byzantine Periods," *Berytus* 31 (1983): 103–15; François Villeneuve, "L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans le Hauran antique (I^{er} siècle avant J.-C.–VI^{e} siècle apres J.-C.): Une approche," in *Hauran I: Recherches archéologique sur la Syrie du Sud à l'époque hellénistique et romaine* (ed. Jean-Marie Dentzer; Institut français d'archéologie du Proche Orient: Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 124; Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1985), 63–136.

[24] A. H. M. Jones, "The Urbanization of the Ituraean Principality," *JRS* 21 (1931): 268.

κομήτης, στρατηγός), and various appointed magistrates and commissioners of public works (διοικηταί, πιστοί, προνοηταί, ἐπιμεληταί, ἐπίσκοποι, οἰκονόμοι, ἔκδικοι).[25] Martin Goodman has made a [86] plausible argument that the same situation obtained in the Upper Galilee. Josephus' description of Galilee in *Bell.* 3.35–43 suggests that[26]

> all Upper Galilee lay outside the χώρα of any πόλις, which would encourage, as in Bashan, Hauran, and Trachonitis, the growth of efficient government on the village level, either completely independent or in some sort of coalition under a μητροκωμία.

The epigraphical data from Ituraea attest to no more than a handful of officials per town and there is little reason to suppose that Galilean villages were much larger than those of Ituraea.[27] In the villages of Lower Galilee that depended on a polis, the growth of independent administrative offices would probably have been suppressed even more, although even these villages undoubtedly had a bureaucratic structure, since the polis was normally not involved in village life beyond the collection of rents and tolls.

Given these indications, it seems doubtful that a single village could have sustained the Q group. The Q people, however, may have flourished in a network of villages, perhaps even in association with the lower administrative sectors of a larger center. The toparchic centers of Tiberias, Sepphoris, Tarichaeae and probably Gabara[28] would certainly have had a sufficient density of scribes and administrators.[29] One might also consider the larger towns like Capernaum in Galilee or Bethsaida Julias in Gaulanitis, whose commercial interests would have supported a relatively substantial bureaucracy.

At Tiberias, at least, there was an ἄρχων ("ruler"), a βουλή ("council") of six hundred, a board of δεκάπρωτοι ("leading men" = Latin *decemviri)* and an ἀγορανόμος ("clerk of the market").[30] The fact that Sepphoris alternated with Tiberias as the capital of Galilee no doubt makes a similar administrative structure at Sepphoris probable. It is also reasonable to assume the existence of

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[25] See Harper, "Village Administration in the Roman Province of Syria," 116–45; MacAdam, "Epigraphy and Village Life," 107–8.

[26] Martin Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, A.D. 132–212* (Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies; Totawa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 120.

[27] Josephus *(Bell.* 3.43) states that the smallest village in Galilee contained fifteen thousand inhabitants, but this appears to be a wild exaggeration. See Goodman, *State and Society*, 32.

[28] Or Garaba: see Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C. – A.D. 135)* (New English ed.; revised by Geza Vermes, et al.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1973–87), 2:195 n. 43.

[29] See A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (2nd ed; revised by Michael Avi-Yonah; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1971 [1st ed. 1937]), 272–74. No toparchies are known from the Upper Galilee; conceivably the entire region was a single toparchy with Gischala, which had an imperial granary (Josephus, *Vita* 71), as its capital.

[30] ἄρχων: Josephus, *Vita* 134, 278, 294; βουλή: *Bell.* 2.639–41; δεκάπρωτοι: *Bell.* 6.639; *Vita* 69, 296; ἀγορανόμος: *Ant.* 18.149. See further, Jones, "Urbanization of Palestine".

a substantial number of lesser managers, trustees and supervisors of public works, especially given the amount of building that followed the foundation of Tiberias by Antipas. The relatively low degree of literacy also meant that one would also find a good number of scribes and notaries in the *agora* of any city, ready to assist in the transaction of sales, loans, rental agreements, marriages and divorces.[31] While it does not seem very likely that the Sayings Gospel reflects the interests of the higher end of the managerial sector, it may very well have stuck a resonant note in the lower levels of the administrative and scribal classes.

3. The Social Situation

If there is evidence of a social locale in which the instructional genre might appeal, is there any reason to suppose that Galilean or Ituraean [87] scribe-scholars during the 50s or 60s might have adopted the particular ethos reflected in Q? Here I assume that the persons to whom a counter-cultural and inversionary gospel might appeal are those whose confidence in the ordinary channels through which social identity is mediated has been shaken or destroyed. Two kinds of observations are relevant here. There is ample reason to suppose that the lower administrative and scribal sectors suffered economic and social hardship along with peasants. The vagaries of harvests, which had their most direct effects on the peasants and day laborers, also affected the administrative sector in as serious a way. For example, the drought of 25/24 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.299–304) led not only to a widespread famine and a reduction of seed grain for subsequent years; it also sharply reduced tax revenues used in Herod's building campaigns and hence deprived the cities of revenue. The increasing debt load, one of the contributing causes of the revolt of 70 CE,[32] resulted in the reduction of some freeholders to the status of tenants. Others emigrated to the Decapolis (Josephus, *Bell.* 2.279) and still others were forced into social banditry, a phenomenon that the Romans were ineffectual at controlling and, on occasion, employed to their own ends.[33]

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[31] On the level of literacy in Galilee, see Goodman, *State and Society*, 59, 72.

[32] See Douglas E. Oakman, *Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Day* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 8; Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986), 72–77. Martin Goodman, "The First Jewish Revolt: Social Conflict and the Problem of Debt," *JJS* 33 (1982): 417–27 argues that the surplus wealth from the aristocracy was invested in land or loans to farmers, thus either deceiving the peasants of ownership or increasing their debt burden.

[33] See Josephus, *Vita* 77–78, 104–105, 145–48, 175, 206; on Florus' toleration of banditry, see *Bell.* 2.278–79. On social banditry in Palestine, see Richard A. Horsley and John Hansen, *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1985) and, in general, Eric J. Hobsbawm, "The Social Bandit," in *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1959), 13–29 and Brent D. Shaw, "Bandits in the Roman Empire," *P&P* 105 (1984): 5–52. [For a critique of the construction of

While the peasant was most directly affected by debt, the entire economic and social fabric was subjected to considerable stress. And of course, no one was immune from banditry, as Josephus amply attests *(Vita* 206–7).

A second factor had an even more immediate impact upon the cities and their dependent villages. Various transfers of political jurisdiction caused administrative disruptions and provoked hostilities within and between the cities. The reduction of Galilee and Philip's tetrarchy to a Roman province at the death of Agrippa I (44 CE) no doubt resulted in administrative adjustments and shifting fortunes of patrons and their clients, including those in the administrative and scribal sectors. We are quite well informed via Josephus about the events of 54 CE when Nero transferred the cities of Tiberias, Tarichaeae and two Peraean toparchies to the domain of Agrippa II *(Ant.* 20.159), who had been given Philip's tetrarchy the year previous *(Ant.* 20.137–38). This meant that Tiberias, which had been the capital of Galilee since its foundation in ca. 18 CE, had to surrender that position to Sepphoris. The most troubling effect was the transfer of the βασιλικὴ τράπεζα and the ἀρχεῖα to the new capital *(Vita* 38). That the royal bank and archives were significant sources of revenue and prestige is indicated both by the fact that Sepphoris had petitioned Rome for the transfer and that some years later Justus of Tiberias was able to incite a Tiberian crowd against Agrippa and Rome by recalling this injury. Significantly, Justus was not among the urban rabble of which Josephus disparagingly speaks, but was an intellectual with an excellent rhetorical education and literary skills, and was later appointed to [88] Agrippa's τάξις ἐπιστόλων ("private secretariat," *Vita* 356).[34]

We have evidence, then, both of a social sector that could account for the production and transmission of the Q instructions and of social circumstances that might account for its appeal. It is not possible to know whether the deracination of the Q group is literal or metaphorical, that is, whether economic hardship and social upheaval had already deprived the members of their place in the system, or whether they were still active in the scribal and administrative sector but had begun to question the integrity and stability of the system. Both are possible. What is more certain is that they were prepared to imagine an alternative to the present order.

4. Q's Vision of the Kingdom and its Propagation

This is not the place to elaborate the alternative which the formative stratum proposed, but a few characteristics are noteworthy. Perhaps the most striking feature is the idealization of the simple and detached life in its various forms.

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the "social bandit," see John S. Kloppenborg, "Unsocial Bandits," in *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Sean Freyne* (ed. Zuleika Rogers; in collaboration with Margaret Daly-Denton and Anne Fitzpatrick McKinley; JSJSup 132; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2009), 451–84.]

[34] See Tessa Rajak, "Justus of Tiberias," *CQ* 23 (1973): 345–68.

This is signalled in the opening section of Q's instructions, Q 6:20b–21, which singles out not the πένης, who might own property and have servants but was nonetheless under compulsion to toil, but the πτωχός, the beggar. The mission speech likewise uses as a designation of honor the term ἐργάτης (10:2, 7), which normally connoted the dispossessed day labourer rather than the peasant. One might add to this the Son of Man saying in Q 9:58 which likewise seems to extol vagrancy.[35] Other Q text – 12:4–7, 22b–31; 14:26–27; 16:13 – recommend a lifestyle that does not invest in the ordinary channels of personal security.

It does not seem very likely that idealizations of poverty and detachment would have had much appeal to beggars, day workers or small holders; instead, these are the views of intellectuals who utilize such idealizations as a counter-balance to what is perceived as a bankrupt or failing culture.[36] The rhetorical strategy of Q is to select the extreme examples or "focal instances" of those who do not have the resources to defend their position in social rankings as a means of posing an alternative for those who do.[37] While some of the admonitions in Q 6:27–35 presuppose situations that could occur at many social levels (abuse, 6:28; insult, 6:29a; robbery, 6:29b), Q 6:30 is obviously formulated from the point of view of persons that were in a position to make loans. This extraordinary counsel to make loans without expectation of return should be viewed as a response to predatory lending practices and the chronic problem of indebtedness that ensued. It might be added that the scribal sector would be particularly conscious of this problem, since it was the scribe who normally prepared the loan agreement. [89] The inversionaiy use of the terms πτωχός and ἐργάτης not only implies a critical view of society; it also serves a positive function in Q's rhetoric. Disvalued figures such as beggars and hand-workers are used along with insignificant sparrows, strands of hair (Q 12:6–7), ravens, lilies, grass (Q 12:24–28), mustard seeds (Q 13:18–19) and leaven (Q 13:20–21) in arguments *a minore ad maius* as means of underscoring the bounty of divine provision and surveillance and the ways in which God's behavior exceeds the expectations of reciprocity. The Q people are encouraged to rely on this bounty and emulate the divine ethos in their dealings with others (Q 6:27–30).

The concern for subsistence provisions and the "mission" materials in Q 9:57–60, 61–62; 10:4–11, 16 raise the question of the relative importance of itinerants in the Q group. Gerd Theissen popularized the view that itinerants

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[35] Uro, *Sheep Among the Wolves*, 133 has recently suggested that the Q group understood Jesus' call to discipleship even more radically than Jesus himself, who is remembered as a "glutton and a drunk" (Q 7:34).

[36] Moses I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (2d ed.; Sather Classical Lectures 43; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 37–42.

[37] See Bruce J. Malina, "Wealth and Poverty in the New Testament and Its World," *Int* 41 (1987): 354–67, here 355–56.

were responsible for the preservation and transmission of many Q sayings and, more recently, Zeller has argued that the core of several Q instructions had their original *Sitz im Leben* with wandering preachers.[38] The natural inference is that the itinerants "founded" communities and perhaps eventually settled down, as the *Didache* later suggests.

While the Q people obviously attempted to promote their vision of the kingdom and approved the activities of the "workers," a careful examination of the pertinent materials suggests that this view needs qualification. First, we should be clear on what itinerancy would mean in Galilee and the areas contiguous with it. Given the facts that the region of the lower Galilee is only 15 by 25 miles, that it contained not only several large centers (Sepphoris, Tiberias, Tarichaeae, Capernaum) but also a large number of villages, that the lower Galilee had one of the highest population densities in the Roman empire,[39] and that the adjacent region of the Decapolis had a similar village structure, one could easily travel from a home base to the next village in less than an hour, and to another major center in several hours or a day at the most. Hence itinerancy is more likely to have looked like brief excursions than like the extended journeys of Paul. Indeed, the workers are specifically enjoined not to carry a travel bag or wear sandals – that is, not to appear as though they were on a long journey.[40]

Second, there is little in Q 10 to suggest that the "workers" were expected to stay for a long duration in any village, or that they intended to "found" a group there. There is indeed no indication that the "workers" were leaders at all, either in the communities from which they were sent forth or in the villages that accepted them. They depended upon the former for the justification of their roles and upon the latter for material support. Because of their tenuous social position, Q insists that [90] what the workers do constitutes work and is deserving of "wages" (Q 10:7b), here understood as food and lodging (10:7a). They are viewed as able to convey a blessing upon a receptive household (10:6). The very fact, however, that Q describes these persons with the metaphor of agricultural or construction laborers – whose relative social position needs no elaboration – and the fact that it needs to remind the addressees that such "workers" were deserving of subsistence support surely implies that this could not be taken for granted, let alone that they would be recognized and accepted as leaders. It is important in this regard to note that these workers are

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[38] Gerd Theissen, "Wanderradikalismus: Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum," *ZTK* 70 (1973): 245–71; *Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity* (trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978); Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse".

[39] Magen Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period," *BASOR* 236 (1979): 1–10, here 3; J. Andrew Overman, "Who Were the First Urban Christians? Urbanization in Galilee in the First Century," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 165.

[40] I owe this observation to Wendy J. Cotter.

not invested with the titles "apostle" (1 Cor 9:1; *Did.* 11.3–6), prophet *(Did.* 11.3–11; 13.1) or teacher *(Did.* 13.2), any of which would have made their role as (potential) leaders clear.

Q 10:10 seems to envisage acceptance and rejection at the level of the village itself: being welcomed by one household (10:5) is convertible with being welcomed by the village, and rejection is rejection by the village.[41] In other words, when discussing the specific role of the workers, Q 10 presupposes village structures in which the social solidarity produced by kinship, patron-client relationships and economic ties would have made it difficult for any village household to adopt a posture that varied from the rest of the village. While it remains unclear what concretely would be at stake for a village in rejecting or accepting the Q people, it is relatively clear that from Q's perspective the activities of the workers served to define a network of sympathetic villages, probably adjacent to some larger center.[42] At the village level, leadership was probably vested in local leaders, perhaps household heads.[43]

At this formative stage, the Q people evince some of the characteristics of liminal situations that produce *communitas:* the fictive use of family language (Q 6:41–42; 17:3) and the corresponding devaluation of ordinary kinship ties (14:26), and the use of inversionary language.[44] Indeed, it has been argued by Leo Perdue that the very genre of instruction presupposes a social situation of liminality in which the prospective sage is separated from his former status in order to be reintegrated into society at an elevated level.[45] "[T]he teacher's task... is to assure the student that the social reality correctly reflects meta-

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[41] Matthew, who expressly distinguishes between "cities," "villages" (10:11) and "households" (10:12), adds to 10:14 the parallel distinction between "city" and "household," probably because he thinks in terms of large population centers in which rejection at the household level was not tantamount to civic rejection. Mark's parallel version has "place" (τόπος) while the *Gospel of Thomas* (14b) has "district" (χώρα).

[42] At the second stratum of Q, cities, especially Jerusalem, are characterized as centers of misplaced values, rejection and unbelief (e.g., Q 7:24–26, 31–35; 10:13–15; 11:49–51; 13:34–35). This view, which is wanting in the formative stratum, is probably a reflection both of the general assessment of cities in agrarian cultures and of the specific problems which the Q people encountered in propagating their vision in the larger centers where they encountered the opposition of the Pharisees. On assessments of cities in agrarian cultures, see Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1960), 68–69; Ramsay MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations, 50 B.C. to A.D. 284* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974), 33–34; John H. Kautsky, *The Politics of Aristocratic Empires* (with a new introduction; New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 1997), 72–75.

[43] L. Michael White, "Sociological Analysis of Early Christian Groups: A Social Historian's Response," *SA* 47, no. 3 (1986): 256.

[44] See Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1969); *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

[45] Leo G. Perdue, "Liminality as a Social Setting for Wisdom Instructions," *ZAW* 93 (1981): 125.

physical reality and to remove by effective argumentation anomy in any form that threatens his depiction of social reality."[46] Q is distinctive insofar as it does not envision the stage of aggregation or reintegration; thus Q imagines a perpetually liminal and anti-structural state that Victor Turner calls "normative *communitas*."[47] The use of a blessing formula to describe those who suffer reproach and exclusion because of their allegiance to the Son of Man (6:22–23b) presumably signals the beginnings of the formation of social boundaries. Likewise, the "exit ritual" used on the [91] occasion of departures from villages that were not hospitable (10:10–11) amounts to an act defining and sharpening group boundaries. On the other hand, beyond the simple affirmation of Q 10:16, there is no attempt to account for either the positive or negative reception of the workers. At this stage, an alternate group has coalesced but social boundaries are as yet quite weak.

Rejection and Rationalization

1. Chreia and Q

The second stratum of Q (Q^2) is dominated by the redactional motif, first identified by Dieter Lührmann,[48] of the complaint against "this generation" for its lack of penitence. Coupled with this is the announcement of Israel's judgment, variously associated with God, the figure of the Coming One (Q 3:16), and the Q group itself (Q 22:28–30). One of the most prominent features of Q is its use of Gentile figures whose positive response, real or imagined, is contrasted with the faithlessness and obduracy of Israel (Q 7:1–10; 10:13–15; 11:31–32; 13:28–29).

From the standpoint of form-critical units, this level of Q is characterized by a significant number of prophetic forms: oracles of warning and judgment (Q 3:7b–9, 16–17; 11:19b, 31, 32; 12:39–40, 49, 51–53, 58–59; 13:26–27, 28–29, 34–35; 17:34–35; 22:28–30), blessings (Q 7:23; 10:23–24; 12:43), woes (11:39b–44, 46–52) and prophetic correlatives (11:30; 17:24, 26–30). Yet it would not be accurate to suppose that Q was framed as an oracle collection and patterned on Hellenistic *chrestnologoi* or on the prophetic books of the Hebrew scriptures.[49] Although prophetic and apocalyptic sayings are present, most of these have been absorbed into chreiai and elaborated chreiai.[50] For example,

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[46] Perdue, "Liminality," 120.

[47] Victor Turner, "Liminal to Liminoid, in Play, Flow, and Ritual," in *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), 47–49.

[48] Lührmann, *Redaktion*.

[49] Thus Sato, *Q und Prophetie*.

[50] See the seminal discussion of chreia elaboration by Burton L. Mack, "Elaboration of the Chreia in the Hellenistic School," in *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels* (by Burton L.

the oracle in Q 3:7b–9 is specifically framed as a saying of John delivered on the occasion of persons coming for baptism. This introduction transforms the oracle into a chreia or, as Theon defines it,[51]

> a brief statement or action fittingly attributed to a definite person or something analogous to a person.

Thus Q's opening fittingly ascribes to John a call to repentance and the reference to baptism. It is also worth pointing out that if the minor agreement, πᾶσα ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ("the entire region of the Jordan," Matt 3:5b/Luke 3:3a), belongs to the introduction of John's oracle, he is placed by Q in the very region in which the fiery destruction of Sodom occurred – an appropriate spatial element for an oracle that likewise threatens fiery destruction upon those who falsely rely upon their kinship with Abraham.[52] [**92**]

The framing of Q does not emphasize the first person of the divine speaker who confronts Jerusalem and Judah with their sinfulness, as is the case, for example, with Isaiah of Jerusalem. God in fact never speaks in Q and the oracle of Heavenly Sophia in Q 11:49–51 is not prefaced with the prophetic formula τάδε λέγει ὁ κύριος (ἡ σοφία) ("thus says the Lord [or Sophia]") but is instead framed as *Jesus'* report of what Sophia had said (εἶπεν) followed by Jesus' own reiteration of the Sophia saying (ναί, λέγω ὑμῖν, "Yes, I tell you," 11:51b). There is no doubt that Q understands Jesus as speaking with God's authority, but the genre selected to report Jesus' words is not a prophetic one.

The selection of chreiai as the means by which to transmit sayings of various natures (prophetic, apocalyptic, sapiential) has the effect of emphasizing not simply the confrontation between God and Israel, but rather the interaction between Jesus, John and their partisans on the one hand, and specific other groups (mostly within Israel) on the other. Most of the types of chreiai classified by Tannehill are represented in Q[53]: commendations (Q 7:24–28; 10:21–22 + 23–24), corrections (Q 3:7–9 + 16–17; 11:27–28[54]; 12:54–56 + 57–59; 17:23–24, 26–30, 34–35, 37 + 19:12–27 + 22:28–30), (testing)

Mack and Vernon K. Robbins; Foundations & Facets: Literary Facets; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1989), 31–67. I am grateful to Mack for supplying me with a pre-publication version of this chapter.

[51] Ronald F. Hock and Edward N. O'Neil, *The Chreia in Ancient Rhetoric. Volume 1: The Progymnasmata* (SBLTT Vol. 27.9, Graeco-Roman Religion Series; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986), 83–84.

[52] See John S. Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)," *Semeia* 52 (1990): 145–60 [Chap. 9 in this volume].

[53] Robert C. Tannehill, "Varieties of Synoptic Pronouncement Stories," in *Pronouncement Stories* (ed. Robert C. Tannehill; Semeia 20; Chico: Scholars Press, 1981), 101–19.

[54] For a summary of arguments in favor of the inclusion of this pericope, see Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, §31.

inquiries (Q 11:16, 29–32), objections (Q 11:14–15, 17–26; 11:39b–44, 46–52), quests (Q 7:1–10), inquiries (Q 7:18–23) and descriptions (Q 14:16–24).[55]

It is perhaps as significant that nearly all of Q's chreiai have already undergone a process of elaboration: John's warning (Q 3:7–9) has been expanded by an announcement of the judgment of the Coming One (Q 3:16–17). The apparently apocalyptic title "the Coming One" (Q 3:16) recurs in John's inquiry (Q 7:18–23) which, as Ron Cameron has shown, has become the starting point for a chreia-elaboration (Q 7:18–23 + 24–28, 31–35) that skillfully recharacterizes both Jesus and John and interprets their "coming" (7:19, 33–34) not as eschatological figures but as Sophia's children who stand in opposition to and are rejected by "this generation."[56] It should be added that the combination of the quest in Q 7:1–10 with 7:18–28, 31–35 amplifies the polemic against "this generation" enunciated in 7:31–35. The self-commendation in Q 10:21–22 has been elaborated into a commendation of the entire group of disciples (Q 10:23–24) and, because of its juxtaposition with Q 10:13–15, the unit establishes a sharp contrast between those who have responded positively to the preaching of the kingdom and those who have not. Q's most complicated construction is found in Q 11:14–36, 39b–44, 46–52, consisting of three cycles of sayings. At least the first two (Q 11:14–15,17–18; 11:16, 29) began as chreiai (paralleled in Mark) which were then elaborated by appeals to the arena of history (Q 11:19–20; 11:31–32), aphorisms (Q 11:23; 11:33) and parabolic sayings (Q 11:21–22, 24–26; 11:34–36). In each case the construction [93] is designed to shift the rhetorical stance from apology and defense to critical attack, a tone that is sustained throughout the woes which follow. The correction chreia in Q 12:54–56 has been expanded into a warning (Q 12:57–59) and, assuming that Q 19:12–27 and 22:28–30 formed the conclusion to Q, the correction of a faulty eschatology in Q 17:23–24, 26–30, 34–35, 37 has been elaborated by the addition of a parable which expands upon the theme of gain and loss introduced in the correction (Q 17:26–30, 34–35), and anticipates the motifs of reward, reign and judgment in the concluding pericope.

Even though the chreia was a characteristic component of both Hellenistic rhetorical training and the Cynic tradition, the presence of chreiai in Q does not automatically imply a shift into a predominantly Gentile realm. Fischel has shown that the early rabbis found the chreia a convenient vehicle for conveying

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[55] It is not certain that Q 11:39b–44,46–52; 14:16–24 or 17:23–24, 26–30, 34–35, 37 had introductory formulae. Matthew and Luke concur in using a declaratory formula in 12:54 and 14:16; in the cases of 11:39 and 17:23, Matthew lacks an introduction and the Lukan version is heavily redacted (Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 112, 192) but some sort of transitional introduction does not seem implausible.

[56] Ron Cameron, "'What Have You Come Out to See?' Characterizations of John and Jesus in the Gospels," in *The Apocryphal Jesus and Christian Origins* (ed. Ron Cameron; Semeia 49; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 62.

their traditions.[57] And as recent investigation into the social conditions of the lower Galilee indicate, there is little reason to assume that Galilee was a Semitic enclave in a sea of Hellenism.[58] It is unclear whether Q attained its final form in Galilee or in some adjacent Gentile area, but as the following discussion will suggest, the genre proved valuable for defining boundaries over against Q's Pharisaic competitors.

The distinctive nature of the chreia and the Sayings Gospel's reliance upon this mode of speech afford important clues in regard to the social situation of the Q people. While chreiai serve instructional purposes, their function goes beyond this. As Mack observes, the chreia serves "to add to the characterization of a well-known figure and to explore the application of their philosophical position to some situation in life."[59] Indeed the chreiai of Q^2 provide characterizations not only of Jesus, but also of John, of those who reject or oppose their preaching and, at least indirectly, of those who follow Jesus. It is no coincidence that most of Q's christological statements come to the fore at the final stage of redaction. The earlier, mainly sapiential collections identified by Kloppenborg, Zeller and, most recently, Piper, take for granted that Jesus is a teacher who speaks decisively and whose words are ignored only at one's peril. But the sapiential components of Q do not make this a point for special argument or defense. For chreiai, however, the ethos of the speaker is precisely the issue, and sayings must be ascribed to him or her μετ' εὐστοχίας, with aptness. Hence we encounter chreiai that characterize Jesus as one who has ἐξουσία ("authority," 7:1–10), who not only bests his challengers with skillful speech (11:14–19); his activities as an exorcist are also correlated with the coming of the Kingdom (11:20) and his preaching of repentance points to the presence of "something greater than Solomon/Jonah" (11:31–32) and to the Coming One (7:18–23) and the Son (10:21–22). It is also no [94] coincidence that the introduction of John in 3:7–9, 16–17 makes it necessary to relate the characterizations of John to those of Jesus, and to smooth out potential conflicts between these two figures, something that is accomplished in 7:18–28, 31–35.

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[57] H. A. Fischel, "Studies in Cynicism and the Ancient Near East: The Transformation of a Chreia," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ransdall Goodenough* (ed. Jacob Neusner; Studies in the History of Religions 14; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), 372–411.

[58] Douglas R. Edwards, "First Century Urban/Rural Relations in Lower Galilee: Exploring the Archaeological and Literary Evidence," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 169–82; Overman, "Who Were the First Urban Christians? Urbanization in Galilee in the First Century"; Goodman, *State and Society*, 64–89.

[59] Burton L. Mack, *Anecdotes and Arguments: The Chreia in Antiquity and Early Christianity* (Institute for Antiquity and Christianity: Occasional Papers; Claremont, Calif.: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1987), 4.

That the transmitting group found it necessary or useful to resort to chreiai is itself telling. Q's chreiai are not merely didactic and corrective; they are combative. They are not simply the outcome of the immanent tendencies of a group to define itself, but are responses to the dissonances produced at least by a perceived failure of the group's vision of the kingdom and probably by the indifference or, perhaps, hostility of other groups. In this context, it became important to establish group boundaries and to defend the image of the founder and those associated with him.

2. Defining the Boundaries

The definition of boundaries and the defense of Jesus are simultaneous. One of the important strategies of this defense is the alignment of John, Jesus and their followers with a mythic "Israel." At this stage of the editing of Q, the term "Israel" makes its appearance (Q 7:9; 22:30), and notwithstanding the single allusion to Solomon's proverbial wealth in Q[1], it is only here that one finds appeal to Abraham (Q 3:8; 13:28) and to other heroes of Israel's epic history: Abel and Zachariah (Q 11:51), Isaac and Jacob (Q 13:28), Jonah (Q 11:29–30, 32), Lot (Q 17:28–29), Noah (Q 17:26–27), Solomon (Q 11:31) and the prophets (Q 6:23c; 11:49–51; 13:34–35). Not only is Jesus aligned with John as the fulfillment of John's announcement of a Coming One (Q 3:16–17; 7:18–23) and as one of Sophia's children (Q 7:31–35); but Jesus and those whom he represents are aligned with the heroes of Israel: what he preaches is comparable with, indeed even greater than, Solomon's wisdom and Jonah's preaching; the table at which he will sit is the patriarchs' table and the thrones he promises to his followers are the thrones of Israel.

The Sayings Gospel and the Q people thus visualize themselves as the culminating expression of "Israel." They are, to be sure, aware of competing definitions of Israel, and hence are required to distinguish this "Israel" from those other definitions. Abraham becomes one of the foci of the dispute. The Q people evidently thought it important to retain the category "children of Abraham" and so tried to provide a characterization of true filiation with Abraham. Q begins programmatically with John's warning that physical descent is not sufficient to spare one from the coming wrath (Q 3:8–9). Competitors' understandings of "Israel" are further undermined by contrasts between faith-filled Gentiles and non-believing Jews (Q 7:1–10, 31–35; 10:13–15; 11:31–32) and between the kinsfolk of Jesus who end [95] up excluded (Q 13:25–27) and far-off Gentiles who will enjoy the fellowship of Abraham's table (Q 13:28–30).

The decisive taxic indicator in the definition of this "Israel" is repentance. This is a term that the Q group absorbed from the orbit of the Deuteronomistic tradition, perhaps mediated by Baptist circles. The term makes its first appearance in Q on John's lips (Q 3:8). Although its connotations for John can no

longer be known with certainty, what it meant for the Q people can be determined from the context in which the Sayings Gospel uses the term. "Repent" recurs at Q 10:13 and 11:32. In the first instance it has to do with the expected response to the viewing of the miraculous, and in the second, it concerns the actual reaction to Jonah's preaching. Recognition of divine activity is the common denominator here: the saying parallel to Q 11:32 pairs "coming" to hear Solomon's wisdom (Q 11:31) with repentance. The same is true elsewhere. Jesus' commendation of the centurion is based on his recognition of Jesus' ἐξουσία (Q 7:9–10); John's messengers are directed to Jesus' thaumaturgic activities (Q 7:22); "this generation" is criticized for its blindness to Sophia's children (Q 7:31–35) and her prophets (Q 11:49–51; 13:34–35); Jesus' opponents are blamed for ignoring the divine power at work both in Jewish exorcists and in Jesus himself (Q 11:19–20); and his contemporaries are rejected because they failed to know, and to be known by, the "householder" (Q 13:25–27).

Thus it would seem that repentance for Q is not a matter of individual contrition for one's sinfulness, but hearkens back to the classical prophetic usage, where repentance signals a recognition of the covenantal relationship. According to the Q people, "this generation" has failed to recognize that the true Israel is to be found with Jesus' followers. They have not repented. It is at this point that the "self-evident" character of the identification with a mythic "Israel" is most clearly seen, even though Q seems also to concede that the phenomena which demand the response of repentance are sometimes tinged with ambiguity, as is the case with the apparently contradictory behavior of John and Jesus (Q 7:33–34). Nevertheless, Q's polemic reveals that recognition, whether simple or not, did not occur, and it singles out the towns of Chorazin, Bethsaida and Capernaum for special criticism.

Social boundaries are intimately connected with the evocation of a mythic Israel. The Sayings Gospel places itself in the sweep of the history of faithful response to God and faithful service to Sophia, beginning with Noah and Lot, continuing through the patriarchs and prophets (including John), and culminating in the final appearance of the reign of God. But there is a remarkable ambivalence with this "Israel" since, on the one hand, those who hold competing definitions of Israel are excluded, while [96] the traditional ethnic boundaries are effaced so that Gentiles can enter this Israel. Remarkable, too, is the fact that Moses does not figure at all in Q's self-definition, and Jerusalem is treated not merely like the faithless Galilean towns, but is mythologized as the ancient opponent of God's envoys. This confrontation is epitomized by the report of the murder of a prophet in the heart of sacred space, the Temple (Q 11:51a), and the subsequent abandonment of that sacred space.

3. Social Location of the Q People

It has already been suggested that Q found its home in either Galilee or perhaps an adjacent area such as the Decapolis, and that at least some of the activities of the Q people are assumed to occur in the context of the village. It is important, however, to note in regard to the "mission" material in Q 10:2–16, that this unit has already undergone redaction by the insertion of Q 10:13–15 and the creation of the transitional verse, 10:12. From the perspective of the redaction of Q, the "missionary" efforts outlined in Q 10:2–11 (16) seem to have ended in relative failure. When this is coupled with the fact that Q speaks of Gentiles in strikingly positive terms, the possibility is raised that the later stages of Q reflect either a movement beyond predominantly Jewish areas, say, the Decapolis or the coastal region, or a move into the cities (properly so-called) and large towns of Galilee where the presence of Gentiles would be more likely. It could be noted that Q 7:31–35 takes for granted that the agora is a place where judgment occurs,[60] and accordingly presupposes the civic plan of a Greek city rather than a Galilean village.[61] The same conclusion is suggested if the occurrences of πλατεῖα ("broad street," "plaza") in Luke 10:10; 13:26 and 14:21 (all in Q contexts) belong to Q rather than to Lukan redaction.[62]

The concrete social circumstances reflected by Q redaction can be seen in part. The importance laid on the characterization of Jesus and his foes, the use of polemic, and the language of boundary and division indicate that the Q group saw the need to erect defensible social boundaries, something not yet in evidence at the formative stage. The tenor of Q^1 is extremely optimistic about the prospects for the kingdom: it will appear mysteriously but rapidly, like the growth of mustard or leaven (Q 13:18–21), like the inevitable disclosure of secrets (Q 12:2). The prospects for the "harvest" are great, despite the scarcity of laborers (Q 10:2) and the dangers that face them (Q 10:3). Evidently what was expected did not materialize. Perhaps the purveyors of Q^1, who as typical scribes took seriously their responsibilities to influence the direction of society,

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[60] Wendy Cotter, "The Parable of the Children in the Market Place, Q (Lk) 7:31–35: An Examination of the Parable's Image and Significance," *NovT* 29 (1987): 289–304.

[61] Goodman (*State and Society*, 54) notes that "no archaeology has yet revealed in Galilee an open central place on the model of those in the contemporary polis, though presumably they await discovery in Tiberias and Sepphoris at the very least." It should be added that Josephus *(Vita* 107) mentions the *agora* of Sepphoris (cf. the *agorai* of Jerusalem in *Bell.* 5.513).

[62] Hoffmann (*Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* [NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 (2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980)], 270) regards the "plateia-motif" as redactional in Luke 10:10 (so also Athanasius Polag, *Fragmenta Q: Textheft zur Logienquelle* [Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979], 46) but treats it as original in Luke 13:26 (*Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* [NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 [2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980]], 297 n. 27; similarly, Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 425 [apparently]; Polag, *Fragmenta Q*, 68). According to Josephus *(Bell.* 1.425; *Ant.* 16.148) Herod built and paved a *plateia* for the citizens of Syrian Antioch.

found themselves progressively marginalized both socially and economically in the society they wished to redeem. After all, the countercultural nature of [97] their vision, especially their views of debt and wealth, cannot have appealed to patrons and the local aristocracy upon whose benefactions the populace depended.

There may have been more specific tensions, too. The relatively lengthy polemic against the Pharisees suggests that the Q people saw the Pharisees as their principal competitors and the cause of their apparent failure. That this would be the case is by no means surprising. Mack observes that in comparison with the Pharisees who had "status, institutions, traditions, rationalized ethic and skill in argumentation on their side" the resources of the Q group were rather meager.[63]

Rather than taking on the Pharisees on what might be considered their own "turf," i.e., legal interpretation, Q uses the prophetic form of the woe oracle, but turns it into an instrument of lampoon. Without posing clear alternatives to the Pharisees' practices – as Matthew will later do – Q engages in ridicule and hyperbole designed to undermine the credibility of the Pharisees' vision of society.[64]

> [B]y poking at the system's self-evidence ..., by pocking its armour and chipping away at its veneer of perfection and completeness, the social conglomerate of tradition and invention was rendered more dubitable and, thus, more manageable, that is, inhabitable.

The rhetorical posture of the woes and the topics mentioned – scrupulous tithing, washing of vessels, having the seats of honour in the synagogues, greetings in the market place – suggest the vividness of local conflict rather than the studied distance of abstract and idealized reflection on the opponents. Nevertheless, Q does mythologize the conflict by its insertion of Q 11:49–51, the Sophia oracle, into the midst of the woes. The Pharisees are thereby aligned with the intransigence of "this generation" and the vaticides in the Temple, while the Q people call Sophia and her prophets to their corner.

The chief obstacle to the assumption that Q's primary conflict was with the Pharisees is the relative paucity of evidence for any sustained presence of either the Pharisees or the great scholars from Jerusalem in Galilee prior to 70 CE. Seán Freyne describes their presence as sporadic and evidently unsuccessful, a conclusion that the notably unproductive tenure of Yohanan ben Zakkai in Arav (near Sepphoris) also supports.[65] However, Freyne infers from Josephus'

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[63] Burton L. Mack, "The Kingdom That Didn't Come: A Social History of the Q Tradents," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLASP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 626.

[64] Leif E. Vaage, "The Woes in Q (and Matthew and Luke): Deciphering the Rhetoric of Criticism," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLASP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 584.

[65] See Jacob Neusner, *A Life of Yohanan Ben Zakkai: Ca. 1–80 C.E.* (2nd. revised ed.; SPB 6; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), 47–53.

reports regarding the destruction of Herod's palace in Tiberias *(Vita* 65–66), the resistance of some in Tarichaeae to the grant of asylum to Gentile refugees without their first being circumcised *(Vita* 112–13) and John of Gischala's sale of kosher oil to the Jews of Caesarea Philippi *(Vita* 74–77; *Bell* 2.591–93) that there were at least pockets influenced by Shammaite Pharisees.[66] This conclusion is attractive not least because Q 11:39b–41 betrays knowledge [98] of Shammaite distinctions regarding the purity of vessels.[67] On the other hand, the evidence of Josephus is suggestive rather than probative and at best indicates intermittent Pharisaic influence, and probably only in the cities.[68] The Sayings Gospel may itself serve as evidence, especially because the Q woes do not yet use the Pharisees as a stereotyped image of the enemy but seem to reflect local conflict. And the fact that immediately after the War Gamaliel Π, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and others were active in Galilee probably means that some foothold had been gained prior to 70 CE.

Q's rhetorical posture vis-à-vis the Pharisees indicates that it was not a matter of the struggle of two rival but more or less equal groups competing for social dominance. The woes, especially Q 11:43, 46, 52, concede that the opponents enjoy positions of honor in the synagogues and market places and that they are in a position to recommend modes of behavior to others and to prevent or discourage persons from embracing alternative modes. Since the reconstruction of Q is particularly difficult here, it is uncertain whether the complaint is with the Pharisees alone (Q 11:39, 42) or also with scribes. As is well known, Matthew uses the two terms as a kind of hendiadys while Luke directs the first set of woes to the Pharisees and the second to the "lawyers," i.e., the scribes. In any event, the opponents here are not the indigenous lower-level notaries, school teachers and petty administrators (who belonged to the scribal sector) but scholars, presumably from Jerusalem, whose status and influence made the conflict with the Q people a distinctively uneven one.

The fact that Q 11:49–51 aligns the Pharisees (and scribes?) with Jerusalem and the Temple may not be accidental. Employing the typology of Lenski,[69] Anthony Saldarmi has suggested that Pharisees would have functioned in Galilee as retainers of interests in Jerusalem. The Pharisees' emphasis upon tithing and their priestly model of piety made them especially attractive to the

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[66] Freyne (*Galilee*, 311–18) argues that all three incidents reflect prescriptions of the 18 *halakhôth* of the Shammaites who gained ascendancy in Jerusalem prior to the War. See *y. Šabb.* 1,3c; *b. Šabb.* 17b; *b. 'Abod. Zar.* 36a; *m. Šabb.* 1:4.

[67] See Jacob Neusner, "'First Cleanse the Inside': The Halakic Background of a Controversy Saying," *NTS* 22 (1976): 486–95.

[68] Freyne's suggestion of their presence in Bethsaida, Chorazin and Capernaum (*Galilee*, 322) is apparently based only upon Q 10:13–15, which does not specifically mention either the Pharisees or the scribes.

[69] Gerhard Emmanuel Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984; repr., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 214–96.

hierocracy in Jerusalem who wished to collect taxes and to exert influence in a region that lay outside their direct political control.[70] As retainers, the Pharisees' presence would be restricted mainly to the cities (i.e., the centers of tax collection).

This seems to fit the evidence of Q quite well: Q's opponents are encountered in the large towns, in the agora (of a city); they evidently have influence and status, and they can easily be aligned with the interests of Jerusalem and the Temple. Conflict with the elite members of the scribal establishment may also make intelligible Q's use of the Deuteronomistic motif of the killing of the prophets. Not only was this complex at home among scribes, wisdom teachers and the successors of the Hasidim[71]; its appearance in early Christian literature (Acts 7:42; Mark 12:1–9; [99] 1 Thess 2:15–16) demonstrates that it was ideally suited to polemical deployment, especially against opponents who enjoyed positions of power or influence. Conflict with southern scribes or Pharisees who promoted a hierocratically oriented vision of "Israel" also renders intelligible Q's conscious polemic against other views of Israel (3:7–9; 13:28–29) and especially its lack of reference to the Torah, Temple, purifications or *kashrut* – ingredients that would be fundamental to the opponent's "Israel."

The Final Redaction and its Public

As noted above, I have assigned to the final stage of redaction the Temptation story (Q 4:1–13) and two glosses, Q 11:42c and 16:17.[72] What is common to all three is the premise of the enduring validity of the Torah. It is frequently observed that the repartee using biblical quotations in the Temptation story is reminiscent of the later haggadic midrashim which, of course, were scholarly products. Even though the intent of Q's story is not exegetical, it is clear that the story is framed to depict Jesus not only as learned in the Torah but as obedient to it. This represents something of an anomaly when viewed against the earlier strata of Q, which display no tendency to ground or justify either their ethics or their polemic by recourse to the Torah. It is also notable that Q 4:9–12 places Jesus in or on the Temple without betraying the least embarrassment about associating him with the institution that Q 13:35 declares to be

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[70] Anthony J. Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes and Sadducees in Palestinian Society: A Sociological Approach* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1988), 35–49, 277–97; "Political and Social Roles of the Pharisees and Scribes in Galilee," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 205.

[71] Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), 206–15.

[72] See Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q" [Chap. 8 in this volume].

desolate, and whose principal functions the remainder of Q has ignored. The narrative line of Q 4:9–12 merely requires altitude: any cliff, tall building or tower would do. Q^3's choice of the Temple is not innocent, but implies a positive and traditional image of the Temple as a sacred space where angels would naturally be present to aid holy persons.

The two tertiary glosses are similar in character. Q 11:42ab had painted an absurd caricature of Pharisaic practice as part of its polemical strategy.[73] With the addition of Q 11:42c, however, the focus shifts from lampoon to a more measured objection and the offer of an alternative: the Pharisee's practice, though misconceived, is perfectly wholesome once it is seen in a theologically appropriate framework. What is notable here is that the rhetoric of Q is no longer that of a group which lashes out at a rival with whom it cannot speak as equals, but that of a group which has come to appreciate the intellectual accomplishments of its rivals and can now confidently offer alternatives from within the logic of that system. What Q^3 begins, Matthew will continue with a vengeance.

It is also the consciousness of the importance of the Torah which seems to have inspired the addition of Q 16:17 as a mitigation of the [**100**] troubling assertion in Q 16:16, which might be taken to imply the end of the Law and the Prophets. This self-consciousness bespeaks a growing awareness of the need for an apologetic which explicitly appeals to the Torah. This development may be due to dynamics immanent in the group – for example, antinomian tendencies – which are most effectively addressed by an appeal to an obvious symbol of authority. Or it may be that continued conflict with scribes who took Torah obedience to be normative eventually moved the Q people to an apologetic response based on Torah.

Since this level of redaction is so sparce, the data are lacking for a detailed reconstruction of the social situation of the final stratum. Nevertheless, the character of these three texts suggests a situation of rising valuation of the Torah both as a redemptive medium and as a basis for argument and apologetics. Correspondingly, there is a rising confidence in the group's ability to respond to opponents in a way commensurate with their real or imagined criticism.

The implication of this shift in rhetorical stance is probably that during the course of the struggle with the southern scribes or Pharisees, the Q group either absorbed enough of its opponents' ethos to make the Torah and Temple an integral part of their system's architecture, or that in spite of Q's repeated statements about Israel's non-response, the group succeeded in attracting scholars, perhaps only a handful, for whom the institutions of Torah and Temple had essential and positive meaning.

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[73] Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q."

Conclusion

The social matrix from which the Sayings Gospel emerges is dominated at every stage by persons in the scribal sector. Beginning in the lower levels of the scribal class, probably in the villages and large towns of Galilee, the Q group solidified around a vision of society that was countercultural in important regards. The framers of the formative stratum chose a typically scribal genre, the instruction, as the vehicle by which to codify the Jesus traditions. At this stage, the evidence of strong boundary language is slight, though not entirely wanting. Consistent with the genre of Q^1, the emphasis is upon the characterization of the divine ethos, not upon the defense of the ethos of its human purveyors.

Boundaries and defensive strategies are evident, however, at the second stratum of redaction, where elaborated chreiai are used to characterize John, Jesus and their opponents. The Deuteronomistic view of history and the construction of a mythic "Israel" serve to establish group identity and group boundaries, and to rationalize the group's general lack of success in promoting its vision. To judge from the resort to the typically [**101**] Hellenistic form of the chreia, and from the strikingly positive characterization of Gentiles, the framers of this second stage were quite prepared to look beyond the boundaries of Israel and to embrace both Hellenistic learning and Gentiles, while at the same time rationalizing their identity by appeal to Israel's epic history.

At the final stage of redaction there is evidence of a significant shift in the character of Q's rhetoric, and a striking elevation of the institutions of Torah and Temple in Q's symbolic universe. The concern to ground arguments in the Torah and the willingness to engage the Pharisees with what is perceived to be their own logic probably signal, on the one hand, a rising confidence in the group's ability to hold its place in society and, on the other, an attenuation of the countercultural aspects of the group's activities and a domestication of its message.

Addendum

The suggestions make in this essay regarding the origins of Q within the sector of low-level scribes and bureaucrats has been developed considerably in William E. Arnal, *Jesus and the Village Scribes: Galilean Conflicts and the Setting of Q* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001); idem, "Why Q Failed: From Ideological Project to Group Formation," in *Redescribing Christian Origins* (ed. Ron Cameron and Merrill P. Miller; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 67–87; idem, "The Trouble with Q," *Forum* 2, no. 1 (2013): 7–77, esp. 31–32, 39–40, 55–68; Giovanni Battista Bazzana, "Village Scribes Behind Q: The Social and Political Profile of the Sayings Gospel in Light of Documentary Papyri," in *Auf Fels oder Sand*

Gebaut? Die Q-Forschung: Rückblicke – Einblicke – Ausblicke (ed. Christoph Heil; BETL; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), forthcoming; idem, *Kingdom and Bureaucracy: The Political Theology of Galilean Village Scribes* (BETL; Leuven: Peeters, 2014); and Sarah Rollens, "Framing Social Criticism in the Jesus Movement: The Ideological Project in the Sayings Gospel Q," Ph.D. diss., Department for the Study of Religion (University of Toronto, 2013).

Chapter 11

The Sayings Gospel Q: Literary and Stratigraphic Problems[1]

Helmut Koester
zum 70. Geburtstag

I. Introduction

The existence of the Sayings Gospel Q is an inference of the most commonly accepted solution to the Synoptic problem, the Two Document Hypothesis. On this hypothesis, Matthew and Luke were composed independently of one another, but both on the basis of two antecedent documents, a narrative gospel (Mark) and a gnomologium or chriae collection commonly known as "Q"[2] or the Sayings Gospel Q. This article surveys recent literary-critical and theological analyses of Q.

Although the Sayings Gospel is no longer extant, it can be reconstructed principally from two types of synoptic materials: (1) from the so-called "double tradition" material, where Matthew and Luke display significant agreements in the absence of Markan parallels and (2) from the triple tradition materials where Matthew and Luke have versions of stories or sayings that depart substantially from those preserved in Mark.

Despite the wide acceptance enjoyed by the Two Document Hypothesis, it is far from being "an assured finding" of Synoptic scholar[2]ship.[3] There are synoptic data (normally termed the "minor agreements" of Matthew and Luke

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[1] First published as "The Sayings Gospel Q: Literary and Stratigraphic Problems." *Symbols and Strata: Essays on the Sayings Gospel Q*. Ed. Risto Uro. Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65. Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996. 1–66. ©Finnish Exegetical Society. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.

[2] On the siglum "Q," see Frans Neirynck, "The Symbol Q (= Quelle)," *ETL* 54 (1978): 119–25; idem, "Once More – The Symbol Q," *ETL* 55 (1979): 382–83. On the use of the term "Sayings Gospel Q," see idem, "Q: From Source to Gospel," *ETL* 71 (1995): 421–30.

[3] Cf. Willi Marxsen, *Introduction to the New Testament: An Approach to Its Problems* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 118: "This Two-Sources [sic] theory has been so widely accepted by scholars that one feels inclined to abandon the term 'theory' (in the sense of 'hypothesis'). We can in fact regard it as an assured finding – but we must bear in mind that there are inevitable uncertainties as far as the extent and form of Q and the special material are concerned."

against Mark) which pose some explanatory difficulties.[4] Attempts to solve these problems sometimes involve more complex forms of the Two Document hypothesis – either an earlier form of Mark (Ur-Markus) or a secondary development of Mark (deutero-Markus).[5] Other solutions require extensive Mark-Q overlaps or the dependence of Mark upon Q.[6]

A significant minority of scholars has abandoned the Two Document hypothesis altogether, opting for a return to the so-called "Augustinian" hypothesis (Mark used Matthew, Luke used both),[7] or the Griesbach hypothesis (Luke used Matthew, Mark used both).[8] A few adopt the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis

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[4] The principal study of these is Frans Neirynck, *The Minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark: With a cumulative list* (BETL 37; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1974). See also idem, "Deuteromarcus et les accords Matthieu-Luc," in *Evangelica [I]: Gospel Studies – Études d'Évangile: Collected Essays* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck; BETL 60; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 769–80; idem, "Les accords mineurs et la rédaction des évangiles," in *Evangelica [I]: Gospel Studies – Études d'Évangile: Collected Essays* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck; BETL 60; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 781–96; idem, "Minor Agreements Matthew - Luke in the Transfiguration Story," in *Evangelica [I]: Gospel Studies – Études d'Évangile: Collected Essays* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck; BETL 60; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 797–820; idem, "The Minor Agreements and the Two-Source Theory," in *Evangelica II: 1982–1991 Collected Essays* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck; BETL 99; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1991), 3–42; idem, "The Minor Agreements and Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 49–72; Georg Strecker, ed., *Minor Agreements: Symposium Göttingen 1991* (Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten 50; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993); Andreas Ennulat, *Die "Minor Agreements": Untersuchung zu einer offenen Frage des synoptischen Problems* (WUNT 2. Serie 62; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994).

[5] See Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International; London: SCM Press, 1990), 275–86; Ennulat, *Minor Agreements*.

[6] These problems are discussed in William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1964); E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London; Philadelphia: SCM Press; Trinity Press International, 1989), 51–119; Robert H. Stein, *The Synoptic Problem: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1987); Frans Neirynck, "Synoptic Problem," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy; Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1990), 587–95; David L. Dungan, ed., *The Interrelations of the Gospels: A Symposium Led by M.-E. Boismard – W. R. Farmer – F. Neirynck. Jerusalem 1984* (BETL 95; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1990).

A helpful anthology on the Two Document Hypothesis has been edited by Arthur J. Bellinzoni, ed., *The Two-Source Hypothesis: A Critical Appraisal* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985).

[7] B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew: A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951).

[8] Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*; Thomas R.W. Longstaff, *Evidence of Conflation in Mark? A Study in the Synoptic Problem* (SBLDS 28; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1977); David L. Dungan, "A Griesbach Perspective on the

(Matthew used Mark, Luke used both),[9] or a variety of much more complex hypotheses, entailing [3] numerous intermediary sources and multiple dependencies.[10] None of these alternate solutions is without merit and each accounts for some of the synoptic data. Yet each also faces serious difficulties and some require elaborate and highly improbable scenarios to explain the final state of the gospels. A convincing solution to the Synoptic Problem has two requirements. On the one hand, it should account for the synoptic data in a way that satisfies the logical requirement of parsimony: sources and documents should not be multiplied except where logically required. Several solutions to the Synoptic problem, each with the same general degree of complexity, satisfy this criterion. But a convincing solution must also provide a historically and technically credible description of the literary procedures used in composing the gospels. It is at this point that many of the logically possible solutions encounter difficulties. While not without its problems, the Two Document hypothesis has commended itself on both accounts.

While this is not the place for a full review of the Synoptic problem and its various solutions, two points should be made, both having to do with the hypothetical character of Q. First, it is frequently pointed out that Q scholarship is built on a hypothesis.[11] This is of course quite correct. This revelation, however, normally appears in the context of efforts to mitigate the conclusions of Q scholarship or to reject them altogether. It is seldom if ever acknowledged by persons who make such statements that *all* Synoptic scholarship, to the extent that it relies on *any* solution to the Synoptic problem, is likewise hypothetical. Indeed, the very text of the New Testament, as a reconstruction of a set of first and early second century document based mainly on manuscripts from at least two centuries later and often more, and employing *hypotheses*

Argument from Order," in *Synoptic Studies: The Ampleforth Conferences of 1982 and 1983* (ed. Christopher M. Tuckett; JSNTSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 67–74.

[9] See Austin M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q," in *Studies in the Gospels in Memory of R.H. Lightfoot* (ed. Dennis E. Nineham; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 57–88; Michael D. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm* (JSNTSup 20; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989). [Ed. note: See now Mark S. Goodacre, *The Case Against Q: Studies in Markan Priority and the Synoptic Problem* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002) and the response to Goodacre in chap. 3].

[10] E.g., Léon Vaganay, *Le problème synoptique: une hypothèse de travail* (with a preface by Lucien Cerfaux; Bibliothèque de théologie, Série 3: Théologie biblique 1; Tournai: Desclée & Cie., 1954); Marie-Emile Boismard, *Synopse des quatre évangiles en français. Tome 2: Commentaire* (with a preface by Pierre Benoit; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1972); idem, *Evangile de Marc: sa préhistoire* (Etudes bibliques, nouvelle série 26; Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1994); Philippe Rolland, "Les évangiles des premières communautés chrétiennes," *RB* 90 (1983): 161–201.

[11] E.g., Adelbert Denaux, review of Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts*, *JBL* 115 no 1 (1996): 136–138 (137): "One should remain conscious of the hypothetical character of the documentary basis on which Vaage's description of the Q-group is based.... The text of Q itself remains a hypothetical reconstruction."

regarding the transmission of manuscripts and the nature of their corruption, is likewise hypothetical. To point out [4] that Q is "hypothetical" or that the text of Q must be reconstructed is not to differentiate it from other aspects of the study of the New Testament. *Hypotheses are all we have by which to process the various data available.*

Second, precisely because Q is the product of the Two Document hypothesis, which has the limitations inherent in any hypothesis, the literary analysis of the Sayings Gospel is dependent upon a more or less probable reconstruction of the extent of Q. While an impressive consensus exists among specialists in study of the Sayings Gospel regarding its contents, there are nonetheless important disagreements. These varying estimations of the original extent of Q depend upon whether one adheres to the "minimal Q text" – that is, only those pericopae in which Matthew and Luke display substantial agreements, either in the absence of a Markan parallel or against the existing Markan parallel[12] – or whether one includes other pericopae as well.

Expansions beyond the minimal Q text fall into two general categories: (1) special material (*Sondergut*) in Matthew which Luke may have omitted for editorial reasons (or special Lukan material which Matthew may have omitted), and (2) triple tradition pericopae which contain a small number of "minor agreements" of Matthew and Luke against Mark and hence may betray a Q *Vorlage*.

1. In the course of a century and a half of scholarship on Q, a number of *Sondergut* texts have been included in various reconstruc[5]tions of Q: Luke 6:24–26,[13] Matt 5:41,[14] Luke 9:61–62,[15] Matt 10:5b–6,[16] Matt 10:23,[17] Matt

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[12] The minimal Q text is normally understood to include (in Lukan order and versification): **3:**7–9, 16b–17; **4:**1–13; **6:**20b–23, 27–33, 35c, 36-37b, 38c, 6:39-49; **7:**1b-2, 6-10, 18-19, 21-23, 24-28, 31-35; **9:**57-60; **10:**2-16, 21-24; **11:**2-4, 9-13, 14-20, 23-26, 29-32, 33-35, 39-44, 46-52; **12:**2-12, 22-31, 33-34, 39-40, 42b-46, 49, 51-53, 54-56, 58-59; **13:**18-21, 24, 26-27, 28-29, [30], 34-35; **14:**11/18:14; 14:16-24, 26-27; **14:**34-35; **15:**4-7; **16:**13, 16, 17, 18; **17:**1b[-2], 3b-4, 6b, 23-24, 26-27, 30, 33, 34-35, 37b; **19:**12-13, 15b-26; **22:**28-30. See Frans Neirynck, *Q-Synopsis: The Double Tradition Passages in Greek* (Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia 13; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1988); idem, "The Double Tradition Text (Q Reconstructions)," in: Frans Neirynck and Frans Van Segbroeck, *New Testament Vocabulary: A Companion Volume to the Concordance* (BETL 65; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1984), 489–94; James M. Robinson, Leif Vaage, and Jon Daniels, *Pap. Q* (Claremont: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1985).

[13] For a summary of the arguments for and against inclusion in Q, see John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* (Foundations and Facèts: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988), 26. [Ed. note: The *CEQ* omits Luke 6:24–26 from Q.]

[14] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 30. [Ed. note: Q/Matt 5:41 is included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[15] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 64. [Ed. note: Luke 9:61–62 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[16] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 72; David R. Catchpole, "The Mission Charge in Q," in

11:23b–24,[18] Matt 11:28–30,[19] Luke 11:5–8,[20] Luke 11:27–28,[21] Luke 12:13–14, 16–20,[22] Luke 12:35–38,[23] Luke 15:8–10,[24] 17:20–21,[25] and 17:28–29.[26] Some of these have a much better claim than others, and a set of criteria may now be suggested for evaluating such texts. Only a pericope that fulfills at least some of the following conditions should be considered for inclusion in Q: (a) if it is a component of a text already clearly belonging to Q, (b) if it coheres stylistically and formally with other Q pericopae, (c) if it reflects the material emphases and ethos of other portions of Q, and provided that (d) there are grounds for supposing that the evangelist who preserved the pericope did not in fact create it and (e) there are good reasons for the other evangelist to have omitted the pericope.[27] [6]

Early Christianity, Q and Jesus (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage; Semeia 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 147–74. [Ed. note: Matt 10:5b–6 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[17] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 126. [Ed. note: Matt 10:23 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[18] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 74. [Ed. note: Matt 11:23b–24 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[19] Dieter Lührmann, *Die Redaktion der Logienquelle* (WMANT 33; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 99. [Ed. note: Matt 11:28–30 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[20] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 88; David R. Catchpole, "Q and the 'Friend at Midnight' (Luke xi.5–8/9)," *JTS* NS 34 (1983): 407–24. [Ed. note: Luke 11:5–8 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[21] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 96. [Ed. note: Luke 11:27–28 is included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[22] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 128. [Ed. note: Luke 12:13–14, 16–20 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[23] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 136; see more recently Bernd Kollmann, "Lk 12, 35–38 – ein Gleichnis der Logienquelle?" *ZNW* 81, no. 3/4 (1990): 254–61; Claus-Peter März, "Zur Q-Rezeption in Lk 12,35–13,35 (14,1–24). Die Q-Hypothese und ihre Bedeutung für die Interpretation des lukanischen Reiseberichtes," in *The Synoptic Gospels: Source Criticism and New Literary Criticism* (ed. Camille Focant; BETL 110; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1993), 177–208. [Ed. note: Luke 12:35–38 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[24] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 176. [Ed. note: Q 15:8–10 is included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[25] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 188. [Ed. note: Luke 17:20–2` is included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[26] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 192–94. [Ed. note: Luke 17:28–29 is not included in the reconstruction of the *CEQ*].

[27] This list is an adaptation of the criteria proposed by Petros Vassiliadis, "The Nature and Extent of the Q Document," *NovT* 20 (1978): 67. He includes the presence of "country-life language" as a criterion and suggests that Lukan texts from Luke's "Great Insertion" (Luke 9:51–18:14) should be given a priority (presuming, evidently, that they meet the other criteria). [Ed. note: see further, John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 91–101].

The rigorous application of such considerations might lead to a modest expansion of Q but would not, in fact, affect its overall character, since (b) and (c) would exclude materials that differ significantly from the minimal Q text.

2. The second type of "additional" pericopae pose a more complicated problem. To account for all of the "minor agreements" of Matthew and Luke against Mark by positing Q versions parallel to Mark would entail a significant expansion of the extent of Q. Since some of the minor agreements fall in the passion narrative, such a procedure has the potential to affect the character of the document itself. For example, in the mockery scene of the Passion narrative Matthew (26:68) and Luke (22:64) agree in using the taunt τίς ἐστιν ὁ παίσας σε; This minor agreement does not, however, gainsay the prevailing view that Q did not contain a passion narrative, since on the one hand, this agreement, along with the handful of other such phrases in Matt 26–27 and Luke 22–23,[28] can be accounted for more plausibly without positing a Q passion narrative,[29] and on the other, the agreements that do exist are very far from forming a connected or coherent narrative, or even a single episode in the Passion.

Even if there is little to commend the view that the Sayings Gospel had a passion narrative, there are other "minor agreements" in triple tradition chriae and sayings which, if they were to derive from a Q version, might affect the reconstruction of the theology of Q. Within the minimal Q text, there are no controversies dealing with Torah interpretation, and the three pericopae which presuppose [7] the validity of the Torah (Q 4:1–13; 11:42c; 16:17) have the appearance of being late interpolations (see below). However, a few scholars suggest that the agreements of Matthew and Luke in Mark 12:28–34 || Matt 22:34–40 || Luke 10:25–28 should be explained by recourse to a Q version of

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[28] W. E. Bundy (*Jesus and the First Three Gospels* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955], 481, 499, 500, 502) suggested that Luke 22:25-27, 28-30, 35-36 were from Q while F. C. Burkitt (*The Gospel History and Its Transmission* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906], 134–35) argued that 22:28-30, which he took to be a passion saying, was from Q. However, these materials are not narratives but sayings, and 22:28-30 (without its Lukan last supper setting) is normally assigned to Q. E. Hirsch (*Frühgeschichte des Evangeliums. I: Das Werden des Markus-evangeliums. II. Die Vorlagen des Lukas und das Sondergut des Matthäus* [Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1940–1941 [2. Aufl. 1951]], 245–48) also assigned Luke 22:48, 62, 64, 69 and 24:47 to Q, but in this has not been followed. See John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 85–87.

[29] Swithun McLoughlin, "Les accords mineurs Mt-Lc contre Mc et le problème synoptique: Vers la théorie des deux sources," in *De Jésus aux évangiles: Tradition et rédaction dans les évangiles synoptique. Donum Natalicium J. Coppens, II* (ed. Ignace De la Potterie; BETL 25; Gembloux; Paris: Duculot; Lethielleux, 1967), 17–40; Frans Neirynck, "ΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ Ο ΠΑΙΣΑΣ ΣΕ; Mt 26,68/Lk 22,64 (Diff. Mk 14,65)," *ETL* 63 (1987): 5–47.

the inquiry about the greatest commandment.[30] If this were to be included in Q, prevailing views of the nature of the document and its earliest audience(s) would have to be reassessed.

Notwithstanding these difficulties and the inevitable disputes over the inclusion and reconstruction of various pericopae, there is a remarkable consensus in at least the general contours and content of the Sayings Gospel.[31] And although the problems involved in the reconstruction of the wording of Q are not to be minimized,[32] it should be noted that between Matthew and Luke there already exists better than fifty percent agreement in the approximately 4500 words of the minimal Q text.[33] [8]

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[30] Most of the major reconstruction of Q do not include this pericope. See, however, Reginald H. Fuller, "Das Doppelgebot der Liebe: Ein Testfall für die Echtheitskriterion der Worte Jesu," in *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie: Neutestamentliche Festschrift für Hans Conzelmann zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. Georg Strecker; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1975), 317–29; Arland J. Hultgren, "The Double Commandment of Love in Mt 22:34–40: Source and Composition," *CBQ* 36 (1974): 373–78; Dieter Zeller, *Kommentar zur Logienquelle* (Stuttgarter kleiner Kommentar, Neues Testament 21; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984), 70; Jan Lambrecht, "The Great Commandment Pericope and Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 73–96. John Dominic Crossan (*In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* [New York: Harper & Row, 1973], 58–68) argues that both Luke 10:25–28 and the following parable (10:29–37) were taken from Q.

[31] This consensus has been documented in Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, ad loc. See also Neirynck and Van Segbroeck, *New Testament Vocabulary*, 489–94.

[32] A team of approximately twenty-five scholars comprising the "International Q Project" (sponsored by the Society of Biblical Literature) was been organized to establish and maintain a critical text of the Sayings Gospel Q. The project is producing collaborative and fully documented reconstructions of Q, and publishes a summary of its work yearly in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*: see James M. Robinson, "The International Q Project Work Session 17 November 1989," *JBL* 109 (1990): 499–501; idem, "The International Q Project Work Session 16 November 1990," *JBL* 110 (1991): 494–498; idem, "The International Q Project Work Session 16 November 1991," *JBL* 111 (1992): 500–508; Milton C. Moreland and James M. Robinson, "The International Q Project Work Sessions 31 July – 2 August, 20 November 1992," *JBL* 112 (1993): 500–506; iidem, "The International Q Project Work Sessions 6–8 August, 18–19 November 1993," *JBL* 113 (1994): 495–499; iidem, "The International Q Project Work Sessions 23–27 May, 22–26 August, 17–18 November 1994," *JBL* 114 (1995): 475–485. [See also, iidem, "The International Q Project Work Sessions (1995–1996)," *JBL* 116, no. 3 (1997): 521–25. This project has now responsible for James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), hereafter *CEQ*), and for the series *Documenta Q: Reconstructions of Q through two Centuries of Gospel Research* (Leuven: Peeters, 1996–.)]

[33] The statistics are taken from Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 209.

II. The Literary Analysis of Q

That the Sayings Gospel Q contains materials of varying ages and provenances has long been recognized. The earlier phases of scholarship on Q discussed this heterogeneity in terms of tradition history rather than literary stratrigraphy. In his first and only essay devoted to Q, Rudolf Bultmann noted the duality created by the juxtaposition of sayings which presuppose the imminent arrival of the reign of God with others which focus exclusively upon the present and in which the reign of God has more ecclesiological than eschatological significance.[34]

During the renewal of the intensive study of the Q in the years between Paul Meyer's *The Community of Q* and Siegfried Schulz's *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten*[35] a key issue has been that of the composition and composition history of Q. The debate has issued in a strong consensus on several matters, but profound disagreement on others. On the one hand, there is agreement on two seemingly divergent points: First, the Sayings Gospel is clearly a composite document, and in fact, the issue of stratigraphy is recognized as central to any attempt to define the genre and theology of the document. Second, it is also recognized that the character and arrangement of the component sayings are such that the caricature of Q as a "random collection of sayings" is entirely wrong.

The initial credit for demonstrating a basic level of internal coherence in Q goes to Dieter Lührmann, who showed that at one stage of the formation of Q the motifs of the announcement of judgment and the polemic against "this generation" played the decisive role in literary organization.[36] Hence one can

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[34] Rudolf K. Bultmann, "Was lässt die Spruchquelle über die Urgemeinde erkennen?" *Oldenburgisches Kirchenblatt* 19 (1913): 35–37, 41–44; ET, "What the Saying Source Reveals About the Early Church," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (ed. and trans. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 23–34.

[35] Paul Donald Meyer, "The Community of Q," Ph.D. diss. (University of Iowa, 1967); Lührmann, *Redaktion*; Paul Hoffmann, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 [2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980]); Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972).

[36] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, passim. This judgment has been accepted and further verified by Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978), 95–98, 145–46, 193–95, 225–31; idem, "The Literary Unity of Q: Lc 10,2–16 and Parallels as a Test Case," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus - The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 419–23; idem, "The Literary Unity of Q," *JBL* 101, no. 3 (1982): 365–89; Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 102–70;.

Lührmann's conclusion has been accepted (with various modifications) by Dieter Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse und wechselnder 'Sitz im Leben' beim Q-Material," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 408 [ET]; idem, *Logienquelle*, 93–96; Volker Schönle, *Johannes, Jesus und die Juden: Die theologische*

now speak of Q as a "literary unity" [9] (Jacobson)[37] or as a "carefully redacted composition" (Koester),[38] although the exact nature and number of redactions is still in dispute. There is even some consensus in ascribing several Q pericopae to the most recent redactional stratum, however that stratum is understood.

On the other hand, neither the treatments of Meyer, Lührmann, Hoffmann or Schulz, nor those which have succeeded them,[39] show much agreement on one

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Position des Matthäus und des Verfassers der Redenquelle im Lichte von Mt. 11 (BBET 17; Frankfurt a/M; Bern: Peter Lang, 1982), 96–97; John Dominic Crossan, *In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 137–39; Philip Sellew, "Early Collections of Jesus' Words: The Development of Dominical Discourses," Th.D. diss., Harvard Divinity School (1986), 48; Leif E. Vaage, "Q: The Ethos and Ethic of an Itinerant Intelligence," Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School (1987), 19; Risto Uro, *Sheep Among the Wolves: A Study on the Mission Instructions of Q* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 47; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 4–5, 241; Migaku Sato, *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988), 44–46; Ronald A. Piper, *Wisdom in the Q-Tradition: The Aphoristic Teaching of Jesus* (SNTSMS 61; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 166–70; Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 135; Daniel Kosch, *Die eschatologische Tora des Menschensohnes: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Stellung Jesu zur Tora in Q* (NTOA 12; Freiburg Sw.: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 422–23.

[37] Jacobson, "Lc 10,2–16".

[38] Helmut Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels," *HTR* 73 (1980): 112.

[39] Heinz Schürmann, "Beobachtungen zum Menschensohn-Titel in der Redequelle," in *Jesus und der Menschensohn: Für Anton Vögtle* (ed. Rudolf Pesch and Rudolf Schnackenburg; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1975), 124–47 (ET: "Observations on the Son of Man Title in the Speech Source: Its Occurrence in Closing and Introductory Expressions," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* [ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994], 74–97); idem, "Das Zeugnis der Redenquelle für die Basileia-Verkündigung Jesu," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joel Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 121–200; idem, "Zur Kompositionsgeschichte der Redenquelle: Beobachtungen an der lukanischen Q-Vorlage," in *Der Treue Gottes trauen: Beiträge zum Werk des Lukas: Für Gerhard Schneider* (ed. Claus Bussmann and Walter Radl; Freiburg; Basel; Wien: Herder, 1991), 326–42; Athanasius Polag, *Die Christologie der Logienquelle* (Dr. Theol. diss., Trier (1969); WMANT 45; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977); Dieter Zeller, *Die weisheitlichen Mahnsprüche bei den Synoptikern* (FB 17; Würzburg: Echter, 1977); idem, "Die Versuchungen Jesu in der Logienquelle," *TTZ* 89 (1980): 61–73; idem, "Redaktionsprozesse"; idem, *Logienquelle*; Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology"; idem, "The Literary Unity"; idem, "Lc 10,2–16"; idem, *The First Gospel: An Introduction to Q* (Foundations and Facets: Reference Series; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1992); Walter Schmithals, "Die Worte vom leidenden Menschensohn: Ein Schlüssel zur Lösung des Menschensohn-Problems," in *Theologia Crucis—Signum Crucis: Festschrift für Erich Dinkler zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Carl Andresen and Günther Klein; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1979), 417–45; idem, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (ÖTKNT 2; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn; Würzburg: Echter, 1979); idem, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*

central point, that of the model for understanding the composition and editing of Q. The consequence of this lack of consensus is that the theological and literary character of the formative stage of Q is still in dispute and the assignment of individual sayings to particular redactional strata is still debated. On a second crucial issue, that of the method appropriate for delineating redactional strata, there is more agreement, especially in the more recent studies of Q. [10]

1. Late additions to Q

In arguing that the final redaction of Q was completed in a Hellenistic environment, Bultmann adduced a trio of pericopae which he assigned to this late redaction: Q 4:1–13, 7:1–10 and 10:22.[40] An impressive consensus still exists on the first of these pericopae, but there is less agreement on the other two.

To begin with the common ground: there is strong agreement on assigning the temptation account to the ultimate redactional stratum,[41] even though there

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(Zürcher Bibelkommentare NT 3.1; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1980); idem, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (De Gruyter Lehrbuch; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1985); Wolfgang Schenk, "Der Einfluss der Logienquelle auf das Markusevangelium," *ZNW* 70 (1979): 141–65; idem, *Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelien: Q-Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1981); Frans Neirynck, "Recent Developments in the Study of Q," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 29–75; Claus-Peter März, "'Feuer auf die Erde zu werfen bin ich gekommen': Zum Verständnis und zur Entstehung von Lk 12,49," in *A cause de l'évangile: études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes: offertes au P. Jacques Dupont, O.S.B. à l'occasion de son 70^e^ anniversaire* (Lectio Divina 123; Paris: Publications de Saint-André; Editions du Cerf, 1985), 479–511; James M. Robinson, "On Bridging the Gulf from Q to the Gospel of Thomas (or Vice Versa)," in *Nag Hammadi and Early Christianity* (ed. Charles W. Hedrick and Robert Hodgson; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1986), 127–75; John S. Kloppenborg, "The Formation of Q and Antique Instructional Genres," *JBL* 105, no. 3 (1986): 443–62; idem, *Formation*; "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels"; idem, "Überlieferung und Geschichte der frühchristlichen Evangelienliteratur," *ANRW* II.25.2 (1984): 1463–1542; idem, *Ancient Christian Gospels*; Kosch, *Eschatologische Tora*; Sato, *Q und Prophetie*; Sellew, "Early Collections".

[40] Rudolf K. Bultmann, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition* (2. Aufl.; FRLANT 29; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931 [10. Aufl. 1995, mit einem Nachwort von Gerd Theißen]), 354 (ET: *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* [rev. ed.; trans. John Marsh; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968], 328).

[41] See Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (EKKNT vol. 1/1–4; Zürich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1985–2002), 1:160; Hermann Mahnke, *Die Versuchungsgeschichte im Rahmen der synoptischen Evangelien* (BBET 9; Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1978), 183–87; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 22. Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 56 is virtually alone among modern critics in excluding the account from Q altogether (although his later Synopsis includes 4:1–13), but he is scarcely alone in noting the anomalous features of the story. Suspicions that the temptation account did not belong to Q go back to Christian Hermann Weisse, *Die Evangelienfrage in ihrem gegenwärtigen Stadium* (Leipzig: Breitkopf

are important differences, both in the reasons for this assignment, and in the conception of the final redactional stage.[42] Schmithals locates Q 4:1–13 late because, following Wellhausen,[43] he detects Markan influence, but he is alone in doing so. Schulz includes it in his Hellenistic Jewish-Christian stratum (Q^2), which in fact comprises the bulk of Q.[44] By contrast, Jacobson, Kloppenborg and Kosch point to anomalous features, both formal and material, in placing this pericope virtually by itself as the latest addition to Q.[45] Zeller groups [11] it along with Q 7:1–10 and 10:21–22 in a Hellenistic-Jewish redaction,[46] Polag connects it the other "Einleitungs- und Schlussperikopen" (Q 3:7–9, 16–17, 21–22; 4:1–13; 19:12–27) and several other items of "late redaction,"[47] and Sato lists it as a "late interpolation" along with two dozen other pericopae.[48]

The "thunderbolt from a Johannine sky" (Q 10:22) is another apparent consensus point. In this case, however, the placement of the saying varies, depending upon the number and profile of the redactional stages posited, and the degree to which 10:22 is seen as cohering with any of those stages. Some underscore its anomalous character and accordingly distinguish it from the bulk of Q. Meyer, for example, isolates this saying in a "second recension" of Q because of its "fundamentally Hellenistic" character and "alien" soteriology, while Zeller describes it as an addendum (*Nachtrag*) of a Hellenistic-Jewish

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und Härtel, 1856), 156–57. A. W. Argyle's argument ("The Accounts of the Temptation of Jesus in Relation to the Q-Hypothesis," *ExpTim* 64 [1952–53]: 382) against the presence of the temptations in Q was based on the assumption that the rest of Q was a translation of an Aramaic *Vorlage* and therefore the temptations, based on the LXX, could not derive from Q.

[42] For a dissenting view, see Christopher M. Tuckett, "The Temptation Narrative in Q," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 479–507.

[43] Schmithals, *Lukas*, 58; Julius Wellhausen, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (2. Aufl.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911), 65–66, 75.

[44] Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 177–90, esp. 185.

[45] Jacobson ("Wisdom Christology," 36–46, 93) mentions the use of the Hellenistic title υἱὸς θεοῦ, the scribal character of 4:1–13, its use of the LXX and of explicit quotation formulae, the "apparently late literary form" and the use of διάβολος for Satan as indices of the lateness of the unit (p. 40). Kloppenborg (*Formation*, 247–48) adds that the understanding of the miraculous as *deeds of Jesus* differs from the rest of Q, where miracles are events *pointing to the presence of the Kingdom*. Most recently, Kosch (*Eschatologische Tora*, 60, 236–37, 451) has pointed out that both formally and materially, Q 4:1–13 fits poorly in the unit 3:7–7:35 (236) and that "sich in Q keine Tendenz erkennen lässt, den in ihr enhaltenen Ansatz zur Bestimmung des Toraverhältnesses Jesu zu entfalten, was etwa im Sinn einer "Radikalisierung" der Tora vom ersten Gebot her durchaus möglich gewesen wäre" (451).

[46] Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 62; idem, *Logienquelle*, 22–23.

[47] Polag (*Christologie*, 15–17) includes 7:1–10, 27, 28; 10:21–22, 23–24; 12:10, 47–48, 49–53; and Q/Matt 5:19 in the late redactional stratum.

[48] Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 35–36, 45. Sato describes this redaction as "weitere unsystematische Weiterbildungen bzw. Aneinanderreihungen" and includes here the saying that fall between Q 12:39 and 13:21, 7:27; 10:22 and perhaps 6:39–40, 43–45 (p. 45).

redaction and as a "secondary reflection on the event of revelation in terms otherwise foreign to Q."[49] For Jacobson, it belongs with a half-dozen other sayings in a penultimate stage of redaction marked by interest [12] in thaumaturgy, secret revelation and enthusiasm.[50] Others place its origins at a point near the end of the development of Q but nevertheless understand it to function more integrally within a major stage of Q redaction. Hoffmann, for instance, stresses the important part 10:21–22 plays with respect to Q's commissioning speech and Lührmann understands the unit both from a literary viewpoint, as the conclusion of the complex extending from Q 6:20b to the commissioning speech (Q 10:2–16) and from a theological perspective, as a part of the polemic against "this generation" which characterizes one prominent phase of redaction.[51]

As to Q 7:1–10, the recent tendency is to see it as typical of one of the major redactional strata rather than an anomalous and late *Fremdkörper*. Lührmann, Jacobson and Kloppenborg understand it to function within the complex of sayings and stories which evince Jesus' (and John's) opposition to "this generation."[52] Schenk notes in particular the relationship of 7:1–10 with 10:15, observing how it anticipates and concretizes the criticism of Capernaum's unbelief in comparison [13] with the expected reaction of Gentile cities.[53] Sato is

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[49] Meyer, "Community of Q," 84 + n. 3; Zeller, *Logienquelle*, 55. Kosch (*Eschatologische Tora*, 448) describes 10:21–22 as "das späte Offenbarungswort." Sato (*Q und Prophetie*, 37–38) assigns 10:21 to an earlier level of Q, but stresses the similarities between 10:22 and 4:1–13. He appear to regard 10:22 as a secondary expansion ("eine kontextgebundene Neubildung") rather than a "commentary word." His chart (p. 18) seems to suggest that he regards 10:22 along with 4:1–13 as very late additions to Q.

[50] Jacobson ("Wisdom Christology," 215–22) includes in this stage Q 7:18–23; 10:21–22; 11:2–4, 9–13; 17:5–6 and perhaps 12:(2–3?), 4–7 (8–10?), 22–31. Crossan (*In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus*, 97) appears to accept this judgment.

[51] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 67–68; Hoffmann, *Studien*, 305–7. See also Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 201–2; Polag, *Christologie*, 160–62; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 58 (who treats only 10:22 as redactional): "Das zweite Wort ist eine erklärende Weiterführung des ersten durch die Redaktion des Spruchbuches in der nachösterlichen Situation." Also Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 213–28; Sellew, "Early Collections," 152–53 + n. 203. Schmithals ("Worte vom leidenden Menschensohn," 444; *Markus*, 58; *Lukas*, 125–26; *Einleitung*, 398) holds that 10:21 derived from an early stage of Q, but 10:22 is *post-Markan* and presupposes the Markan secrecy motif.

[52] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 57–58. Jacobson ("Wisdom Christology," 66–70, 96) places it in his "compositional [formative] stage" and Kloppenborg (*Formation*, 117–21) assigns 7:1-10 to his second main redactional level (Q^2). Zeller (*Logienquelle*, 38) suggests that "die rettende Kraft des Worte Jesu für den Glaubenden – das mag es gewesen sein, was die Q-Redaktion an dieser eigentliche vom Stoff her fremden Geschichte reizte...."

[53] Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 38. In an earlier article ("Der Einfluss der Logienquelle auf das Markusevangelium," 152–53), Schenk argues that Mark 1:22, 27 and 2:10a appear to betray knowledge of Q 7:1-10, i.e., upon elements distinctive of "einer auf der Basis der Q-Redaktion weiterentwickelten Menschensohn-Jesulogie" (153). In private correspondence Schenk has indicated that the facts that (a) Capernaum is the only locality

virtually alone in assigning the story to an early pre-Q composition beginning with the sayings about John (3:[2–4?], 7–9, 16–17), including most of the inaugural sermon, and closing with sayings about John (7:18–23, 24–28).[54] On the other hand, Polag is alone when he attributes it to his relatively underpopulated "late redaction."[55]

Initially, the Bultmannian trio was suspect as secondary because of the alleged "Hellenistic" character of the pericopae. This obviously begs an important set of questions concerning, first, the degree to which the whole of the Sayings Gospel reflects a "Hellenistic environment" and is therefore to some extent thoroughly "Hellenistic,"[56] and second, whether, given the extensive evidence of the presence of Hellenistic institutions, the Greek language and Greek literary forms in Palestine, the schematic divisions of "Hellenistic" and "Palestinian" still have any usefulness. In the case of the Q 4:1–13, the conclusion of more recent studies that it is late relative to the main composition of Q depends not upon a characterization of it as "non-Palestinian" but upon the presence of anomalous formal and material features when viewed in the context of the forms and materials of the Sayings Gospel [**14**] itself. The shift from theological or tradition-historical criteria to literary-critical criteria also accounts for the current hesitations regarding 10:22 and 7:1–10. While the degree to which 10:22 can be seen to cohere with the redactional phase identified by Lührmann is still controverted, there is stronger agreement with regard to 7:1–10 that despite its alleged "Hellenistic" character, it fits well with the polemic against "this generation" and thus belongs to this level of redaction.

Formal and material considerations point to the relative lateness of two related sayings. The first, Q 11:42c, now forms the conclusion to the woe against tithing spices (11:42).[57] The woe itself (11:42ab) takes the form of a

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mentioned more than once, and that (b) the Centurion is the only actual person mentioned by Q has led him to suggest that 7:1-10 is a "self portrait" of the redactor himself. Accordingly, he calls the final redaction a "Centurio-Redaction."

[54] Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 34–35. Sato's analysis is accepted by Kosch (*Eschatologische Tora*, 234–37). Both Sato and Kosch hold that 3:7–9, 16–17 and 6:20–23, 27–49 are even earlier independent compositions.

[55] Polag, *Christologie*, 158. Schulz (*Spruchquelle*, 236–46), of course, places Q 7:1–10 in the extensive Hellenistic Jewish Christian stratum of Q tradition, and Schmithals (*Lukas*, 90–91) assigns it to a post-Markan "christological redaction of Q." The study by U. Wegner (*Der Hauptmann von Kafarnaum* [WUNT 2. Reihe 14; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985]), although it is the most extensive treatment of Q 7:1–10 to date, regrettably does not engage the problem of the stratigraphy of Q.

[56] See most recently, Heinz O. Guenther, "Greek: Home of Primitive Christianity," *TJT* 5, no. 2 (1989): 247–79 [See also Heinz O. Guenther, "The Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest for Aramaic Sources: Rethinking Christian Origins," in *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage; Semeia 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 41–76].

[57] The absence of 11:42c in Codex Bezae and Marcion suggested to several critics that

lampoon, representing as Pharisaic a tithing practice that corresponds to no known rabbi or school.[58] Yet the concluding phrase shifts abruptly from lampoon to admonition, and implies a tacit approval of practices which were just burlesqued: ταῦτα δὲ ἔδει ποιῆσαι κἀκεῖνα μὴ παρεῖναι. Kloppenborg argues that 11:42c, which is in no way integral to the structure of 11:42ab and is in fact inconsistent with the pattern of the other Q woes, is the work of a glossator anxious about the apparent theological trajectory of the woes and in particular, their apparent disregard of the Torah.[59] Sato calls the [15] phrase "eine dem Gesetz verpflichtete sekundäre Milderung," observing that its ostensible addressees are no longer the Pharisees, but the Q group itself.[60] Kosch concurs

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11:42c did not belong to Luke or Q at all, but was an interpolation by Matthew. Thus Adolf von Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus: The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke* (trans. John Richard Wilkinson; New Testament Studies 2; London; New York: Williams & Norgate; G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 101; Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Lucae übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1904), 61; T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1949 [repr. 1971]), 98.

[58] See John S. Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q," in *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (ed. James E. Goehring, Jack T. Sanders, and Charles W. Hedrick; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990), 40–43 [chap. 8 in this volume]. The susceptibility of dill to tithing was controverted (being supported by Eliezer ben Hyrcanus but opposed by Akiba); there are no rulings regarding mint, but it is likely that as a wild and perenniel plant, it would not be liable to tithe; only an unattributed opinion suggests that cummin should be tithed.

[59] Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q," 43 [above, p. 213]. Ignoring the clearly secondary nature of 11:42c, Schulz (*Spruchquelle*, 101–3) concludes that the Q group "heilt nicht nur am Mose-Gesetz fest, sondern bejahte auch die pharisäische Tora, und schließlich ist der abschließende Satz «dieses muß man tun und jenes nicht lassen» eine Sentenz der Weisheit" (101). Similarly, Robert A. Wild, "The Encounter Between Pharisaic and Christian Judaism: Some Early Gospel Evidence," *NovT* 27, no. 2 (1985): 115 n. 35. Zeller (*Logienquelle*, 68–69) considers whether it is "die spätere Korrektur eines ängstlichen Redaktors" but seems to decide against this, concluding that Q nowhere challenges the validity of the Torah (see also his views in Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 408, where 11:42c is treated as integral to the redaction of Q).

Most others treat 11:42c as redactional: Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 139 [ET: 131]; Hoffmann, *Studien*, 170 n. 50; idem, "Die Anfänge der Theologie in der Logienquelle," in *Gestalt und Anspruch des Neuen Testaments* (ed. Josef Schreiner; Würzburg: Echter, 1969), 148 n. 33; Polag, *Christologie*, 80 + n. 250; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 76–77; Heinz Schürmann, "Die Redekomposition wider 'dieses Geschlecht' und seine Führung in der Redenquelle (vgl. Mt 23,1–39 par Lk 11,37–54): Bestand – Akoluthie – Kompositionsformen," *SNTU/A* 11 (1986): 50, 71 (a "Erweiterung eines der pharisäischen Observanz [vielleicht in Palästina aus Opportunitätsgründen] nahestehenden Judenchristen der ältesten Zeit").

[60] Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 197. It is unclear where in the composition history of Q Sato places 11:42c. On the one hand, he argues that the interpolation of 11:49–51 into an earlier series of woes was the result of his "Redaction C," the major compositional moment (ibid., 40). This might suggest that he would place 11:42c in his later "unsystematic expansion" of Q. On the other hand, he observes that while 11:39–48, 52 may have had its Sitz im Leben in

with this judgment, arguing that 11:42c was designed to obviate any antinomian misinterpretation of 11:42ab.[61] He points out, further, that this secondary correction coheres neither with the earliest (authentic) level of the Jesus tradition, nor with Q redaction,[62] for which Jesus' relation to the Torah is not an explicit topic of reflection.[63] But while he agrees that 11:42c, like 16:17, is a defensive Jewish-Christian "Interpretament der Q-Gemeinde"[64] Kosch concludes that it is a relatively *early* interpolation, antecedent to Q redaction[65]: [16]

Immerhin spricht m.E. die formale Beobachtung, dass beide Interpretamente "Grundworte" und nicht etwa größere Kompositionen kommentieren, für eine relativ frühe Anfügung derselben, auch wenn zu beachten ist, daß die "Endredaktion ... Kompositionseinheiten noch unterschiedlicher Entwicklungsstufe redaktionell zusammengeordnet (hat), so dass ein traditionsgeschichtliches Urteil über das alter einzelner Logien aus der 'Kontextualisierung' nur sehr behutsam gewonnen werden kann.

This argument, however, is scarcely decisive, since 11:42ab is the only one of the woes that could be construed as an abrogation of the Torah, and hence 11:42c is applicable only to that woe. It seems unlikely, moreover, that the gloss would have been attached prior to the assembling of the seven woes into a series, since 11:42c interferes with the rhetorical effect of the series, and with the redactional addition in 11:49–51. Finally, from the point of view of tradition-history, the gloss is much more closely related to the redactional concerns of Matthew, and hence represent a *late* rather than an early stage. It is for these reasons that Kloppenborg treats 11:42c (and 16:17) as subsequent to the main redaction of Q.

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actual conflict with the Pharisees, "eine innergemeindliche Lektüre als *warnende Paränese* (Antitypus!) – besonders angeschickts des Zusatzes über den Zehnten in Lk 11,42b par [i.e., Q 11:42c] – [ist] nicht ausgeschlossen" (ibid., 389; emphasis original). This might indicate that he places the secondary expansion of 11:42 prior to "Redaction C."

[61] Kosch, *Eschatologische Tora*, 125, 130–31, 163–64.

[62] Contrast Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 76, who assigns 11:42c to the main redactional stratum: "Der Zusatz der Q-Redaktion genau in der Mitte des Textes, am Ende des zweiten «Weherufs», ist durch eine Gegentendenz eines Sowohl-als-auch bestimmt. Es ging dabei dem Spruchbuch aber nicht um einen Ausgleich mit dem Pharisäismus, sondern die Aufforderung geht innerchristlich an die Adresse der christlichen Gemeinde selbst" (76–77).

[63] Kosch, *Eschatologische Tora*, 164–65, 459, 462.

[64] Helmut Merklein, *Die Gottesherrschaft als Handlungsprinzip: Untersuchung zur Ethik Jesu* (2. Aufl.; FB 34; Würzburg: Echter, 1981), 93. Ron Jolliffe ("The Woes on the Pharisees: A Critical Text and Commentary on Q 11:46, 43, 52, 42, 39–40, 47–48," Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School [1990], 128, 170–71) argues for the same view: "With the primary exception of Q 11:42d, apparently added during the final redactional stage of Q, legal discussion is hardly a factor in the evolution of the woe-discourse. At no level is there evidence of argument or discussion concerning the validity of Torah" (p. 171).

[65] Kosch, *Eschatologische Tora*, 166, quoting Schürmann, "Zeugnis," 74–75. On Schürmann, see below p. 288. Schürmann ("Redekomposition wider 'dieses Geschlecht'," 71, 76) also locates 11:42c relatively early in the composition of the woes.

Many of the same considerations suggest that Q 16:17 is also an interpolation. Merklein contended that 16:17 was specially formulated by the Q community in order to eliminate any inference from 16:16 that the Torah had been abrogated.[66] Kosch prefers to regard 16:17 as a "Kommentarwort" – that is, an originally independent saying, which is nonetheless *compositionally* secondary to 16:16, the "Grundwort."[67] [17] He concludes again that the saying does not derive from Q redaction,[68] which shows no interest in the issue of Jesus' view of the Torah; instead, it coheres with 11:42c and because it too comments upon a "Grundwort" rather than on a larger composition, it must derive from a relatively early compositional stage.[69] Independently of Kosch, Kloppenborg concluded that 16:17 and 11:42c reflected the same redactional interests,[70] but he locates this redactional stage late rather than early. Considerations similar to those that applied to 11:42c apply here: the two glosses remove possible antinomian interpretations of sayings within sub-collections of Q. Moreover, the cluster of sayings in 16:13, 16, 18; 17:1–2, 3b–4, 6b have in common the theme of the new ethos and values that the Kingdom brings, and in this sense 16:17, even though it is most clearly attached to 16:16, interferes with the entire set of sayings. Within the larger compositional units of Q there is no evidence of a nomistic piety, and indeed, virtually no interest in the Torah at all. It is only with the late temptation narrative, which betrays an ethos in which the Torah serves as a self-evidently appropriate basis for debate, challenge and riposte, that Torah-obedience obviously becomes an issue. It is logical to locate the other Torah-centered glosses at this stage as well.

In the breakdown of the consensus regarding the Bultmannian trio of sayings, and the re-investigation of 4:1–13, 11:42c and 16:17, a significant methodological shift has occurred. The Bultmannian trio were treated as secondary principally because they were thought to betray a "hellenistic" character. In retrospect, this must be seen as a tenuous and inadequate basis for stratigraphical delineation. The reasons for treating Q 4:1–13, 11:42c and 16:17 as secondary, however, do not derive from tradition-historical consider[18]ations, but from *compositional* ones: each of these pericopae displays for-

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[66] Merklein, *Die Gottesherrschaft als Handlungsprinzip: Untersuchung zur Ethik Jesu*, 92–93.

[67] Kosch, *Eschatologische Tora*, 434–35, 443. The terminology is Wanke's (see below n. 95). See also Ingo Broer's criticism of Merklein: "Die Ausführungen von H. Merklein... dass Mt 5,18 «als Interpretament zu Lk 16,16 par» gebildet wurde und «nur in diesem Zusammenhang ausgelegt werden darf», sind zweifellos originell, scheitern aber m.E. an dem dann eindeutig in 5,18 liegenden Übergewicht...." (*Freiheit vom Gesetz und Radikalisierung des Gesetzes: Ein Beitrag zur Theologie des Evangelisten Matthäus* [SBS 98; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1980], 44 n. 89).

[68] Thus Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums* (BBB 54; Königstein: Peter Hanstein, 1980), 355.

[69] Kosch, *Eschatologische Tora*, 443.

[70] Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q," 46.

mal anomalies and each interferes with the compositional logic of the larger unit into which it has been inserted. That they share a defensive Jewish-Christian posture points to their origin within the same redactional stratum, but the fact that they are Jewish Christian does not by itself establish their relative stratigraphical location in Q.

On the other hand, it is obvious that there is still little agreement either in the way in which the later redactional strata are delineated or in regard to the extent and type of materials which belong to them. If progress is to be made, it will come only through an enunciation of the principles by which redactional strata may be reconstructed.

2. Redactional creations in Q

If the Bultmannian trio of pericopae no longer forms a point of consensus, then the items of Q redaction proposed by Lührmann have fared somewhat better. Lührmann's understanding of "redaction" is "a conscious arrangement [of the materials] from theological points of view, to be distinguished from 'collection' by catchword and content."[71] Nevertheless, Lührmann was willing to identify several (mostly transitional) sayings which were the *creations* of a Q redactor: Q 10:12; 11:30, 51 (and possibly 11:19).[72]

This judgment has commanded an impressive assent in regard to Q 10:12.[73] On the assumption of the originality of Lukan order in Q 10:2–16, Q 10:12 serves to ease the transition between 10:4–11 and 10:13–15 which differs so strikingly in tone and presumptive addressee. Obviously, such a transition would not be required so long as 10:2–11 (16) and 10:13–15 circulated

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[71] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 84.

[72] Lührmann, *Redaktion*: Q 10:12 (pp. 62–63); 11:30 (pp. 41–42); 11:51 (p. 47). Lührmann is undecided in regard to 11:19 (p. 33). Hoffmann (*Studien*) concurs in regard to the redactional nature of 10:12 (pp. 288, 303), 11:30 (pp. 37 n. 7, 157, 181 n. 92) and 11:51b (p. 168) but also includes as sayings "formed in the Q tradition" (p. 182) 3:16bc (the comparison of John with the Coming one; p. 25), 6:22–23 (pp. 73, 182), 13:35b (pp. 177, 199), 7:27 (an Interpretament" using Mal 3:1, pp. 218–19), 7:28b (p. 218, 224) and 7:33–34, 35 ("ein sekundäres Deutewort," p. 227). Since Hoffmann does not distinguish sharply between Q tradition and Q redaction, it is impossible to stratify these additions with respect to one another. Paul D. Meyer ("The Gentile Mission in Q," *JBL* 89 [1970]: 405–17) takes 11:30 to be the creation of an "anonymous prophet" of the Q community.

[73] The principal dissenters are Schulz (*Spruchquelle*, 409 + n. 40, 418 n. 102) who thinks that 10:12 is an integral part of 10:2–12, and Zeller ("Redaktionsprozesse," 404; cf. *Logienquelle*, 46–47) who holds that v. 12 is secondary, but was part of the preceding unit (10:4–12), because it was this verse that occasioned the addition of Q 10:13–15. David R. Catchpole ("Mission Charge," 163–64) is hesitant: He observes that v. 12 is a smooth and uncomplicated continuation of 11a, consistent with the issue of (refusal of) hospitality. "So it seems fair to register some hesitations about the assessment of Q 10:12 as redactional. But should that hesitation be deemed incorrect, then the implications of 10:12 for the outlook of the redactor will be the same as the implications for the insertion of 10:13–15" (p. 164).

independently.[74] The resumptive τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ and the formal parallels between 10:12 and 10:14, including the antistrophic use of ἀνεκτότερον ἔσται ... ἤ, indicate on the one hand that 10:12 cannot have existed independently of 10:10–11, and that v. 12 was patterned on v. 14 on the other.[75] [**19**]

The redactional nature of Q 11:51b (ναί, λέγω ὑμῖν· ἐκζητηζήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης) is also widely acknowledged. Both Lührmann and Hoffmann note the awkward juxtaposition of four ἀπό phrases (vv. 50b, 51a, 51b): ἀπὸ αἵματος Ἄβελ ἕως ... (v. 51a) corresponds to and qualifies ἀπὸ τῆς καταβολῆς κόσμου (v. 50b) while 51b ναί, [**20**] λέγω ὑμῖν· ἐκζητηθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης resumes ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης of v. 50b. According to Lührmann the reiteration of the threat of judgment and the interpretation of the time span of v. 50b as "the entire period described in the Old Testament" (i.e., from Abel to Zechariah) coheres with the assertion at the heart of Q redaction that only judgment remains for Israel. Accordingly he ascribes *all* of v. 51 to redaction.[76]

The main difficulty with regarding v. 51a as Q redaction is that it becomes difficult to explain the choice of the death of Zechariah as a *terminus ad quem*. Kloppenborg and Zeller point out that if this were a piece of Q redaction one would more likely expect John the Baptist (cf. Q 16:16) or Jesus.[77] Verse 51b, however, is a much likelier candidate. Neirynck concludes from the structural similarity between 11:51b and both Q 10:12 and Q 13:35b that all three are most likely due to redaction. In each case a λέγω ὑμῖν formula introduces a

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[74] Bultmann (*Geschichte*, 118; ET: *History*, 112) regards both 10:13–15 and 10:12 as "community constructions" but nonetheless appears to assume that 10:12 circulated freely prior to Q. Polag (*Christologie*, 89, cf. 74) also appears to treat 10:12 as part of Q tradition.

[75] In addition to Lührmann and Hoffmann (above n. 72), the following scholars argue that 10:12 is redactional: Ferdinand Hahn, *Das Verständnis der Mission im Neuen Testament* (WMANT 13; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1963 [2. Aufl. 1965]), 34 (ET: *Mission in the New Testament* [trans. Frank Clarke; SBT 1/47; London: SCM Press, 1965], 43); Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology," 192; idem, "Lc 10,2–16," 421, 422; Kloppenborg, "Antique Instructional Genres," 452; idem, *Formation*, 195–96, 199; Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 274–75; Neirynck, "Recent Developments," 65, 69; Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 38 ("ein gattungsmäßig fremdes Gebilde"); Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 55; Schmithals, *Lukas*, 123; Uro, *Sheep Among the Wolves*, 100, 168; Vaage, "Ethos and Ethic," 274–75.

[76] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 47. Similarly, Schenk (*Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 80). Hoffmann (*Studien*, 169–70) accepts the redactional status of v. 51 but rejects Lührmann's view that the mission to Israel has ended. Odil H. Steck (*Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* [WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967], 51) calls v. 51b a "neu eingeführte(s) Interpretament" but later argues that v. 51a cannot have belonged to the original (Jewish) saying (p. 223). He does not, however, offer any indication of when either addition was made. Sato (*Q und Prophetie*, 153, 154): argues that "solch ein Kommentar [d.h. V. 51a] innerhalb der Gattung «Unheilswort» als Fremdkörper wirkt" and that if v. 51a is secondary, 51b must also be secondary. Both are the work of the editor who assembled 11:39–52.

[77] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 146; Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 397.

threat of judgment for those who rejected Jesus' envoys and a condemnation of those who rejected Jesus' ministry.[78] Moreover, ναί, λέγω ὑμῖν ... should not be understood as Sophia's summary restatement of v. 50[79] but as the rhetorical counterpart of διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ [**21**] εἶπεν, which signals a change of speaker (i.e., back to Jesus): V. 51b is *Jesus'* reiteration of Sophia's oracle.[80]

The same, incidentally, is true of the λέγω ὑμῖν formula in 13:35b, as Neirynck has observed. Whether or not Q 13:34 originally belonged with the woes (so Matthew) or followed Q 13:28–30 and preceded 14:16–24 (so Luke),[81] the phrase ποσάκις ἠθέλησα ἐπισυναγαγεῖν (13:34) implies that the speaker of 13:34–35a (probably Sophia) stands outside the ordinary temporal sphere. This being the case, v. 35b serves to conclude the Sophia quotation and signal a return to Jesus as the primary speaker. Obviously, this transition would not be required of a free floating Sophia saying, but becomes necessary once it is integrated into a literary context in which Jesus is the principal speaker.[82]

On the "eschatological correlative" in Q 11:30 and the aphorism in Q 11:19 opinion is more divided. Lührmann, followed by several others, treats 11:30 as a redactional clasp which joins 11:29 with the double saying in 11:31–32 and which expresses the motif of the judgment of "this generation" so typical of the redaction of Q.[83] Lührmann [**22**] had argued that 11:30 was patterned formally

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[78] Neirynck, "Recent Developments," 66–67. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology," 192 appears to hold that Q 11:51b is redactional.

[79] Thus Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 341, 345.

[80] Robert J. Miller ("The Rejection of the Prophets in Q," *JBL* 107, no. 2 [1988]: 229) concurs, noting additionally that "elsewhere in Q, λέγω ὑμῖν tags a Jesus saying" (except in 3:8, where John resumes his own speech).

[81] See Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, §52 for a summary of the arguments for and against each placement.

[82] Q 13:35b is regarded as redational by Ernst Haenchen, "Matthäus 23," *ZTK* 48 (1951): 57; Ulrich Wilckens, "Σοφία. C. Judaism, D. Gnosticism, E. The New Testament," *TDNT* 7 (1971): 515 n. 350; Schmithals, *Lukas*, 156; Felix Christ, *Jesus Sophia: Die Sophia Christologie bei den Synoptikern* (ATANT 57; Zürich: Zwingli, 1970), 141–42; Hoffmann, *Studien*, 77; Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 147, 228; Neirynck, "Recent Developments," 66–67.

Dieter Zeller ("Entrückung zur Ankunft als Menschensohn [Lk 13,34f.; 11:29f.]," in *A cause de l'évangile: études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes: offertes au P. Jacques Dupont, O.S.B. à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire* [Lectio Divina 123; Paris: Publications de Saint-André and les Editions du Cerf, 1985], 518–19) holds that at least 13:35b is "eine christliche Erweiterung" but suspects that the entire oracle is a post-Easter Christian formulation. Schenk (*Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 81–82) holds that 13:34–35 was formulated in Q redaction. Sato (*Q und Prophetie*, 157) and M. Eugene Boring (*Sayings of the Risen Jesus: Christian Prophecy in the Synoptic Tradition* [SNTSMS 46; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982], 171–73) would like to understand the entire saying as a prophetic oracle.

[83] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 42; Hoffmann, *Studien*, 157. Similarly Richard A. Edwards, *The Sign of Jonah in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q* (SBT 2/18; London: SCM Press, 1971), 85–86; Meyer, "The Gentile Mission in Q," 407–9; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 70. Lührmann, Edwards, Meyer and Schenk also consider 11:29c to be

on the three other correlatives in Q 17:24, 26, 30 and to this observation Richard Edwards added the argument that the "eschatological correlative" was unique to Q (and dependent documents) and was therefore an *innovation* of the Q community.[84] However, the correlative form is not in fact restricted to Q, but occurs frequently in the LXX and in Qumran literature.[85] Moreover, as Anton Vögtle noted,[86] the association of v. 29 with vv. 31–32 depends upon the three catchwords, Ἰωνᾶς, Νινευῖται and γενεὰ αὕτη, all of which are found in v. 30. This implies that v. 30 was *already* joined to v. 29 prior to the addition of vv 31–32.[87] Q 11:30 may be a secondary expansion of 11:29, but this expansion was not effected in order to assemble the unit which now stands in 11:29–32 at the stage of the redaction of Q.

The case of Q 11:19 is analogous. Lührmann tentatively proposed that this verse might be a redactional link between v. 20 and the pre[23]ceding.[88] The usual objection to this is that v. 19 seems to undermine Jesus role in v. 20 by

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redactional. Schenk ("Der Einfluss der Logienquelle auf das Markusevangelium," 153) erroneously cites the "unsemitische, griechische Bildung" with εἰ μή as evidence of this. Polag (*Christologie*, 90) and Sato (*Q und Prophetie*, 282) argue that 11:30 was added to 11:29 not as a secondary expansion, but as a *Kommentarwort*. This, however, seems very unlikely since the vocabulary of 11:30 seems to be modelled on that of 11:29.

[84] Edwards, *Sign of Jonah*, 47–58, 86.

[85] On this see Daryl Schmidt, "The LXX Gattung 'Prophetic Correlative'," *JBL* 96 (1977): 517–22 and Kloppenborg, Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 130.

[86] Anton Vögtle, "Der Spruch vom Jonaszeichen," in *Das Evangelium und die Evangelien: Beiträge zur Evangelienforschung* (by Anton Vögtle; Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1971), 116–17.

[87] Thus Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology," 169; Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 129–30; Schürmann, "Menschensohn-Titel," 134; Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 397 n. 19; idem, "Entrückung," 526; Risto Uro, "The Son of Man Sayings in Q: A Tradition-Critical Survey," paper presented at the One Hundred Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Q Seminar), Anaheim, November 1989 (1989), 17 (in typescript). In his 1984 dissertation, Sato adopted the position of Lührmann but in the published version of Q und Prophetie rejected this, concurring with Vögtle. Compare Sato ("Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q" [Ph.D. diss., Bern: Evangelisch-Theologische Fakultät, 1984], 45: 11:30 is a redaktionellen Satz interpreting 11:29 but creating a transition to 11:31–32 (omitted in *Q und Prophetie*, 39). To the discussion of 11:31–32 ("Q und Prophetie," 177) he adds: (*Q und Prophetie*, 151): "Dieser Spruche [11:31–32] wurde – wahrscheinlich auf der Stufe der Redaktion C – anhand der Stichwörter ("Jona" / "diese Generation") mit der Spruchgruppe Lk 11,29f par kombiniert..." The sentence in "Q und Prophetie," 333–34, "M.E. liegt in Lk 11,30 par ein redaktioneller Vers vor, der Lk 11,29 par mit 11,31f par durch das Theme von "Jona" verbindet..." is dropped (*Q und Prophetie*, 282) and the scenario proposed by Lührmann, Edwards and Schenk is rejected as too complicated.

[88] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 33; similarly Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 148; Merklein, *Die Gottesherrschaft als Handlungsprinzip: Untersuchung zur Ethik Jesu*, 158–59; Michael G. Steinhauser, *Doppelbildworte in den synoptischen Evangelien: Eine form- und traditionskritische Studie* (FB 44; Würzburg: Echter, 1981), 142. Schenk (*Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 67–68) ascribes only 11:19b to Q redaction.

aligning Jewish exorcists with Jesus as the heralds of the kingdom.[89] Nevertheless, Sellew is quite correct in concluding that 11:19 "had no independent life but was first created in conjunction with this discourse, presumably in the *Sayings Source* itself."[90] Although the second response (11:19) to the Beelzebul accusation does not obviously build on or explicate the first response (11:17–18a; cf. Mark 3:24–26), the second response clearly presupposes literarily the original accusation made in 11:15.[91] This implies that v. 19 was added to vv. 17–18a as an additional rebuttal and that at some later point v. 20 was added as a commentary word.[92] In this case, 11:19 is redactional but does not belong to that stage of redaction at which 11:14–15, 17–18a, 19–20, (21–22?), 23 were assembled as a unit.

While strong arguments have been adduced in respect to the relatively late character of Q 4:1–13 (and perhaps 11:42c; 16:17) and in [**24**] regard to the redactional nature of Q 10:12; 11:51b and 13:35b, the question immediately arises whether all of these belong to the *same* redactional stratum. At this point we come face to face with widely divergent conceptualizations of the formation and editing of Q.

III. The Composition of Q

1. Models of Composition

The models used to imagine the production of the Sayings Gospel are as diverse as those invoked in discussions of the composition of the Fourth Gospel. Some focus mainly on the moment of final redaction or assembly,

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[89] Jacobson ("Wisdom Christology," 164–65), who suggests that 11:19 and 11:20 were originally independent sayings, holds that Q redaction juxtaposed the two but saw no problem in this combination: the eschatological uniqueness of Jesus was jeopardized, but "this was apparently no problem [for Q].... What is not abandoned in these sayings, however, is the eschatological uniqueness of that which comes to expression in both Jesus and the other Jewish exorcists" (p. 165).

[90] Sellew, "Early Collections," 40.

[91] Sellew ("Early Collections," 40) also stresses the common social setting that both responses presuppose. "The only natural relationship these separate matters have is in a community setting where followers of Jesus are working out the meaning of their situation in a skeptical environment."

[92] Similarly, Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 406 (revising an earlier view in idem, "Prophetisches Wissen um die Zukunft in synoptischen Jesusworten," *TP* 52 [1977]: 263) who, however, rejects the view that 11:20 was ever an independent saying. This solution seems preferable to either that of Joachim Wanke, "Kommentarworte: Älteste Kommentierung von Herrenworten," *BZ* 24 <neue Folge> [1980]: 219 who takes 11:14–15, 19 as the original chria, which was subsequently conflated with a variant form of the story, 11:14–15, 17–18a (cf. Mark 3:22–26), or Schürmann's view that 11:14, 17a, 20 is the original chria which was subsequently expanded by 11:19 and 11:17b–18 ("Zeugnis," 155–56).

others on the process of transmission and composition lying behind the generation of the major compositional units, others on the presence of discrete and separable layers of material, and still others on later interpolations and glosses, whether friendly or corrective. Most of comprehensive treatments of Q do not simply use one model but combine several approaches, in the same way that Bultmann's theory of the composition of John combined source theories with dislocations and a late "corrective" redaction.

a. A Single Redaction

The simplest view is that Q emerged relatively quickly as a document, with the collection and arrangement of numerous component units of tradition, rather like the precipitation of sediment from a solution once the proper conditions are achieved.[93] Since, however, it seems rather unlikely that the material to be included in Q arrived at the moment of redaction as approximately one hundred individual units, slightly more complicated scenarios are nor[25]mally proposed. The final redaction of Q may have combined a number of smaller collections and individual sayings, with only minimal contribution from the editor himself. Such is the model operative in Lührmann and Schenk. Alternatively, the final Q redaction may have been responsible for a substantial enlargement of the collection (as is the case for Sato's "Redaktion C" and Williams[94]): new materials are inserted around and even within the existing collections, and transitions are composed, introductions and conclusions are inserted.

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[93] Richard A. Horsley, "*Logoi Prophētōn*: Reflections on the Genre of Q," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. Birger A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 195–209 seems to suggest a simple compositional process of assembling several clusters of sayings. His suggestion, however, is not grounded in a careful analysis of the text (and relies on false characterizations of stratigraphical approaches) but ironically cites as an analogy the composition of the *Didache* which manifestly is a stratified composition. Kelber ("Jesus and Tradition: Words in Time, Words in Space," in *Orality and Textuality in Early Christian Literature* [ed. Joanna Dewey; Semeia 65; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1994], 154–55) also suggests a simple, though ill-defined compositional process, but does not get beyond a form-critical approach that typically fails to notice the genuinely literary aspects of compositon.

[94] James G. Williams, "Parable and Chreia: From Q to Narrative Gospel," *Semeia* 43 (1988): 85–114. Williams' treatment of Q is not exhaustive, but he proposes that Q was produced in a single editorial process involving the association by catchword of individual parables and chriae with topically organized sub-collections. "The author placed them [the topical collections] at appropriate points in a work already begun. Where prophetic or deuteronomistic material was added by catchword association, that could have been simply in order to harmonize the wisdom teachings with the rest of the work" (p. 106).

b. The Formation of the Component Materials in Q

When attention is focused on the composition of the smaller collections of Q, it is inevitable that the entire compositional process is described in more protracted terms. Here, the model proposed by Heinz Schürmann has had a decisive influence.

Schürmann's "aggregation model" has four stages. First, core sayings (*Grundworte*) were augmented by the addition of commentary-sayings or secondary expansions.[95] Second, these grew into clusters (*Spruchreihen*, *Spruchgruppen*) by the attachment of interpretive supplements. The arrangement of individual sayings, and chains and clusters of sayings into topically organized compositions (*frühe Kompositionen*, *strukturierte Kompositionen*) constituted a third stage. In the fourth stage materials from the preceding stages were assembled and presented as discourses of Jesus (*Redekompositionen*). The final [**26**] redaction consisted in the assembling of materials from the preceding stages into a collection "which has by design a beginning and an end and which internally is deliberately arranged into well-rounded and thematically coherent topics."[96] Redactional activity, according to Schürmann, may be seen not only at the level of final redaction, but the addition of *motivierte Zusätze* which serve to interpret, alter or correct (2d stage), in the assembling of more complex structures from simpler clusters (3rd stage), in the composition of discourses (4th stage), and at the final stage in the framing and organization of the collection as a whole.[97]

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[95] Wanke ("Kommentarworte"), a student of Schürmann, distinguishes "commentary sayings" [*Kommentarworte*] as originally independent, transmissible sayings, from secondary expansions. This distinction does not hold for Schürmann who, for example, calls Q 11:30 a "commentary saying" but nonetheless argues that it is not independently transmissible ("Beobachtungen zum Menschensohn-Titel in der Redequelle," in *Gottes Reich, Jesu Geschick: Jesu ureigener Tod im Licht seiner Basileia-Verkündigung* [Freiburg im Breisgau and Basel: Herder, 1983], 133, 134 n. 58). In a later essay ("Zeugnis") Schürmann simply speaks of supplementary sayings [*Zusatzworte*].

[96] Schürmann, "Zeugnis," 130. In Schürmann's earlier essays ("Menschensohn-Titel"; "Zeugnis"; "Redekomposition wider 'dieses Geschlecht'"), the fourth stage was treated as the final redaction. Now ("Kompositionsgeschichte der Redenquelle") Schürmann distinguishes the fourth stage from the final redaction.

[97] In Schürmann, "Menschensohn-Titel," 128 slightly different terminology is used: "At the beginning stand individual sayings (core sayings), to which commentary sayings are attached and which soon came together by catchword or topical association into sayings groups (*Spruchgruppen*). At the end we find speeches (*Redekompositionen*), each of which has its own ecclesial *Sitz im Leben*. From these the speech source (*Redenquelle*) was assembled." In a later revision of the article (supplied in private correspondence), Schürmann revised this as follows: "At the beginning stand individual sayings (core sayings), to which supplemental sayings of various kinds are attached. This results in expansions or "sayings-pairs." Several such sayings-pairs come together (often with additional expansions) as "sayings groups" (*Spruchgruppen*). From these, structured compositions are created, mostly for kerymatic purposes. At the end we find discourses of Jesus, each of which has its own

Variations of Schürmann's model are employed by Wanke, Zeller, Kloppenborg, Sato and März. Crossan's *In Fragments* might be included here too, although his aphoristic model was developed quite independently of Schürmann. Schürmann, Wanke and Crossan have worked out the model mainly as it applies to the early stages, i.e., the augmentation of *Grundworte* by commentary sayings and the formation of chains and clusters of sayings or, to use Crossan's [27] terminology, the transformation of aphoristic sayings into aphoristic compounds and clusters.[98]

At least one important result follows from the adoption of this model. Conscious literary organization and deliberate theological stylizing can be seen not only at the level of final redaction, but at earlier stages as well. However, this also means that while there is still agreement that the redactional level identified by Lührmann represents *one* major redactional stratum, the question for stratigraphic studies is whether that stratum represents a relatively early (formative) stage (thus Jacobson and in part, Sato) or a penultimate level (Kloppenborg) or the final assembly (Lührmann; März[99]).

c. Stratigraphic Models

Viewed abstractly, the aggregation model might imply that Q was formed through several simultaneous and parallel movements from individual saying to sayings cluster to speech, with the final stage of redaction consisting simply in the organization of several speeches and the creation or interpolation of framing materials.[100] However, in actual practice it is very difficult to regard the final form of Q as resulting from such a regular process. Instead, it seems necessary to identify a formative stratum which has been created by progressive aggregation, and one or more secondary elaborations or expansions. While some of these secondary additions [28] may involve individual commentary sayings, in other cases it is a matter of the insertion of a relatively

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ecclesial *Sitz im Leben*. From these the discourse source (*Redenquelle*) was assembled."

[98] Schürmann, "Menschensohn-Titel"; idem, "Zeugnis"; Wanke, "Kommentarworte", esp. 213–26. Crossan is not uninterested in the final stage of Q and indeed provides an overview of its thematic structure (*In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus*, 156) and contents (ibid, 342–45). The centre of gravity of his work resides in discussing the smaller structural clusters rather than generic macrostructures (ibid, 157).

[99] März ("'Feuer auf die Erde zu werfen bin ich gekommen': Zum Verständnis und zur Entstehung von Lk 12,49," 495) argues that Q 12:49 is a redactional creation used as a transition between Q 12:35–38, 39–40, 42–46 and 12:51–53, 54–56, (57), 58–59. It was formulated with Q 3:16 in view and hence belongs to an advanced stage in the framing of Q.

[100] Schürmann ("Kompositionsgeschichte der Redenquelle," 329) rejects the notion of redactional strata and layers of tradition in Q: "Wir meinen vielmehr, synchron auslegend, immer wieder neu in Q auf *vier Kompositionsformen* zu stossen, die jeweils schon eine strukturierte Ganzheitsgestalt haben, die sich also einer bewussten und beabsichtigten Redaktion verdanken."

substantial block of sayings which itself is the product a progressive aggregation of materials.

A number of observations support this contention. First, the *methods* of composition vary between the sub-collections, and between the sub-collections and the document as a whole. For example, the sayings in Q 7:18–28, 31–35 are associated, rather artificially, by the common mention of John the Baptist, even though this unit expresses the views of John that cannot easily be harmonized.[101] Such tensions, however, are to be expected with catchword composition. By contrast, a greater degree of material coherence is achieved in the units in Q 11:2–4, 9–13 or Q 12:22b–31, 33–34 or 12:2–7, which are organized topically, and Q 6:20b–49 which displays a more complicated rhetorical organization.[102] The means by which one large block of material is associate with another is, however, often catchword. Q 12:22b–31, 33–34 is connected with the following block (12:39–40, 42b–46, 49, 51–53, 54–56, 57–59) by the catchwords διορύσσω (12:33, 39) and κλέπτης (12:33, 39) even though there is a glaring inconsistency in the way the metaphors of theft are employed.[103]

Second, the sub-collections differ quite markedly in their apparent functions, implied audience,[104] mode of rhetoric, etc. The hortatory character of Q 6:20b–49; 11:2–4, 9–13 and 12:2–7 (8–9), 11–12; 12:22b–31, 33–34, for example, which are directed at adherents of the [29] Jesus movement, is in striking contrast to the openly polemical nature of Q 11:14–26 or Q 11:39–52.

What these observations suggest is that the moment of final redaction must be distinguished both in terms of its literary method and its intention from the editing of earlier components. And it suggests that the sub-collections themselves were collected by varying means, and for varying purposes.

As a means to understand these and other features in Q, various of the authors discussed below employ a stratigraphic model, whereby Q is thought to contain two or more strata of literary materials, analogous, perhaps to recent

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[101] See now Ron Cameron's analysis of this unit as a chreia-elaboration: "'What Have You Come Out to See?' Characterizations of John and Jesus in the Gospels," in *The Apocryphal Jesus and Christian Origins* (ed. Ron Cameron; Semeia 49; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 35–69.

[102] The rhetorical structure of the Sermon has been discussed by Shawn Carruth, "Strategies of Authority: A Rhetorical Study of the Character of the Speaker in Q 6:20–49," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1995), 98–115 and Rees Conrad Douglas, "'Love Your Enemies': Rhetoric, Tradents, and Ethos," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1995), 116–31.

[103] See Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 149.

[104] I use "implied audience" in distinction from the "actual audience" which is, of course, the Q group itself. This distinction, which is evidently lost on some critics, merely recognizes that for rhetorical purposes, some of Q's speeches are framed as if they were speaking to opponents, outsiders, or audiences hostile to Q's message, while others are framed with sympathizers in view.

views of the Fourth Gospel which posit a Signs Gospel at the base, which has been edited and expanded substantially in a second redaction.[105] The strata may themselves comprise materials that have come together rather swiftly, by precipitation, or by a process of gradual aggregation.[106] What distinguishes the stratigraphic model is the attempt to perceive within the Q materials two or more layers, each of which has a literary, generic, and theological integrity, distinct from, and perhaps even in contrast to, the antecedent or succeeding layers. It is precisely the variations that can be observed *among* the sub-collections of Q, both their respective modes of literary organization and their respective theological orientations, that make it difficult to imagine a singular redaction bringing together all of the sub-collections. Successive redactions, using distinct methods and from distinct perspectives, offer a ready alternative.

d. Interpolation Theories

As already discussed above (§ II.1) many authors have identified various "late interpolations." As with Bultmann's theory for the composition of John, such glosses remain [30] peripheral to the major compositional moment(s) so long as they are few in number. If, as in Raymond Brown's theory of John, or Sato's view of Q (see below), the "late additions" are much more substantial, this becomes yet another composition moment whose scope, intent and literary integrity must be assessed.

2. Compositional Scenarios

While each of the models discussed above is a priori possible and in fact finds literary analogies elsewhere, the choice of a particular model or combinations of models cannot be *a priori*. Instead, it must be based on an analytic procedure which, in effect, deconstructs the document by the same rules that it was constructed in the first place.

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[105] E.g., Robert Tomson Fortna, *The Fourth Gospel and Its Predecessor: From Narrative to Present Gospel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988); Urban C. Von Wahlde, *The Earliest Version of John's Gospel: Recovering the Gospel of Signs* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1989).

[106] Leif E. Vaage ("Composite Texts and Oral Myths: The Case of the 'Sermon' [6:20–49]," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* [ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995], 75–97), while accepting the thesis of the division of Q into two discrete strata, argues that there is no reason to assume that the Sermon (6:20b-49) existed in any form prior to its being written down in the formative stratum of Q. Hence, he rejects the "aggregation model" as a diachronic model insofar as it describes a early compositional history of the Q materials. By contrast, Sellew ("Early Collections") argues for the oral composition of "dominical discourse" by comparing Mark-Q overlaps.

a. Tradition-historical Approaches

The clearest example of the use of tradition-history to uncover compositional strata in Q is the massive study by Siegfried Schulz (1972). Schulz rightly observes that Q affords no opportunity to control redactional activity on the basis of seams or summary statements, since it contains none. Beginning instead with Bultmann's trio of "Hellenistic Jewish" Q sayings, Schulz develops a list of characteristics indicative of a Hellenistic Jewish stratum of Q: the use of apophthegms and the LXX; wisdom influence; kerygmatic interest in the earthly Jesus and christological concerns; the polemic against all of Israel; awareness of the delay of the Parousia and the use of a "scribal λέγω ὑμῖν formula" (p. 47–52). This list of criteria allowed Schulz to identify a later stratum of Q (Q^2), which in fact comprised almost three-quarters of Q. The remainder Schulz assigns to the older Palestinian-Syrian Q community (see Appendix "B").

It is unclear whether Schulz would adopt a "precipitation," or "aggregation" model for the composition of either or both of his strata. Only infrequently does he mention the "final Q redactors" (p. 481) or the "Gentile-Christian final redactor" (p. 484) and even then does not indicate how they functioned. Indeed, Schulz's approach to Q does not discuss matters of literary composition at all; there is no at[31]tention paid to the putative order of pericopae, and redactional intention is not sought in the ordering and arrangement of the material, but solely in its selection. Q is treated not as a document, but as a set of heterogeneous tradition.

Although his procedure for identifying the formative and later levels of Q is not as sophisticated or detailed, Walter Schmithals also employs tradition-history rather than genuinely literary-critical criteria. In a series of publications, Schmithals posited an early recension (Q^1) containing the majority of the Son of Man sayings and most of the Mark-Q doublets (see Appendix "A"). From a theological point of view Q^1 was imbued with an acute apocalypticism but was devoid of christological reflection.[107]

Schmithals reconstructed the formative stage (Q^1) by ascribing to it (1) most of the Mark-Q doublets, (2) all of the Son of Man sayings in which Jesus is not obviously identified with the Son of Man and (3) most other sayings that cohere with the perspectives of (1) or (2). The phenomenon of doublets is in fact Schmithals' starting point. Citing Wendling's conclusion that "all the various sayings materials of the evangelist [Mark] are drawn from *one* source which was available to him along with the *Urbericht* and which was either

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[107] Schmithals holds that Q^1 was a source for Mark and therefore was already in written form (*Markus*, 58). Since Q^1 contains no mention of the cross or resurrection, he rejects the view that it derives from a "second sphere" of early *Christian* preaching (which for Schmithals always presupposes a kerygmatic assertion of the saving significance of the cross). Instead Q^1 was transmitted by Galilean followers of Jesus who held Jesus and John to be prophets who proclaimed the change of aeons and died martyrs' deaths (*Einleitung*, 402).

identical with Q or very closely related to it,"[108] Schmithals in effect shaves with Ockham's razor and concludes that in the case of doublets, either Mark knew Q or Q knew Mark.[109] Q^1 becomes a source-critical convenience [32] to explain one set of Mark-Q doublets and the resuscitation of Wellhausen's theory of Q's dependence upon Mark explains those doublets (and other Q sayings) which presuppose a christological development.

At the same time, Q^1 is a theological convenience since it allows Schmithals to maintain a relatively monolithic understanding of what is distinctively "Christian" and to locate the decisive transition from pre-Christian apocalyptic to genuinely Christian theology within the composition history of Q itself. Q^1 represents nonkerygmatic Jesus-tradition of a *non-Christian* group.[110] Mark adopted and kerygmatized its sayings and the redactor of Q in turn edited Q^1 with Mark in view in order to bring the adherents of Q^1 into the Christian fold.[111] The history of Q thus embraces not only the mission of Jesus' followers to Israel, but the theological "mission" of Markan theology to Q^1!

The use of doublets as a criterion for stratigraphic dissection is precarious at best since it must presume, contrary to what seems *a priori* likely, first, that the tradition of the sayings of Jesus was strictly linear and second, that doublets must be explained by recourse to theories of literary dependence. Once the possibility is acknowledged that the Thomas-Q/Mark and John-Q/Mark doublets attest to the diversified nature of the early Jesus tradition,[112] and once

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[108] E. Wendling, *Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums: Philologische Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1908), 36 (emphasis original); Schmithals, *Markus*, 57.

[109] The decisive nature of this assumption is demonstrated by Schmithals' treatment of the sapiential sayings which do not cohere with either the acutely apocalyptic Q^1 or the christological redaction of Q: since there are no doublets to Q 6:31, 35c; 12:6–7, 22–34 "it cannot be determined whence the redactor of Q got this material, and whether it was already connected with the sayings material in Q^1" (*Einleitung*, 402).

[110] Schmithals, "Worte vom leidenden Menschensohn," 438: "... das gesamte dem Evangelisten Markus aus der Spruchüberlieferung Q^1 zugeflossene Material [ist] vorchristlich und vorkerygmatisch, nämlich jüdisch-apokalyptisch." P. 442: "Die Träger der Q^1-Tradition sind ausserhalb der *christlichen* Gemeinde zu suchen." (emphasis original).

[111] Schmithals, *Lukas*, 94–96, 160: "Der Redaktor von Q [14:16–24] richtet damit eine Einladung an den Tradentenkreis von Q^1, dies Faktum [viz. that Gentiles were part of the kingdom] anzuerkennen und sich der «gemischten Gesellschaft», der christlichen Gemeinde, anzuschliessen."

[112] Schmithals (*Einleitung*, 401–2) rejects as unproven the view that Thomas betrays knowledge of Q (which, of course, is not what is being claimed). He also rejects the implication that Johannine Son of Man traditions attest to an independent tradition of Son of Man sayings ("Worte vom leidenden Menschensohn," 445). His appeal to Hans Conzelmann (*An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament* [trans. John Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1969], 136) on this point against Schulz (*Untersuchungen zur Menschensohn-Christologie im Johannesevangelium* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957]) goes significantly beyond what Conzelmann actually stated on the matter.

the case for Markan de[33]pendence on Q is challenged,[113] the economy of Schmithals' solution is exposed as simplistic.[114]

The use of tradition historical and theological criteria for the delineation of redactional strata is subject to the same criticisms that were leveled at Bultmann's source analysis of the Fourth Gospel. In reflecting on the history of attempts to discover the sources of John, Fortna rightly proposed contextual criteria – i.e., properly literary criteria – as the appropriate starting point, and as a way to avoid the circularity inherent in theological criteria[115]:

> In many cases an aporia is simply the collision of two ideological or stylistic elements; but instead of jumping to a conclusion, on the basis of a prior assumption, as to which is Johannine, the critic should examine the seam to see if it suggests a primary and a secondary stratum, that is, a *Vorlage* on which redaction has evidently taken place. Contextual evidence is strong because it is relative: the *relation* of conflicting data, rather than the mere presence of an absolute datum, is taken as a clue to the passage's composition.

> Ironically, the conclusions of Schulz and Schmithals that the earliest stratum of Q was not concerned with explicit christological reflection has been sustained by more recent analyses: while some of sayings which Zeller, Kloppenborg and Piper identify as belonging to the early layers of Q have the potential for Christological exploitation, none of them functions in that way at the early level. Yet the more recent analyses arrive at this conclusion not by making Christology or [34] any other theological datum into a criterion, but by using more properly literary-critical criteria.[116]

b. Early Redactional Analyses

The literary control lacking in the tradition-historical approaches is present in Lührmann's 1969 study. Lührmann's understanding of "redaction" was formulated in dialogue with Bultmann. In contrast to the latter's idea that the literary composition of the gospels was only an extension of what had already begun at the oral stage,[117] Lührmann distinguished more sharply between "collection" (*Sammlung*) and "redaction" (*Redaktion*). In place of Bultmann's model of an organic process Lührmann proposed that "at a specific moment various traditions were brought together into the sayings source, and hence one

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[113] See Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*.

[114] Schmithals in effect also uses a theological criterion for the redactional analysis of the Son of Man sayings: whatever exhibits christological identification must derive from the redaction of Q. The history of source criticism of the fourth gospel, however, has shown how difficult and unreliable the resort to theological criteria can be.

[115] Robert Tomson Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel* (SNTSMS 11; Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 20 (emphasis original).

[116] See further, John S. Kloppenborg, "Tradition and Redaction in the Synoptic Sayings Source," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 45; Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 29.

[117] Bultmann, *Geschichte*, 347–55 (ET: 321–28).

could establish a singular (*einmalige*) redaction of Q."[118] Lührmann sought to discover compositional intention in three ways: First, when form-criticism indicates that a complex in Q contains several smaller units, redactional intention is seen in the principles by which the individual units are associated. Second, a comparison of Mark with Q where overlaps exist can serve to highlight the distinctive character of Q's editing. And finally, redactional intention may be seen in the *Gemeindebildungen* (discussed above, § II.2). The first criterion was, in fact, Lührmann's main tool, and from its application he was able to conclude that at one level of composition, a polemic against "this generation" dominated. This motif replaced, for example, earlier rivalry between John the Baptist and Jesus in Q 7:18–23, 28; now John and Jesus stood together against this generation (7:31–35). Similarly, an originally anti-Pharisaic polemic (Q 11:39–44, 46–48, 52) was broad[35]ened to include all Israel through the addition of Q 11:49–51 (pp. 24–48).

Although Lührmann described a single redaction, he was prepared to admit that smaller collections (12:2–7; 6:20–49) were used in the assembling of Q,[119] and to this extent the compositional model at work is not a simple one-stage precipitation of tradition. The same, apparently, applies to collections such as Q 11:33, 34–36; and 12:22–32, 33–34 (p. 84).

Both Lührmann's general methodological approach and his conclusion that the polemic against "this generation" and the announcement of judgment served as controlling motifs at one level of redaction are now broadly accepted, even if there remains some questions regarding the location of the anti-Baptist materials relative to this principal redactional layer (Jacobson) and regarding the degree to which materials antecedent to this redaction may also have represented a discrete redactional (Kloppenborg, Piper) or redactions (Sato). His model of an *einmalige Redaktion* has also been influential on the work of Wolfgang Schenk, who likewise posits a single redaction of Q.

Following and expanding upon Lührmann's work, Schenk identified a long list of elements which he assigned to "a final, characteristic redactional stratum of Q itself" (see Appendix "A").[120] Schenk's understanding of Q was developed at least in part as a function of his earlier argument that the decisive evidence of Mark's dependence upon Q lay in the influence that Q-redaction had exerted on Mark.[121] It is perhaps because of this interest that he has not discussed the actual compositional process of Q. It does not seem likely, however, that Schenk conceives of an initial written version of Q containing those sayings not assigned to redaction, since the removal of the redactional

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[118] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 16. Lührmann (15 n. 1) acknowledges that his understanding of redaction is much more restrictive than Bultmann's, who applies the term to the development of both oral and written tradition.

[119] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 50 n. 3, 55, 56.

[120] Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 14.

[121] Schenk, "Der Einfluss der Logienquelle auf das Markusevangelium".

stratum would leave a mass of mostly unrelated sayings. Schenk's redactional phase itself produces some anomalies. For instance, he is undoubtedly correct that Q 10:12 is a redactional clasp which joins [36] 10:13–15 to the preceding sayings, and that 12:29–31 represents a commentary word joined to 12:22b–24, 26–28.[122] However, it is quite unlikely that they belong to the *same* level of redactional activity since they differ so markedly in their respective motifs and forms. Stratigraphic coherence must be one of the keys to redactional analysis.

Athanasius Polag, working independently of Lührmann, proposed a compositional model in his Trier dissertation (1969; published in 1977). Rather than positing a single decisive redaction, Polag included (1) the aggregation of sayings into clusters at the earliest levels, (2) a main collection, and (3) fairly extensive late additions. He began by distinguishing eleven topically organized *Spruchgruppen*:

A. Introductory Pericopae: 3:7–4:13
B. The Sermon on the Mount: 6:20–7:1a
C. John the Baptist: 7:18–35
D. The Commissioning Sayings: 10:1–16
E. On Prayer: 11:1b–13
F. Controversies: 11:14–26, 29–36, 37–52
G. Confession: 12:1–12
H. Anxiety and Preparedness: 12:22–53
I. Parables: 12:54–16:18 (scattered throughout Luke)
K. Responsibilities of the Servants: 17:1–10
L. Warnings of Judgment: 17:23–35

With the exception of group "A" and several later additions (7:27, 28; 12:10, 47–48, 49–53), these groups form the "main collection" (*Hauptsammlung*) assembled in a first redaction.[123] Yet Polag excludes all biblical citations from this formative collection, as well as all of the introductory material (3:7–4:13) and the concluding parable of the talents (19:12–27). His reasons for considering biblical citations as secondary are nowhere stated and his exclusion of the introductory materials derives, apparently, from the observations "dass es nicht [37] Worte Jesu an die Jünger, die Menge oder die Gegner bringt" (p. 15) and that these pericopae function to provide a christological justification for the entire collection. Once he has identified 3:7–4:13 as late, other sayings in Q which seem to cohere with the distinctive emphases of this section (namely, 7:1–10, 27, 28; 10:21–22, 23–24; 12:10, 47–48, 49–53 and Matt 5:19) are attributed to the same redaction (pp. 16–17).

While Polag has clearly recognized the topical organization of various portions of Q, his identification of the elements of "late redaction" is predicated upon a seemingly arbitrary exclusion of 3:7–4:13 to this stratum.

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[122] Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 55, 90–91. See also Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 218.

[123] Polag, *Christologie*, 8. Polag also argues that groups B, C, D, and F developed around the "kernels" of (respectively) 6:27–38; 7:18–26; 10:4–11, 16; and 11:14–23 and these were already combined prior to the redaction of the main collection (p. 129).

Why, for example, should the call to repentance and threat of judgment in 3:7–9, 16–17 be considered late when 10:13–15 and 11:31–32, which evince the same themes, are assigned to the main collection? The literary control evident in Lührmann's analysis is lacking in Polag.

c. Five Recent Analyses

i. ARLAND D. JACOBSON

Although Jacobson does not analyze the entirety of Q in his 1978 Claremont dissertation or his subsequent articles (1982, 1982, 1987), his compositional model, while incomplete, covers a large amount of the Q material, and his discussion of method appropriate to the analysis of Q is careful and convincing. His subsequent (1992) monograph extends the analysis to the whole of Q.[124]

Jacobson posits a relatively complex (three-stage) literary development for Q. He is, nonetheless, in basic agreement with Lührmann on two points. First and fundamentally, he insists that redactional intent is to be sought in the arrangement of materials, and that this necessitates establishing a probable Q-order of sayings.[125]

> In describing my method initially, I spoke of it as "composition analysis" or "composition criticism," and described it as the "analysis of the structure of the document and the interior dynamics of its parts." By "interior dynamics" I meant the ways sayings interact and interpret each [**38**] other when placed in sayings compositions; but I also spoke of "structure" in the conviction that Q is meaningfully organized not just within sayings compositions (e.g., the Sermon) but in much larger "sections" and even perhaps with respect to the document as a whole.

Second, Jacobson suggests that at the formative or "compositional" stage "isolated sayings were gathered together into sayings compositions and were edited tendentiously."[126] For example, he proposes that the sayings in Q 10:2–16 have been organized from the perspective of deuteronomistic theology to reflect Q's vision of mission as an "errand of judgment." Only 10:2 and 10:7b show signs of having been added subsequent to the compositional stage.[127] Nevertheless, Jacobson is ready, like Lührmann, to acknowledge that larger pre-redactional units were used in the compositional process. The "inaugural sermon" was just such a pre-redactional unity, consisting of 6:20b–23b, 27–35, 36–38, 40–41, 42b–45, 46–49 and divided into two sections, the first, a call to imitate God (6:20b–23b, 27–38) and the second, a call to imitate the teacher (6:40–41, 42b–49). Insertions at the compositional stage include 6:23c,

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[124] Jacobson, *First Gospel*.

[125] Arland D. Jacobson, "The History of the Composition of The Synoptic Sayings Source," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1987 Seminar Papers* (ed. Kent H. Richards; SBLSP 26; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 288, citing idem, "Wisdom Christology," 8.

[126] Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology," 13.

[127] Jacobson, "Lc 10,2–16," 421–23.

reflecting the deuteronomistic motif of Israel's persecution of the prophets, and 6:39, 42a, which introduce a sharp polemical tone into the later part of the sermon.[128]

Jacobson's main compositional phase, which brought together existing clusters and individual sayings, includes three blocks: (1) 3:(1–6), 7–9, 16abd, 17; 6:20b–23ab, 27–49; 7:1–10, 24–27; 16:16; 7:31–35; (2) 9:57–60; 10:2–16 and (3) 11:14–20, 23, 29–32, 24–26, 27–28 (?), 33–36, 46, 42, 43 (?), 39–41, 44, 47–51, 52 (?). Of these, Q 3:8b; 6:23c, 39, 42a; 7:1–10; 16:16; 7:31–35; 10:12; and perhaps 11:51b were due to the activity of the compiler of this stage.[129] [39]

A second redactional phrase was detected, characterized by the motifs of secret revelation (10:21–22; 11:2–4, 9–13) and enthusiasm (11:2–4, 9–13; 17:5–6), the tendency to subordinate John to Jesus (3:16c; 7:18–23, 28) and an interest in the miraculous (7:18–23; 17:5–6). Jacobson also includes 12:2–12, 22–34 in this redaction.[130] The final addition to Q was the temptation story, which he interprets in an anti-enthusiastic manner.

Jacobson establishes the relative stratigraphy through a series of interlocking observations. First, he argues that 3:16c, which subordinates John to Jesus, is subsequent rather than prior to the assembling of the material in the compositional phrase. This allows him to conclude that all other materials (i.e., 7:18–23, 28) that subordinated John to Jesus were later. Q 7:18–23, in turn, exhibits an interest in the miraculous that does not cohere with the compositional phrase, but which coheres with other enthusiastic pericopae (11:2–4, 9–13; 17:5–6). Finally, since Jacobson interprets the temptation story not only as anti-enthusiastic but as directed at enthusiastic elements *within Q*, he places the second set of materials between the compositional and the final stages of redaction.

ii. Migaku Sato[131]

Like Jacobson, Migaku Sato locates a major compositional moment in the assembling of materials with an announcement of judgment and a polemic against "this generation" in view.[132] He is more confident, however, than either Lührmann or Jacobson in establishing the contours of pre-redactional blocks; but he also assigns much more of Q to the stage of later accretions.

Sato begins his 1984 Bern dissertation critical of Lührmann's simple distinction between "collection" and "redaction," preferring Lührmann's own

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[128] Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology," 52–66, 95–96. For further discussion see Kloppenborg, "Tradition and Redaction," 51–54.

[129] See Jacobson, "The History of the Composition of The Synoptic Sayings Source," 288–89.

[130] Jacobson, "The History of the Composition of The Synoptic Sayings Source," 289; idem, "Wisdom Christology," 94, 218–20, 221–22.

[131] Unless otherwise stated, all page references are to the 1988 publication.

[132] Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 45.

statement that Q stands at "the end of long process of [**40**] tradition."[133] He is more favorable to Schürmann's model, but observes rightly that Schürmann did not apply the model consistently to all of the Q material, especially the final stages of redaction. Sato himself is doubtful that one can even speak of a "final redaction." Polag's insight that Q has redactional strata is certainly correct and while Polag is also correct in taking Lukan order to reflect that of Q, he does not take Q order into account when deciding issues of redaction.

> For it is only on the basis of the pattern and method by which the material has been organized that one can infer anything tangible about the "redaction of Q." Instead of doing this, Polag is guided largely by his own preconceptions of the development of the Q community and of "Q christology" (p. 32).

Sato begins his own analysis with the assumption that the material extending from Q 3:(2–4?), 7–9, 16–17, (21–22) to Q 7:24–28 was redacted as a unit. It is framed by the mention of the Baptist (3:1–6, 7–9, 16–17; 7:18–28), and by the references to the Coming One (3:16; 7:19) and the wilderness around the Jordan (3:3; 7:24). Jesus' initial and final words concern the kingdom (6:20b; 7:28) and the poor (6:20b; 7:22). Moreover, 6:20b–23, 27–35 serve to explicate John's call to repentance in 3:8 and the response of a non-Israelite to Jesus in 7:1–10 resumes the theme introduced in John's warning (3:8b) and anticipates the warning in 7:23. The entire unit may have been apophthegmatized by the addition of Q 4:16 and 6:20a.[134] Sato concludes that "it is therefore probable that the complex represents a consciously composed literary unit which has in view the relationship of Jesus to the Baptist in particular" (p. 35). He calls this document "Redaction A."[135] [**41**]

Q 3:1–7:28 contains a few secondary additions, however. Sato excludes 7:31–34, 35 from the source despite the fact that it appears to treat the relation of John and Jesus because it introduces the new theme of "this generation" and it shifts addressees from the attentive public to the unbelieving masses (p. 34). The temptation story, which has no obvious links with John and which expressly quotes the LXX and uses the title "Son of God," and Q 7:27, which likewise introduces a biblical quotation with γέγραπται and associates John with Elijah are both excluded from Redaction "A" as later interpolations (pp. 35–36).[136]

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[133] Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 28 citing Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 84.

[134] This is the view taken in the 1984 dissertation (p. 40). In the 1988 version, Sato still maintains that "die starke Apophthegmatisierung des ganzen Komplex [3:2–7:28] [ist] zu beachten" (p. 35) but omits the references to 4:16 and 6:20a. He does, however, still argue that these two should be included in Q "mit größter Vorsicht" (pp. 24–25).

[135] Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 33: "Eine *Redaktion* stellt ein selbständige, schriftliches und mit einem bewußt gewählten Gesichtspunkt redigiertes Korpus dar, das oft neben den Sprüchen mit fremden Stoffen versehen wird."

[136] Sato (*Q und Prophetie*, 36) seems to suggest that Q 4:1–2a (par. Mark 1:12–13) may have belonged to Redaction "A" and that this was later expanded. This point is made more clearly in the typescript of 1984 (p. 41), where he also expresses some hesitation about 3:21–

Sato also mentions earlier collections (*Spruchsammlungen*) embraced by Redaction "A," most notably 3:7–9, 16–17 and 6:20b–49, which in turn contains several smaller clusters (*Spruchgruppe*). However, Q 6:39–40 and perhaps 6:43–45 are more recent additions than Redaction "A" (pp. 36, 45).

A second early constituent document is Redaction "B" which begins with one apophthegm (Q 9:57–58) and concludes with another one (10:21–24). The introductory phrase of 10:21 ("at that time") refers back to the first apophthegm; hence, the second apophthegm is bound to the first, and the intervening material is thus bracketed. The unit depicts Jesus as twice testing the disciples, then commissioning them, and finally giving thanks to God for the revelation of eschatological salvation (10:21; cf. 10:5–6, 9). A beatitude introduced by λέγω ὑμῖν (10:23–24) signals the end of the unit (p. 37). Sato holds that this too was an originally independent source which was secondarily joined to Redaction "A" by means of 7:31–35 which is attracted to the preceding material by mention of John and to the following by the catchword "Son of Man" (7:34; 9:58). [**42**]

Like Redaction "A," Redaction "B" has undergone secondary glossing, by 10:12, 13–15 which interrupts 10:10–11, 16,[137] and by 10:22, a "kontextgebundene Neubildung" which employs the title "Son" and like 4:3, 9 seems to presuppose the baptismal theophany of Q 3:21–22. And like Redaction "A," Redaction "B" comprises smaller collections, notably 10:3–11 to which 10:2 and 10:16 were added at the time of the assembling of that source (p. 38).

The Beelzebul controversy and the request for a sign provide Sato with a key to a main compositional stage of Q. Since it refers to Sophia (11:31), the Son of Man (11:30) and opposition to "this generation" (11:29–32), it must be related to 7:31–35 where these terms also appear. And since 7:31–35 is the redactional clasp which connects Redaction "A" with Redaction "B," Q 11:14–32 must also belong to this secondary compositional stratum. Sato christens this Redaction "C." This stage is not quite comparable with the two preceding redactions, since it does not form a continuous unit. Instead, it brings together the two preceding strata by framing them with materials critical of "this generation." The woes against the Pharisees (11:39–52) – comprising an earlier *Spruchsammlung* that has been glossed with a saying which again mentions both Sophia and "this generation" – also belongs to Redaction C (pp. 39, 40–41). The same is the case for the *Spruchgruppe* in 13:23–24, 25–27, 28–29, 34–35 which is unified by the motifs of judgment and condemnation. Even though the phrase "this generation" is lacking, the tone of 13:23–35 agrees with other materials from Redaction "C," and 13:34–35 bears the marks of a saying of Sophia (pp. 42–43). To Redaction "C" also belongs Q 17:23–37 which employs the Son of Man title and emphasizes the universality of judg-

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22. That the entire paragraph is dropped in 1988 suggests that he now includes 3:21–22 in Q and in Redaction "A."

[137] Sato (*Q und Prophetie*, 45) suggests that 10:12, 13–15 are added by Redaction "C."

ment. Sato explains the lack of the motifs of Sophia, "this generation" and a specific judgment of Israel by the supposition that [**43**] 17:23–37 was "eine schon früher fixierte Spruchsammlung" (p. 44) which was incorporated into Redaction "C" en bloc.[138]

Several clusters of sayings present Sato with difficulties. He acknowledges that 11:2–4, 9–13 was a fixed *Spruchgruppe* on prayer and that its position, before Q 11:14–26, 29–32, is relatively certain. He characterizes its position, however, as "ganz unmotiviert" (p. 39). Likewise, 11:33–35 cannot be easily connected with either 11:14–32 or 11:39–52 (p. 40). Q 12:2–12, 22–31, 33–34 was probably an early *Spruchsammlung* formed from a core consisting of 12:4–12 (framed by the vetitives "do not fear" and "take no thought") later augmented by 12:2–3 and 12:22–31. Q 12:39–46 and 12:49–13:21 (containing the *Spruchgruppe* 12:49, 51–53) likewise represent smaller clusters but in both instances, the connection with 11:39–52 or 13:23–35 difficult to fathom.

This causes a dilemma. Would Redaction "C" have interposed 12:2–12, 22–34 (and 12:39–13:21) between 11:39–52 and 13:23–35 when the former had so little material connection with the main themes of Redaction "C"? Sato considers two possibilities: either Redaction "C" incorporated this material "without a compositional plan" or, more likely, the lack of clear organization is due not to Redaction "C" but to various "unsystematic interpolations and additions" subsequent to Redaction C (p. 43).[139] Further, he is doubtful whether the double tradition material that falls between 13:35 and 17:23 (i.e., 14:16–24, 26, 27, 34–35; 15:4–7; 16:16–18; 17:1, 3–4, 6) or Q 19:12–27 and 22:28–30 can be ascribed to Q with certainty, and in any event, sees no way in which these can be integrated into a redactional stratum.[140] Thus[141] [**44**]

> [t]he document Q was not fixed redactional all at once but came into existence in a long process of collection, addition, redaction and editing. Q is characterized by *successive and continual reworkings*.

This process of successive and sometimes "unsystematic" expansions becomes logistically possible for Sato if Q is visualized as a notebook or looseleaf book (*Ringbuch*) into which additional sheets might easily be inserted (pp. 62–65).

Like Lührmann and Jacobson, Sato is insistent that attention to the order of Q sayings is crucial in uncovering redaction. However while Lührmann and

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[138] Q 19:12–27 and 22:28–30, according to Sato are only doubtfully ascribed to Q and cannot be assigned to any redactional stratum.

[139] In a footnote Sato (*Q und Prophetie*, 43 n. 99) considers the possibility that 12:2–34 is prior to Redaction "C."

[140] Sato (*Q und Prophetie*, 23, 43 + n. 101) indicates that 16:13 did belong to Q, and that 16:16–18 constituted a "chain" of saying, although he cannot place either in a redactional stratum.

[141] Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 46, ET: "The Shape of the Q-Source," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (ed. and trans. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 177, emphasis original.

Jacobson focused their attention on the compositional moment comparable to Sato's redaction "C," Sato was just as concerned to detect the compositional layers which antedated this major redaction and in this, the influence of Schürmann is evident.

The principal difficulty with the scenario proposed by Sato is that a large amount of Q is relegated to the status of "unmotivated" or "unsystematic" accretions. Indeed the scale on which these unmotivated additions occurs creates a stark contrast with the very deliberate character of Sato's three principal redactions. That half of a document is the result of controlled editorial activity and half is the result of whimsical accretion is, of course, theoretically possible, but surely not a probable scenario. Moreover, Sato is often unable to decide whether a block of material is early or late relative to redaction "C." Much depends upon his suggestion that Q was constructed like a "Ringbuch;" while Sato offers evidence of the existence of notebooks, he provides no evidence that literary works were ever composed using a "loose-leaf" model.

A secondary problem is created by Sato's suggestion that redaction "A" was compiled to deal with the issue of the relation between John and Jesus. The amount of material in this putative redaction is such that it cannot have been simply an oral cluster; it is much too long for this, and must have been a document. But it may be doubted whether debate with the Baptist disciples would provide a sufficient motivation for the composition and transmission of this unit. And much of the content of redaction "A" has nothing to do with the [45] Baptist. Sato makes no suggestion regarding the original function of his redaction "B," which is much shorter than redaction "A." But the *Sitz im Leben* of "B" cannot be restricted to the envoys sent out, since as Sato (rightly) observes Q 10:2 (and 10:21, 23–24) are directed at a wider audience. Nevertheless, while Q 9:57–10:24 is extensive enough to require literary rather than oral transmission, it can scarcely comparable in length to other known church rules.

iii. Dieter Zeller

One of the anomalies created in the analyses of both Jacobson and Sato is that Q 11:2–4, 9–13; 12:2–12 and 12:22–31 are placed late in the compositional history of Q while sayings of a very similar character in Q 6:20b–49 are located early. The (incipiently) stratigraphical approaches of Zeller and Kloppenborg address these problems without thereby rejecting the important insight of Lührmann and Jacobson regarding the compositional importance of the polemic against "this generation."

Zeller's study of sapiential admonitions (1977) and his later essay (1982) and commentary on Q (1984) resulted in important suggestions in regard to the formative stages of Q. He argued for the existence of six (or seven) sayings

complexes (*Logienkomplexe*) which had their own special Sitz im Leben and each formed about the kernel of a monitory saying:[142]

1. Behaviour with regard to enemies: 6:(20–23), 27–28, 29–30, 31, 32–33, 35c, 36–38, 41–42 (43–46, 47–49).
2. Behaviour of missionaries: 10:2–8a, 9–11a, 12 (16).
3. Prayer: 11:(2–4), 9–13.
4. Behaviour during persecution: 12:(2–3), 4–7, 8–9 (10).
5. Attitude toward possessions: 12:22–31, 33–34.
6. Watchfulness: 12:(35–37?), 39–40, 42–46. [**46**]

A seventh complex might be added to this:

7. Behaviour in view of the End: 17:23–24, 37, 26–27, 30, 34–35.

Common to at least the first six collections is the fact that they address adherents of the Jesus movement rather than polemicizing against outsiders. Some of the collections may originally have been used and transmitted by wandering charismatics (10:3–12; 12:22–31; 12:2–9?).[143] Not all of these collections may be so understood, however: there is no reason to restrict the first collection (Q 6:20–49) to this situation. There is evidence, moreover, that the second and fifth collections underwent redaction from the point of view of sedentary communities: 10:2 and 10:21–22, which address the community as a whole rather than merely the itinerant preachers, have been added to bracket and frame the earlier cluster of sayings, and the addition of Q 12:33–34, encouraging almsgiving, betrays a similar shift in addressees.[144] A yet more advanced stage in the composition of Q was reached when polemical materials directed at Baptist disciples (3:7–9, 16–17; 7:18–28) and "this generation" (11:14–23, 29–32, 39–52) were incorporated. While these traditions might have been formulated early on in actual situations of conflict, they were reused in the new situation of a sedentary community. Sayings such as 3:7–9 were now heard as admonitions to catechumens to exhibit repentance and the polemical materials helped the community to arrive at a self-identify over against Israel.[145]

In the schematic terms proposed above, Zeller's analysis of Q lies somewhere between an "aggregation model" and the full "stratigraphic model" proposed by Kloppenborg. Although Zeller does not think that [**47**] his six (or seven) sayings complexes formed a single discrete literary layer which was

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[142] Zeller, *Weisheitliche Mahnsprüche*, 191. All of Zeller's Matthean versification has been converted into Q (= Lukan) versification. Sayings enclosed in parentheses are "mögliche spätere Wachstumsringe."

[143] Zeller, *Weisheitliche Mahnsprüche*, 192; idem, Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 407.

[144] Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 404, 408. Zeller is not clear whether these collections were written or whether they were already combined, although he observes that the more complex the organization of a unit, the greater the likelihood that it was written ("Redaktionsprozesse," 402).

[145] Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 408–9.

then expanded, he insists that the redactional processes he describes have to do with intentional interactions with "finished" if not "written" texts.[146] It is clear, moreover, that the basis for his analysis of the composition of Q is solidly literary-critical: he proceeds by noting the presence of interpretive expansions of sayings, and the effect produced by the juxtaposition of units, using Markan doublets as a control.[147] Organizing the results of individual analyses into coherent redactional levels then leads to Zeller's conclusions regarding the shifting *Sitze im Leben* in which Q was deployed.

iv. JOHN S. KLOPPENBORG

Kloppenborg arrives at similar conclusions though by a somewhat different route. Rather than starting with the smaller constituent clusters of Q sayings and proceeding, as it were, chronologically from simplest unit to the most complex, he works backwards from an analysis of the macrostructural features of Q to the constituent sayings complexes and sayings clusters. At the level of macrotext, Kloppenborg endorses the conclusions of Lührmann and Jacobson that Q was redacted with the motifs of the announcement of judgment, polemic against "this generation" and deuteronomistic understanding of history as organizing principles. These motifs appear as the organizing principles in four blocks which play a role in framing the entire collection:[148] [**48**]

1. Q 3:(2–4),[149] 7–9, 16b–17,
2. Q 7:1–10, 18–28, 31–35,
3. Q 11:14–15, 16, 17–26, (27–28), 29–32, 33–36, 39b–44, 46–52 and
4. Q 17:23–24, 37b, 26–30, 34–35; 19:12–27; 22:28–30.

But these motifs also appear in various isolated sayings which have the appearance of secondary insertions into fixed units which were organized

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[146] Dieter Zeller, "Eine weisheitliche Grundschrift in der Logienquelle?" in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 389–90: "Ich hatte p. 191f. in Q 6 (bzw. 7) größere Spruchgruppen erhoben, die um einen Kern von Mahnung herumgewachsen sind, meinte aber nicht, daß sie bereits in einer Sammlung vereinigt waren oder gar alleine den Ausgangspunkt für Q als literarische Größe bilden."

[147] Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse," 397–99. Curiously, in his 1992 essay ("Eine weisheitliche Grundschrift in der Logienquelle?" 391) Zeller has taken a step backwards from literary analysis. "Nicht Literarkritik, sondern Überlieferungskritik empfiehlt sich meist als das rechte Instrumentar, um dem zweifellos vorhandenen Wachtung auf die Spur zu kommen."

[148] Kloppenborg, "Antique Instructional Genres," 450; idem, *Formation*, 102–70. Q 12:39–40, 42b–46, 49, 50–53, 54–59 should also be included here.

[149] Although in *Formation*, Kloppenborg did not consider elements in 3:2–4 as deriving from Q, more recently he has argued that Q began with an allusion to the Lot story of Genesis 19, and that this served fittingly as an introduction to the other materials in the framing redaction, in particular, 3:7–9; 10:12, 13–15; and 17:28–30. See John S. Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)," *Semeia* 52 (1990): 145–60 [chap. 9 in this volume].

around quite different theological and literary principles: 6:23c; 10:12, 13–15; 12:8–9, 10.[150]

Alongside the large complexes which evince the motifs of judgment and polemic there are substantial units whose primary redactional intent is paraenetic, hortatory and instructional, and indeed compare favorably in their structure with the "instruction," a widely attested genre of wisdom literature. They include[151]

1. Q 6:20b–23b, 27–35, 36–45, 46–49,
2. Q 9:57–60, (61–62); 10:2–11, 16,
3. Q 11:2–4, 9–13,
4. Q 12:2–7, 11–12,
5. Q 12:22b–31, 33–34 and probably
6. Q 13:24; 14:26–27; 17:33; 14:34–35.

Since some of these blocks contain secondary interpolations which express the perspective of the polemical redaction, it is reasonable to assume that the hortatory instructions were literarily antecedent to the polemical materials and that at some point in the development of Q the instructional material was edited in accordance with the later perspective. [**49**]

Like Zeller, Kloppenborg posits an early form of Q which was composed primarily as instruction and exhortation for a group. There are several differences in detail between Zeller and Kloppenborg: the latter excludes Q 10:12 (see above, § II.2), 12:8–9, 10 and 12:39–40, 42–46 from the formative stratum. Whereas Zeller expresses uncertainty in assigning 17:23–37 to the early stratum, Kloppenborg (along with Lührmann and Sato) places this with the stratum which polemicizes against outsiders, especially "this unbelieving generation." Kloppenborg also argues that the materials in the instructional phrase were already collected together and in a written form.[152] Support for this conclusion comes in part from Zeller's own observation that the more complex a unit, the greater the likelihood that it was written. But more importantly, the instructional units in Q display similarities in structure, a fact which invites the conclusion that they were redacted together.[153]

Along with Jacobson and Zeller, Kloppenborg assigned the temptation story to the final stage of Q.[154] To this Kloppenborg has added Q 11:42c and 16:17 for the reason that each of these pericopae appears quite foreign to its immediate literary context, and each displays a conservative posture towards the Torah.[155] This stage (Q^3) does not really represent a major redactional phrase in the way that the editing of the community-directed instructions (Q^1)

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[150] Kloppenborg, "Antique Instructional Genres," 452–55; idem, Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 190, 199–200, 211–16, 243–44.

[151] Kloppenborg, "Antique Instructional Genres," 456–62; idem, *Formation*, 171–245.

[152] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 244.

[153] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 242.

[154] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 246–62.

[155] Kloppenborg, "Nomos and Ethos in Q" [chap. 8 in this volume].

or the editing and insertion of the polemical materials (Q^2) did. Instead, it is a matter of minor glossing, in two instances, "correcting" possible readings that might arise from Q 11:39–41, 42 and 16:16, 18.

v. Ronald Piper

Although Piper's 1989 study of wisdom in Q is limited to a relatively small set of Q materials, his findings have important bearing on the is[**50**]sue of composition and design in Q.[156] Beginning with five clusters (Q 6:37–42; 6:43–45; 11:9–13; 12:2–9 and 12:22–31), Piper argued that in each case, the unit exhibited a consistent, four-part structure: (1) each begins with an admonition with a wide or general appeal followed by (2) a supporting maxim; (3) the following section, usually taking the form of a double rhetorical question, introduces new imagery; and (4) a final saying narrows the original general sapiential insight to a specific issue. This structural regularity not only indicates, according to Piper, that these aphoristic collections are "not haphazard collections of aphoristic sayings" but on the contrary "display a design and argument unique in the synoptic tradition" it also suggests that these collections are the result of "intentional and unique composition" (pp. 64–65). In this connection, he notes that the model of organic growth used by Zeller to describe the composition of sapiential admonitions misleadingly implies that structural regularities are the result of the typicalities of oral tradition. Although Piper stops short of positing a formative stratum of Q containing these clusters, he is rightly insistent that such regularities result from deliberate *literary* activity.

Extending his analysis to other sapiential clusters (6:27–28, 31–36; 6:29–30; 12:33b–34; 12:58–59; 13:23–24; 17:3b–4), Piper notes elements of deliberate stylizing even though these do not conform to the same four-part structure outlined above. They cohere, however, with the themes present in the structured collections. And like the structured collections, these units are directed at community members rather than at outsiders; they intend to persuade rather than command; and persuasion has an experiential basis. Neither the Torah nor imminent eschatological awareness plays a role at all in these sayings.

It is because of the striking similarities in structure, tone and comportment that Piper rejects Jacobson's conclusions that Q 11:9–13; 12:2–9 and 12:22–31 ought to be relegated to a late redaction. And although he did not engage Sato's work, his findings would likewise tell against Sato's suggestion that the Q material found in Luke 11:2–4, [**51**] 9–13; 12:2–12, 22–31, 33–34 were

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[156] Piper, *Wisdom in the Q-Tradition*. Piper worked out some of the details of his thesis in an earlier article, Ronald A. Piper, "Matthew 7,7–11 par. Lk 11,9–13: Evidence of Design and Argument in the Collection of Jesus' Sayings," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 411–18.

"unmotivated" or late additions to Q. Their thematic and general structural coherence shows that they belong together with 6:37–42, which on virtually all showings belongs to the formative stage of Q.

vi. Conclusion

Although Piper worked quite independently of Kloppenborg, the convergences between his and Kloppenborg's conclusions are striking. In fact, with the single exception of Q 12:58–59, Kloppenborg concurs in locating all of the sapiential clusters analyzed by Piper at the formative stage of Q, and for similar reasons: they display consistency in structure, appeal and form. For neither Piper nor Kloppenborg is it the case that sapiential materials are located early in Q's composition because of some presumed general priority of wisdom over prophecy or apocalyptic. On the contrary, the assigning of sapiential clusters to an early composition phase is solely the result of the literary-critical observation of the way in which various component block of Q mutually relate and the way in which redactional and framing elements have been used to redirect and reinterpret earlier clusters.

Two cautions for reading recent scholarship on the composition of Q should be offered. First, as has been emphasized repeatedly, recent analyses of Q have *not* proposed redactional strata on the basis of thematic, or tradition-historical, or material criteria. Hence, it is imply false to claim, as Horsley and others do,[157] that strata delineation is accomplished on the basis of whether particular sayings are "sapiential" or "prophetic" or "apocalyptic." The attentive reader will have noted that the terms "sapiential", "prophetic," and "apocalyptic" rarely even occur in the preceding discussion of method, and when "sapiential" is used, e.g., by Zeller and Kloppenborg, it relates primarily not to content, but to the *form* of the sayings: second person plural or singular imperatives, followed by buttressing statements – the classical form of *weisheitliche Mahnsprüche*. The content of such sayings is [52] another matter entirely. It must be said as well that the understanding of "wisdom" reflected in the criticism of stratigraphical theories is often a parochial and theologically-based view that ignores the breadth of sapiential literature as it is encountered in the Levant. In any case, the strata delineation of Q based on content-considerations has expressly been rejected by the present author and others. Thus, when one speaks of a formative "sapiential" stratum, this is a *secondary characterization* of the *result* of literary-critical analysis, and not the description of the *primary criteria* for strata separation. This should have been obvious from an attentive reading of Q studies since Lührmann, but evidently the point needs to be reiterated.

Second, the stratigraphical analysis, or Sato's positing of two pre-redactional blocks, implies *nothing* automatically in regard either to the tradition-

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[157] Horsley, "Logoi Prophētōn," 196; Williams, "Parable and Chreia: From Q to Narrative Gospel," 105; Kelber, "Jesus and Tradition," 154.

historical provenance or the authenticity of the sayings involved. The only sayings that could be excluded as nonauthentic are those which are judged to be the products of Q redaction (e.g., 11:12; 11:51b; 13:35b). But the literary-critical method does not mean to suggest nor should it be taken to imply that only those sayings that belong to Q^1, or to Sato's "A" and "B" blocks, or to Jacobson's pre-redactional collections should be regarded as authentic. Hence it is absolute nonsense to suggest, as R. H. Fuller has, that "John S. Kloppenborg has argued for a proto-Q in which Jesus is reduced to the status of a teacher of wisdom."[158] This reflects a fundamental misreading of recent Q studies and an utter misrepresentation of its methods. Whether Q sayings, regardless of their compositional location, can be assigned to the historical Jesus must be decided on other grounds.

James M. Robinson draws attention to the convergence of the results obtained by Zeller, Kloppenborg and Piper as a confirmation of the basic insight of Helmut Koester of the sapiential character of both Q and the Gospel of Thomas[159] – a thesis that Lührmann described as [53] "interesting" and deserving of further attention.[160] Koester's hypothesis that there[161]

> must have been a version of Q in which the apocalyptic expectation of the Son of man was missing, and in which Jesus' radicalized eschatology of the kingdom and his revelation of divine wisdom in his own words were dominant motifs

has now received support, not through the comparative analysis by which Koester arrived at his conclusion, but via a literary-critical analysis of the text of Q.[162]

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[158] Reginald H. Fuller, "Biblical Studies, 1955–1990," *ATR* 76 (1994): 165.

[159] James M. Robinson, "The Q Trajectory: Between John and Matthew Via Jesus," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. Birger A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 185–89. [I am indebted to Prof. Robinson for providing me with a pre-publication copy of this paper].

[160] Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 92–93 n. 4.

[161] Helmut Koester, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 186.

[162] Horsley ("Logoi Prophētōn," 200) misunderstands the point of the method when he claims, wrongly, that "Kloppenborg and others have relied on Koester's analysis of the Gospel of Thomas as the basis for the claim that 'as far as *Gattungsgeschichte* is concerned, the *Gos. Thomas* reflects a stage antecedent to the final form of Q." Horsley fails to note that the quotation (from *Formation*, 33) that he cites is then qualified and its methodological assumptions completely inverted: "Koester's procedure must be revised and turned on its head: one must first determine the principles of composition of Q and the portions of it which were formative *from a literary perspective*. *Only then* is it possible to compare Q with antique genres and determine the extent to which Q shares or fails to share the characteristics and tendencies of those genres. It must be shown on *redactional grounds* that certain elements ... belong to a secondary compositional level and that compositionally and literarily the wisdom sayings and the wisdom genre format are foundational and formative for the document. *Such a conclusion can be obtained in the first place from an analysis of Q itself, not by comparative analysis*. (38–39, emphasis added).

Robinson points out[163]:

> The important thing is the detection of such collections at the early, formative stage of Q. Rather than having to do merely with a number of sapiential sayings, one has to do with a structuring of such sayings into clusters, a process reflecting some intentional activity on the part of some person or person largely restricted to the Q community.

It might also be noted that Schürmann, while hesitant to follow the stratigraphical model of Kloppenborg, has now recognized the [54] importance of the six topically organized instructional speeches in the composition of Q and acknowledges that such "speeches" were already "finished" units prior to the final redaction of Q.[164]

Two other studies serve to provide independent corroboration of this thesis. Crossan proposed a complementary test of the relative tradition-historical ages of compositional strata of Q. He catalogued all the Q sayings (apart from Q 4:1–13) using the coordinates of Kloppenborg's putative redactional strata and attestation of the saying outside of Q. This provided a general indication of whether any given saying is found exclusively in Q or attested elsewhere too, whether there is any discernible correlation in the extent of external attestation within a given redactional stratum and whether there is any quantifiable difference in external attestation between strata. Crossan found that while both the materials assigned to Q^1 and Q^2 were attested outside of Q, the Q^1 sayings were more likely to have parallels, more likely to have multiple parallels, and more likely to have parallels in a greater diversity of sources, than the Q^2 sayings.[165] According to Crossan, these results suggest "that the tradition in the sapiential layer of Q is of wider attestation than the tradition in the apocalyptic layer. I presume, therefore, that it is older."[166]

Koester has recently compared Q with the Gospel of Thomas, using Kloppenborg's coordinates, and notes that "the majority of the sayings in the Gospel of Thomas appear in the more original layer [i.e., Q^1] of "Sapiential

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[163] Robinson, "The Q Trajectory: Between John and Matthew Via Jesus," 187 Robinson, "The Q Trajectory: Between John and Matthew Via Jesus," 187; Patrick J. Hartin, "The Wisdom and Apocalyptic Layers of the Sayings Gospel Q: What is Their Significance?" *HvTSt* 50, no. 3 (1994): 556–82. See further Hartin, "The Wisdom and Apocalyptic Layers of the Sayings Gospel Q: What is Their Significance?" 556–82.

[164] Schürmann, "Kompositionsgeschichte der Redenquelle," 327–28, 332.

[165] John Dominic Crossan, "Tradition in the Formation of Q," paper presented at the one hundred twenty-third annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Q Seminar), Boston, MA (1987), 18–19. Crossan divided Q into 111 units (59 in Q^1 and 52 in Q^2). He found that Q^1 sayings had "41 parallels from 17 different sources and 18 cases with no parallels" while Q^2 had "25 parallels from 11 different sources and 27 cases with no parallels. Also the highest multiple attestation for the sapiential layer [i.e., Q^1] is a fivefold one, that for the apocalyptic layer [i.e., Q^2] is a fourfold one" (p. 19). See also John Dominic Crossan, "Materials and Methods in Historical Jesus Research," *Forum* 4, no. 4 (1988): 3–24.

[166] Crossan, "Tradition in the Formation of Q," 20.

Speeches" or resemble sayings of that layer of Q."[167] Even those parallels that Thomas has with the second composi[55]tional layer of Q "lack any of the future or apocalyptic orientation that characterizes their employment in the secondary stage of Q."[168] Koester does not mean to suggest that one could recover a source common to Q and the Gospel of Thomas. Rather, his observations underline the general similarity between the Gospel of Thomas and the Sayings Gospel Q, and suggests that even in formulating materials for the second redactional phase of Q, the editors employed materials that had a strong sapiential orientation, reframing these in prophetic ways.[169]

It may not be too bold to suggest that in addition to the existing consensus, initiated by Lührmann's study, that the polemic against "this generation" and the announcement of judgment provide organizing motifs at one level of the redaction of the Sayings Gospel, a second consensus point is emerging: Key to the understanding of the formation of Q is the recognition of the presence of large blocks of topically organized sapiential sayings, each exhibiting a similar structure, and *Sitz im Leben*, rhetorical intention. [56]

IV. Method in the Analysis of Q

We have already transgressed at several points into the issue of the method most appropriate to the redactional analysis of Q.[170]

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[167] Helmut Koester, "Q and Its Relatives," in *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (ed. James E. Goehring, Jack T. Sanders, and Charles W. Hedrick; in collaboration with Hans Dieter Betz; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990), 60.

[168] Ibid., 60.

[169] This observation needs to be emphasized against those who offer the objection that sapiential materials (i.e., proverbs and wisdom sayings) may be found within the second redactional stratum (e.g., Q 3:9b; 11:17b; 11:33, 33–35, etc.). It is crucial to distinguish between the mere presence of wisdom forms, and the *redactional deployment* of those forms. Prophecy uses wisdom forms and vice versa. But this does not mean that prophetic genres cannot be distinguished from sapiential genres. See also Koester, "Überlieferung und Geschichte," 1515: "Sapiential material appears in numerous ways [in Q]. But the final redaction of the sayings source stressed the expectation of Jesus as the heavenly Son of Man.... The sayings source is accordingly an apocalyptic book of sayings in which the sapiential element has receded."

[170] I have not dealt extensively with R. Hodgson's article ("On the Gattung of Q: A Dialogue with James M. Robinson," *Bib* 66 [1985]: 73–95) which holds that at some point in its literary development Q absorbed a florilegium with a strong Pharisaic flavour and on this basis disputes James M. Robinson's characterization of Q as sapiential in genre ("ΛΟΓΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΝ: Zur Gattung der Spruchquelle Q," in *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann* [ed. Erich Dinkler; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1964], 77–96). Hodgsons's argument depends on the contentions that (a) at least some of the scriptural quotations and allusions can be removed from Q without loss of meaning and that (b) the quotations have to do with the issues of tithing and table fellowship (Q 4:4; 10:7; 11:42;

The importance of beginning by establishing the order of Q and conducting a redactional analysis based on the actual juxtaposition of sayings is emphasized by Jacobson, Sato and Kloppenborg and is implicit in Lührmann, Schürmann, Zeller, Piper and März.[171] As Sato rightly observes, the order of Q is the main clue we have to its editing. In addition, it is important methodologically to begin at the end, with the final literary result, and "peel back" successive redactional layers. To do otherwise prejudices the result from the outset. When these starting points are observed, it becomes clear that Lührmann is correct in seeing the announcement of judgment and the criticism of "this generation" as organizational motifs. But the question raised by both progressive aggregation and stratigraphic models is whether that stratum was necessarily the formative one.

It is unreasonable to hope that a consensus on all issues of composition will be reached, especially when one considers the fact that no similar consensus has been found in regard to the composition of extant documents such as Mark or John. Nevertheless, the controlled use of literary criteria (rather than theological or tradition-historical ones) will advance a consensus appreciably. [57]

Among literary criteria and procedures I include the following: (*1*) attention to the order of sayings, (*2*) the treatment of Q in reverse compositional order, that is, from its latest stage to its earliest, (*3*) attention to the "compositional effect" of the collocation of individual sayings and clusters of sayings, (*4*) attention to literary and theological aporiae caused by the juxtaposition of sayings and clusters of sayings[172] and (*5*) consciousness of shifts in Sitz im Leben, addressees and rhetorical stance. Such analysis will permit (*6*) the reconstruction of compositional or redactional strata based on a controlled application of the principle of stratigraphic coherence, that is, that each stratum should be coherent in terms of its constituent forms, presumed Sitz im Leben and theological deportment. Ideally it should also have a discernible structure and genre. (*7*) The relationship between redactional strata may be determined by observing the extent and vector of the penetration of motifs from one stratum into an other, e.g., the presence of deuteronomistic and polemical motifs characteristic of one stratum (Q 10:12, 13–15) as secondary interpolations in a paraenetic and hortatory stratum (Q 10:2–11, 16) but not *vice versa*.[173]

As Lührmann, Jacobson, Zeller and Kloppenborg have argued, Markan redaction of parallel pericopae can afford a literary control on Q's editorial

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13:29; 17:26–27), judgment (Q 13:27; 10:13–15; 11:29–32; 13:34–35) and proclamation of the good news (Luke 4:18–19 [!]; Q 7:22–23). Neither contention is convincing and in any event, Hodgson has failed to provide a sound enough basis for redactional analysis.

[171] Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology," 6–8; Sato, *Q und Prophetie*, 29, 32; Kloppenborg, "Tradition and Redaction," 45.

[172] See Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology," 9; Kloppenborg, "Tradition and Redaction," 51–52 on the importance of aporiae in literary analysis.

[173] See Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 98–99.

activity. In addition, the studies of Crossan and Koester, while not probative for establishing literary stratigraphy in Q, provide a noteworthy corroboration of the thesis that wisdom materials have a special claim to antiquity in the formation of Christian tradition in general and wisdom-type gospels in particular.

There are still many open questions.

1. If one presumes that the formative layer of Q was fundamentally hortatory and deliberative in character and that the polemical layer was secondary (from a literary, though not necessarily tradition-historical standpoint), it is still necessary to specify the conditions under which components of the polemical stratum formed – did this occur within [58] a single "Q group" or not? – and to explain the circumstances under which the secondary redaction occurred.

2. If a stratigraphy along the lines suggested by Zeller, Kloppenborg and Piper commends itself, it remains to be seen whether and how literary-critical observations might be coordinated with social-historical inferences. Do the two stratum in Q reflect two stages of development? Or are they simply two distinct but contemporaneous "moments" in the life of a group or network of groups.[174]

3. The role of Son of Man sayings seems a pressing matter for inquiry, since they are present in the formative layer (Q 9:58 [cf. *Gospel of Thomas* 86] and perhaps in 6:23), at a secondary literary level (7:34; 11:30; 12:8–9, 10, 40; 17:24, 26, 30) and outside Q in Mark, Thomas and John. Not only is there an obvious difference between the non-apocalyptic title in Q 9:58 (Q^1) and the more obviously apocalyptic use in Q 12:8–9, 40; 17:24, 26, 30 =Q^2); but it

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[174] See the beginnings of reflection on these questions in articles by Burton L. Mack, "The Kingdom That Didn't Come: A Social History of the Q Tradents," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLASP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 608–35; Myung-Soo Kim, *Die Trägergruppe von Q: Sozialgeschichtliche Forschung zur Q- Überlieferung in den synoptischen Evangelien* (Wissenschaftliche Beiträge aus europäischen Hochschulen Reihe 1, Theologie 1; Hamburg: Verlag an der Lottbek [Peter Jensen], 1990); John S. Kloppenborg, "Literary Convention, Self-Evidence, and the Social History of the Q People," in *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage; Semeia 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), [chap. 10 in this volume]; "The Sayings Gospel Q: Recent Opinion on the People Behind the Document," *CRBS* 1 (1993): 9–34; Richard A. Horsley, "Questions About Redactional Strata and the Social Relations Reflected in Q," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 186–203; "*The Formation of Q* Revisited: A Response to Richard Horsley," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 28; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989), 204–15; Horsley, "Redactional Strata"; Leif E. Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus' First Followers According to Q* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994); Risto Uro, "Apocalyptic Symbolism and Social Identity in Q," in *Symbols and Strata: Essays on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. Risto Uro; Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 67–118.

ought to be recognized that none of Q's Son of Man sayings has an obvious reference to Dan 7:13, one of the supposed sources of the title. Attention to the composition of Q may well prove useful in unraveling the knotty issue of Son of Man christology.[175]

4. The reception of Q by Matthew and Luke and specifically, the way in which each read Q, is a matter which has not yet received much attention. The issue of whether or not there existed multiple recensions of Q is a related one, but even apart from this it is worthwhile asking whether, for example, Q redaction produced a polyvalence which permitted the quite divergent uses of the material by Matthew and Luke. [59]

Appendix A: Schmithals and Schenk

Walther Schmithals[176]

1. Formative Stratum

Schmithals includes the following classes of sayings in his early recension of Q (Q^1):
(1) All the Son of Man sayings which refer to the Son of Man as someone other than the speaker: Q 6:22 (but 1980: 81 excludes "son of Man" from the Q^1 saying); 11:30; 12:10; 12:40; 17:23–24, 26, 30; Q/Matt 10:23; 19:28 (1979a: 439).
(2) Mark–Q doublets (excluding Q 3:16; 21–22; 4:1–13; 7:27 where Mark is the source of Q);
(3) sayings which Mark may have omitted or abbreviated: 11:19–20, 23 [cf. Mark 3:22–26] (1979b: 226; 1980: 133–34); 11:29–30 [cf. Mark 8:11–12] (1979b: 366–67; 1980:, 136); 11:39–52 [cf. Mark 12:38–40] (1979b: 550; 1980: 138–40);
(4) other sayings which reflect a strongly apocalyptic theology and
(5) sayings preserved by Mark but omitted in the final redaction of Q: Mark 9:1 (1985: 400); Mark 13:7–8, 12, 22, 28–29, 13b, 14–20, 24–27 (1979b: 557).
Consequently, Q^1 contains (in Lukan order): Q 3:7–9, 17 (1980: 51–53); 6:20b–21, 22–23 (pp. 80–81); 6:27–38, 39–45 (p. 84); 7:28 (p. 95); 7:31–34 (p.97 [but using "Jesus" rather than "Son of Man"]); 10:2–11, 16 (pp. 108, 121–25); 10:21 (pp. 125); 11:2–4 (pp. 130–31); 11:14–20, 23 (pp. 133–34); 11:29–32 (p. 136); 11:33 (p. 137); 11:39–52 (pp. 138–40); 12:2–3 (p. 142); 12:4–7 (p. 142); 12:8–9 (p. 142); 12:10, 11–12 (p. 143); 12:22–31 (p. 145); 12:33–34 (p. 146); 12:35–38 (p. 147); 12:39–40, 42–46 (p. 147); 13:18–21 (p. 153); 13:24, 25a, 27 (p. 154); 13:30 (p. 154); 13:34–35a (p. 156); 14:11 (p. 158); 14:26–27, 34–35 (pp. 161–62); 16:1–7 [!] (p. 167); 16:13 (p.

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[175] See most recently, Paul Hoffmann, "QR und der Menschensohn: Eine vorläufige Skizze," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 421–56, ET "The Redaction of Q and the Son of Man: A Preliminary Sketch," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 159–98.

[176] Schmithals, *Markus*; idem, "Worte vom leidenden Menschensohn"; idem, *Lukas*; idem, *Einleitung*.

167); 16:16–18 (pp. 168–69); 17:1–2, 3–4 (p. 172); 17:6 (p. 173); 17:23–24, 37b, 26–27, 30, 34–35 (pp. 176–77); 22:28–30 || Matt 19:28 ("Q1 but expanded christologically"; p. 211); Q/Matt 10:23 (p. 400); Q/Mark 9:1 (1985: 400); Q/Mark [!] 13:7–8, 12, 22, 28–29, 13b, 14–20, 24–27 is a little apocalypse from Q^1 (1979b: 557).

2. Secondary Christological Stratum
3:2–4 (1980:49: dependent on Mark); 3:16 (1980: 53); 3:21–22 (p. 54); 4:1–13 (1979a: 444); 6:22–23 ("Son of Man"; "when they exclude you"; "on that day rejoice and dance" 1980: 81); 6:46 (p. 89); 7:1–10 (p. 91); 7:18–27 (pp. 93–98); 7:29–30 (p. 97); 7:34 ("Son of Man"; 1979a: 444); 9:57–60 (1979a: 444; 1980: 19–20); 10:12, 13–15 (1980: 123); 10:22 (1979a: 444; 1980: 125–26); 10:23–24 (1985: 398); 13:25b–26 (1980: 154); 13:28–29 (1985: 398); 13:35b (1980: 156); 14:16–24 (p. 160); 19:11–27 (pp. 186–87); 22:28–30 (The "ich" of Jesus is identified with the Son of Man; p. 211).

Wolfgang Schenk[177]

Schenk lists as redactional the following verses:
3:16b (p. 19); 4:1–13 (p. 22); 6:22–23 (p. 25), 46, 47a, [48a?] 49a (p. 34); 7:1–10 (private correspondence); 7:18–19, 22a, 23 (p. 40), 24a, 26b, 27, 28b (pp. 42–43); 16:16 (p. 44); 7:29–30, 31a, 33–34, 35 (p. 46); 9:58c (p. 48); 10:12 (p. 55), 16c (p. 57), 22 (p. 58), 23–24 (p. 59); 11:13 (p. 64), 11:19c (p. 67), 29c, 30, 31fin, 32fin (p. 71), 34–35 (p. 73), 42c (p. 76), 51 (p. 79); 13:34–35 (p. 81); 12:4–5, 7a (p. 84), 8–9 (p. 86), 10 (p. 87), 11–12 (p. 89), 22b, 25, 29–31 (pp. 90–91), 39a, 40 (p. 94), 43–44 (p. 95), 46fin (p. 96), 59 (p. 98); 13:18–19a, 20–21a (pp. 99–100); 14:24 (p. 108), 35 (p. 112); 15:5a, 7 (p. 113); 17:37b (p. 120); 19:18–19, 24, 26 (p. 126); 22:28–30 [Q/Matt 19:28a, c] (p. 127).

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[177] Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*.

Appendix B: Comparative Stratigraphy of Q

Sigla

--	not in Q
?	in Q but attribution uncertain
(3:2-4)	perhaps in Q
[3:21-22]	probably not in Q
‹6:20a›	In Q, but conjectural reconstruction

1. Schulz (1972)

Q^1	The kerygma of the oldest Palestinian-Syrian Q community
Q^2	The kerygma of the younger Syrian Q-community

2. Polag (1977)

H	Main Collection (*Hauptsammlung*)
H^a	Older clusters *(Die älteren Spruchgruppen*) predating the Main Collection
H^r	Redactional insertions into the *H[a]uptsammlung*
SpR	*Late editing (Spätredaktion*)

3. Jacobson (1978, 1992)

Q^c	compositional stage
Q^{c*}	saying with redactional touches
Q^{cr}	redaction at the compositional stage
Q^i	intermediate redaction
Q^3	final redaction

4. Schmithals (1979, 1980, 1985)

Q^1	nonkerygmatic, pre-Christian stratum
Q^{1*}	pre-Christian stratum with slight Q^2 influence
Q^2	Christological (post-Markan) redaction of Q.
Q^{2r}	creation of the redactor of Q.

5. Schenk (1981)

Q	included in Q
Q^r	from the final redactional stratum
Q*	traditional but with slight redactional touches

6. Kloppenborg (1987, 1990)

Q^1	formative (instructional) stratum
Q^2	secondary, polemical stratum
Q^{2r}	creation of the secondary redaction
Q^3	tertiary glosses

7. Sato (1988)

A	Redaction A [(A) = uncertain]
B	Redaction B [(B) = uncertain]

C	Redaction C [(C) = uncertain]
x^r	Redaction at the level of "A", "B" or "C"
SpE	Spätere Einschubungen (later interpolations--major redaction)
QLk	Proto-Lukan recension of Q

8. Zeller (1977, 1982, 1984)

Q^1	Early Sayings-complexes
Q	Other Q sayings & complexes
Q^3	Late Hellenistic-Jewish redaction of Q

Name	Schulz	Polag	Jacob-son	Schmi-thals	Schenk	Kloppen-borg	Sato	Zeller
(3:2-4)		SpR?	Q^c	Q^2		Q^2	A	Q
3:7-9	Q^2	SpR	Q^{c*}	Q^1	Q	Q^2	A	Q
3:16bd	Q^2	SpR	Q^c	Q^2	Q^r	Q^2	A	Q
3:16c	Q^2	SpR	Q^i	Q^2	Q	Q^2	A	Q
3:17	Q^2	SpR	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^2	A	Q
[3:21-22]		SpR	Q^c	Q^2			A	Q?
4:1-13	Q^2	SpR	Q^3	Q^2	Q^r	Q^3	SpE	Q^3
(4:16)		?				?	A	
‹6:20a›		H	?	?	Q	Q^1	A	Q
6:20b-21	Q^1	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	A	Q^1
6:22-23b	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^{1*}	Q^r	Q^1	A	Q^1
6:23c	Q^2	H	Q^{cr}	Q^1	Q^r	Q^{2r}	A	Q^1
(6:24-26)		?		Q^1?		Q^2	QLk	QLk
6:27-28, 32-33, 35c	Q^1	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	A	Q^1
(6:34-35b)			Q^c?			Q^1	A?	
6:29-30	Q^1	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	A	Q^1
(Q/Matt 5:41)		H				Q^1	A	
6:31	Q^1	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	A	Q^1
6:36	Q^1	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	A	Q^1
6:37b, 38c	Q^1	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	A	Q^1
(6:37c-38b)		H^a	Q^c?			Q^1	QLk	
6:39b	Q^2	H	Q^{cr}	Q?	Q	Q^1	SpE	?
6:40	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q?	Q	Q^1	SpE	?
6:41-42	Q^1	H	Q^{c*}	Q?	Q	Q^1	A	Q^1
6:43-45	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	SpE	Q^1
6:46	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^2?	Q^r	Q^1	A	Q^1
6:47-49	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1?	Q*	Q^1	A	Q^1

Name	Schulz	Polag	Jacob-son	Schmi-thals	Schenk	Kloppen-borg	Sato	Zeller
7:1a	Q^2	SpR	Q^{cr}	Q^2	Q	Q^2	A	Q
7:1b-2, 6-10	Q^2	SpR	Q^{cr}	Q^2	Q	Q^2	A	Q
7:18-19, (20)	Q^2	H^a	Q^i	Q^2	Q^r	Q^2	A	Q
7:22	Q^2	H^a	Q^i	Q^2	Q	Q^2	A	Q
7:23	Q^2	H^a	Q^i	Q^2	Q^r	Q^2	A	Q
7:24-26a	Q^2	H^a	Q^c	Q^2	Q*	Q^2	A	Q
7:26b	Q^2	H^a	Q^c	Q^2	Q^r	Q^2	A	Q
7:27	Q^2	SpR	Q^c	Q^2	Q^r	Q^2	SpE	Q
7:28a	Q^2	SpR	Q^i	Q^1	Q	Q^2	A	Q
7:28b	Q^2	SpR	Q^i	Q^1	Q^r	Q^2	A	Q
[7:29-30]				Q^2	Q^r		QLk	?
7:31-32	Q^2	H	Q^{cr}	Q^1	Q*	Q^2	C	Q
7:33-35	Q^2	H	Q^{cr}	Q^1*	Q^r	Q^2	C	Q
9:57-58	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^2	Q*	Q^1	B	Q
9:59-60	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^2	Q	Q^1	B	Q
(9:61-62)		H				Q^1	QLk	
10:2	Q^2	H	Q^i	Q^1	Q	Q^1	Br	Q^1
10:3	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	B	Q^1
[Q/Matt 10:5-6]							(B)	
[Q/Matt 10:23]		H		Q^1			(B)	
10:4-11	Q^2	H^a	Q^c*	Q^1	Q	Q^1	B	Q^1
10:12	Q^2	H	Q^{cr}	Q^2r	Q^r	Q^{2r}	Cr	Q^1
10:13-15	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^2	Q	Q^2	C	Q
10:16	Q^2	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q*	Q^1	Br	Q^1
10:21	Q^2	SpR	Q^i	Q^1	Q	Q^2	B	Q
10:22	Q^2	SpR	Q^i	Q^2	Q^r	Q^2	SpE	Q^3?
10:23b-24	Q^2	SpR	?	Q^2	Q^r	Q^2	B	Q
[10:25-28]							SpE?	Q?
[11:1b]		H						Q
11:2-4	Q^1	H	Q^i	Q^1	Q	Q^1	SpE	Q^1
11:9-10	Q^1	H	Q^i	Q?	Q	Q^1	SpE	Q^1
11:11-13	Q^1	H	Q^i	Q?	Q*	Q^1	SpE	Q^1

Name	Schulz	Polag	Jacob-son	Schmi-thals	Schenk	Kloppen-borg	Sato	Zeller
11:14-18a	Q^2	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^2	C	Q
11:19	Q^2	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q*	Q^2	C	Q
11:20	Q^2	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^2	C	Q
(11:21-22)		H^a		Q?		Q^2	C	Q
11:23	Q^2	H^a	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^2	C	Q
11:24-26	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q?	Q	Q^2	C	Q
(11:27-28)			Q^c			Q^2		
11:16, 29	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q*	Q^2	C	Q
11:30	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q^r	Q^2	C	Q
11:31-32	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q*	Q^2	C	Q
11:33	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^2	SpE	Q
11:34-36	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q?	Q^r	Q^2	SpE	Q
11:39b-44, 46-48	Q^1	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^2	C	Q
11:42d	Q^1	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q^r	Q^3	C	Q
11:49-51a	Q^2	H^r	Q^c	Q^1	Q*	Q^2	C*	Q
11:51b	Q^2	H^r	$Q^{cr?}$	Q^1	Q^r	Q^{2r}	Cr	Q
11:52	Q^1	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^2	C	Q
12:2-3	Q^2	H	Q^i?	Q^1	Q	Q^1	SpE	Q^1
12:4-7	Q^1	H	Q^i?	Q^1	Q^r	Q^1	SpE	Q^1
12:8-9	Q^1	H	Q^i?	Q^1	Q^r	Q^2	SpE	Q^1
12:10	Q^2	SpR	Q^i?	Q^1	Q^r	Q^2	SpE	Q^1
12:11-12	Q^2	H	Q?	Q^1	Q^r	Q^1	SpE	Q
(12:13-14)						Q^1		
(12:16-21)						Q^1	QLk	
12:22b-24, 26-28	Q^1	H	Q^i?	Q^1	Q*	Q^1	SpE?	Q^1
12:25	Q^1	H	Q^i?	Q^1	Q^r	Q^1	SpE?	Q^1
12:29-31	Q^1	H	Q^i?	Q^1	Q^r	Q^1	SpE?	Q^1
12:33-34	Q^1	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	SpE?	Q^1
[12:35-38]		H	Q^c	Q^1			QLk	Q^1?
12:39	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q*	Q^2	SpE?	Q^1
12:40	Q^2	H	Q^i?	Q^1	Q^r	Q^2	SpE?	Q^1
12:42b-46	Q^2	H	Q^i?	Q^1	Q*	Q^2	SpE?	Q^1
[12:47-48]		SpR					QLk	
(12:49)	Q^2	SpR	Q^c			Q^2	SpE?	
[12:50]		SpR					SpE?	

Name	Schulz	Polag	Jacob-son	Schmi-thals	Schenk	Kloppen-borg	Sato	Zeller
12:51-53	Q^2	SpR	Q^c	Q?	Q	Q^2	SpE?	Q
12:54-56		H	Q^c	Q?		Q^2	QLk	?
12:57-59	Q^2	H		Q?	Q*	Q^2	SpE?	?
13:18-19	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q^r	Q^1	SpE?	Q
13:20-21	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q^r	Q^1	SpE?	Q
13:23					Q		C	Q
13:24	Q^2	H		Q^1	Q	Q^1	C	Q
13:(25), 26-27	Q^2	H		Q^1*	Q	Q^2	C	Q
13:28-29	Q^2	H		Q^2	Q	Q^2	C	Q
13:30		H		Q^1	Q	Q^2		
13:34-35a	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1?	Q^r	Q^2	C	Q
13:35b	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^{2r}	Q^r	Q^{2r}	C	Q
[14:5]		H			Q			?
14:11 / 18:14	Q^2	?		Q^1	Q	Q^1		?
14:16-24	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^2	Q*	Q^2	?	Q
14:26	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	?	Q
14:27	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q	Q^1	?	Q
17:33	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1?	Q	Q^1	?	Q
14:34-35	Q^2	H	Q^c	Q^1	Q*	Q^1	?	Q
15:4-7	Q^2	H		Q^1?	Q*	Q^1	?	Q
(15:8-10)		H	?			Q^1		
16:13	Q^2	H	?	Q^1	Q	Q^1	?	Q
16:16	Q^2	H	Q^{cr}	Q^1	Q^r	Q^2?	?	Q
16:17	Q^1	H	?	Q^1	Q	Q^3	?	Q
16:18	Q^1	H	?	Q^1	Q	Q^1	?	Q
17:1b		H	?	Q^1	Q	Q^1	?	Q
17:2		H	?	Q^1		Q^1		
17:3b-4	Q^2	H	?	Q^1	Q	Q^1	?	Q
17:6b	Q^2	H	Q^i	Q^1	Q	Q^1	?	Q
17:23-24	Q^2	H		Q^1	Q	Q^2	C	Q^1
17:37b	Q^2	H		Q^1	Q^r	Q^2	C	Q^1
17:26-27, 30	Q^2	H		Q^1	Q	Q^2	C	Q^1

Name	Schulz	Polag	Jacob-son	Schmi-thals	Schenk	Kloppen-borg	Sato	Zeller
(17:28-29)		H		Q^1?	Q	Q^2	QLk	Q?
17:34-35	Q^2	H		Q^1	Q	Q^2	C	Q^1
19:12-13,15b-26	Q^2	SpR	?	Q^2	Q*	Q^2	?	Q
22:28-30	Q^2	H	?	Q^1*	Q*	Q^2	?	Q

Addendum

Since Sato (1988) and Kloppenborg (1987), only two sustained analyses of the whole of Q have resulted in alternate compositional theories.

Dale C. Allison (*The Jesus Tradition in Q* [Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997], esp. 30–40) proposed three compositional moments: the earliest stratum, 9:57–11:13; 12:2–12, 22–32 (Q^1); supplemented by 12:33–22:30 (Q^2); and completed by 3:7–7:35 and 11:14–52 (Q^3). Allison's suggestion, however, suffers from a fundamental problem (1997:30-40). While he rightly observes that 9:57–11:13; 12:2–12, 22–32 is seemingly interrupted by 11:14–52, he provides no grounds for his assertion that 12:33–22:30 was added second or for 3:7–7:35 being added third. Moreover, the grounds for his initial choice of 9:57–11:13 as the starting point – supposedly addressed to itinerants – appeals to a socio-historical rather than a literary assumption. It is not even clear that 11:2–4, 9–13 or 12:2–12 or 12:22–31 were addressed to itinerants. On the contrary, these materials speak of "debts" (11:3) and parental relations (11:11–13), neither of which are relevant to homeless "missionaries." His many worthwhile observations on the internal connections between pericopae and the thematic coherence of some subsections are thus vitiated by an arbitrary construction of his compositional theory.

Alan Kirk's *The Composition of the Sayings Source: Genre, Synchrony, & Wisdom Redaction in Q* (NovTSup 91; Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1998) represents the most ambitious attempt to treat the whole of Q under a single compositional model, that of the wisdom instruction. His analysis depends on the plausibility of discovering four ring structures, each with a "hinge saying" as its gnomic centre: (a) Q 6:40 for Q 3:7–7:35; (b) Q 10:12 for Q 9:57–10:22; (c) Q 11:26b for 10:23–11:39-52 + 13:34–35; and (d) Q 13:30 / 14:11 for Q 12:2–22:28-30. The advantage of this model is, of course, its simplicity; the disadvantage is the rather subjective nature of the isolation of four ring structures and the difficulty in seeing how a reader of Q would be able to isolate and identify the putative gnomic hinges.

While compositional theories such as Kloppenborg's have attracted considerable support, there has also been much skepticism expressed as to whether compositional moments can be ascertained at all. Christopher M. Tuckett (*Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* [Edinburgh; T. & T. Clark; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996], 41–82) points out that while Q materials no doubt had a long compositional history, the division of Q into Q^1, Q^2 and Q^3 might obscure that

fact that, e.g., the Q^2 speeches themselves many have had a complex compositional history (this, in fact, was already envisaged in Kloppenborg's model). Tuckett also doubt that the so-called Q^1 material had sufficient commonalities to constitute a redactional phase. Tuckett himself wonders whether one might imagine the compositional history of Q as involving the redactional combination of Q^1 (the so-called sapiential material) with 'R^1' (predecessor to the Q^2 materials) (73). Tuckett does not "propose such a theory very seriously" but offers it only as an alternate model for those discussed above, in particular Kloppenborg's stratigraphical model.

Harry T. Fleddermann (*Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary* [Biblical Tools and Studies 1; Leuven: Peeters, 2005], 26–39, 172–180) discusses compositional theories of Q but rejects all, preferring to treat Q as a "unified literary and theological work" (180).

Chapter 12

A Dog Among the Pigeons: The 'Cynic Hypothesis' as a Theological Problem[1]

During the last decade there has been an extraordinary resurgence in scholarship on the hypothetical Sayings Gospel Q. Virtually all dimensions of Q are currently under investigation, from the viability of the Two Document Hypothesis (2DH) itself, to the reconstruction of the sequence and wording of Q, to the literary genre, composition-history and intellectual structure of the document, to its social-historical location.

One might have expected scholarship on Q to interest only a narrow band of specialists in the Synoptic Gospels concerned with rather arcane matters pertaining to a document which is, after all, the corollary of an source critical hypothesis, which is "sub-canonical," and whose legacy in the history of the early Jesus movement was more or less effaced by later developments. Q scholarship might have attained no broader currency than equally esoteric, if important, investigations of the literary relationship of the Deuteronomistic history to 1–2 Chronicles or the sources of the Pentateuch and their respective theologies, or the composition history of the book of Proverbs.

Yet Q has become a theological problem. Because on most reconstructions Q represents so different an inscription of the Jesus tradition from those of the gospels of Mark and John (and the gospels dependent upon Mark), Q appears anomalous in a field of early Christian gospel literature that is narrative in format, which assigns key functions to the narration of the death and resurrection of Jesus, in which christology plays a pivotal role, and in which miracles and controversies over Shabbat figure prominently. Q, by contrast, has only the barest outlines of a narrative, contains no passion narrative, assigns no salvific

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[1] First published as "A Dog Among the Pigeons: The 'Cynic Hypothesis' as a Theological Problem." Pages 73–117 in *From Quest to Quelle: Festschrift James M. Robinson*, edited by Jon Asgeirsson, Kristin de Troyer, and Marvin W. Meyer. BETL 146. Leuven: Peeters, 1999. ©Peeters. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved. A revised version of this paper appeared as part of chap. 9 of *Excavating Q*.

A version of this paper was presented at the New Testament Seminar, Department of Theology, Oxford University, February 12, 1998. I wish to express my deep appreciation to Prof. C. M. Tuckett for his kind invitation, and to the members of the seminar, in particular Profs. M. D. Goulder, M. Goodacre, and C. Rowland, for a helpful discussion. I wish also to acknowledge Hami Verbin, with whom I have discussed many portions of this paper, and Zeba Crook, who has supplied some bibliographical references.

interpretation to Jesus' death, and has an intellectual structure in which the reign of God and its advent are more [74] central than the mystery of Jesus' person, which problematizes miracle working only in respect to exorcisms, and which makes no attempt to distinguish Jesus and his followers from other Israelites on the basis of Shabbat observance.

Such striking differences between Q and the intracanonical gospels might be rendered theologically and historically inconsequential if it could be argued that Q was an apocryphal backwater, as some have wished to characterize the *Gospel of Thomas*. But since on the Two Document Hypothesis, Q is a major source for Matthew and Luke, it can hardly be considered to be a footnote in the history of the literary history of the Jesus movement. On the contrary, its "differentness" is a datum requiring a careful historical accounting. Correspondingly, to the extent that theologies of the New Testament include a diachronic aspect, Q's differentness requires a theological accounting.

A second theological problem arises from descriptions of Q's immanent *Tendenz*. In a well-known article James M. Robinson argued that Q belonged generically and ideologically on a sapiential trajectory that extended from Near Eastern and Israelite wisdom books to early gnosticism.[2] Without making Q gnostic, Robinson placed a proto-gnostic theology uncomfortably close to the historical Jesus and even prior to the composition of the Synoptics. The argument of the present author to the effect that the earliest compositional layer of Q conformed rather closely to the genre of a Near Eastern sapiential instruction[3] has also seemed to pose theological problems in some circles. This is partly because the thesis is wrongly assumed to entail a claim about the mutual incompatibility of wisdom and apocalyptic and the chronological or tradition-historical priority of the former over the latter (despite express statements to the contrary).[4] Others thought, again wrongly, that the thesis about the

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[2] James M. Robinson, "ΛΟΓΟΙ ΣΟΦΩΝ: Zur Gattung der Spruchquelle Q," in *Zeit und Geschichte: Dankesgabe an Rudolf Bultmann* (ed. Erich Dinkler; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1964), 77–96; ET: "LOGOI SOPHON: On the Gattung of Q," in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 71–113. See later his essay, "Jesus – From Easter to Valentinus (or to the Apostles' Creed)," *JBL* 101 (1982): 5–37.

[3] John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), esp. chaps. 5, 7. For other discussions of the "instruction", see Helmut Brunner, "Die Lehren," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Erster Band: Ägyptologie. Zweiter Abschnitt: Literatur* (2. Aufl.; ed. Hermann Kees; Leiden and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1970), 113–39; Bernhard Lang, *Die weisheitliche Lehrrede: Eine Untersuchung von Sprüche 1–7* (SBS 54; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1972).

[4] See John J. Collins ("Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* [ed. Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, and William J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993], 165–85), who devotes an article to refuting my supposed assertion that there is a generic incompatibility between wisdom and apocalyptic. This is a fundamental misunderstanding of

[75] *literary* and *composition history* of Q somehow implied a characterization of the historical Jesus as "merely" a sage. Such misunderstandings notwithstanding, a sapiential denomination of the formative stratum of Q does seem to endanger the widespread view that apocalyptic provided the essential and unavoidable framework for all early Christian theologizing, for the formative stratum of Q does not appear to share such a framework.[5]

Q presents a theological problem for third reason. A generation ago, reconstructions of the historical Jesus paid almost no attention to Q, even though most were ostensibly based on the Two Document hypothesis. The theologically-driven efforts to find structural analogies between the message of the historical Jesus and the theologies of the New Testament could naturally privilege such topics as Jesus' attitude to the Torah (especially Shabbat observance), implicit or explicit indications of a messianic self-understanding, and even intimations that Jesus thought his own fate to be purposed by God as a necessary and vicarious event. Each of these features plays a significant role in Mark and John. Once, however, scholars began to pay serious attention to Q and the *Gospel of Thomas* in reconstructing the historical Jesus,[6] the absence or relative unimportance of these topics in Q and Thomas raised the possibility that confrontation with the Torah, messianic self-identity, and notions of vicarious suffering were not as determinative of Jesus' [76] activities as Mark and John made out.[7] If there are analogies between the message and activities of the historical Jesus and the theologies of the early Jesus movement, they might have to be found elsewhere. Or perhaps strong analogies are not to be found at all.

Q, however, does not *necessarily* render New Testament theology problematic. The Bultmannian approach, that New Testament theology should be

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the argument of *Formation of Q*, which never asserts any such generic incompatibility among wisdom, apocalyptic, or prophecy. Richard A. Horsley (*Sociology and the Jesus Movement* [New York: Crossroad, 1989], 109–10) similarly misconstrues the argument, confusing *results* with *criteria*, and wrongly concludes that the distinction between strata was based on thematic, theological, or material criteria (a position that I expressly rejected).

[5] See John S. Kloppenborg, "Symbolic Eschatology and the Apocalypticism of Q," *HTR* 80, no. 3 (1987): 287–306 [chap. 6 in this volume]; Arland D. Jacobson, "Apocalyptic and the Synoptic Sayings Source Q," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 403–19.

[6] Most especially, John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1991). See also James M. Robinson, "The Jesus of Q as Liberation Theologian," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 259–74 and idem, "Der wahre Jesus? Der historische Jesus im Spruchevangelium Q," *Zeitschrift für Neues Testament* 1 (1997): 17–26.

[7] See John S. Kloppenborg, "The Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest of the Historical Jesus," *HTR* 89, no. 4 (1996): 307–44, and responses by H. Koester (pp. 345–349) and R. Cameron (pp. 351–354).

constructed on the basis of *Sachkritik* and a subset of canonical documents, or the approach of canonical criticism, that the canon as a whole provides the framework for New Testament theology, are both defensible positions. On Bultmann's view, the preaching of Jesus, with which Bultmann associated Q, "belongs [only] to the presuppositions of the theology of the New Testament and is not part of New Testament theology itself."[8] On this view, and on that of canonical criticism, pre-gospel sources such as Q, the Signs Gospels, pre-Markan miracle catanae, and so forth, while having a legitimate place in any literary and social *history* of the early Jesus movement, are not necessarily germane to the enterprise of establishing what is *theologically normative* in that history. Whether Q lacks certain features that became integral to Christian theology and whether its immanent *Tendenz* was proto-heretical or at odds with the theological framework that eventually prevailed are arguably irrelevant [77] to a theological assessment of what is at the heart of Christian theology. Q might well be defective or immature or even deviant.

The Bultmannian view has, however, often been criticized for distinguishing theology too sharply from its ostensible subject, Jesus. So too, approaches to New Testament theology that privilege the canon and therefore minimize or disregard pre-canonical developments are at odds with any view that wants to assert material continuity between canonical theologies and the message of the historical Jesus[9]. As soon as the historical Jesus is treated as theologically

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[8] Rudolf K. Bultmann, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (9. Aufl. (1984) durchgesehen und ergänzt von Otto Merk; Uni-Taschenbücher.630; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1948–53), 1. The English translation is slightly misleading. The German reads: "Die Verkündigung Jesus gehört zu den Voraussetzungen der Theologie des NT and ist nicht ein Teil dieser selbst." Bultmann continues: "Denn die Theologie des NT besteht in der Entfaltung der Gedanken, in denen der christliche Glaube sich seines Gegenstandes, seines Grundes und seiner Konzequenzen versichert. Christlichen Glauben aber gibt es erst, seit es ein christliches Kergyma gibt, d.h. ein Kerygma, das Jesus Christus als Gottes eschatologische Heilstat verkündigt, und zwar Jesus Christus, den Gekreuzigten und Auferstandenen. Das geschieht erst im Kergyma der Urgemeinde, nicht schon in der Verkündigung des geschichtlichen Jesus, wenngleich die Gemeinde in den Bericht über diese vielfach Motive ihres eigenen Kerygmas eingetragen hat. Erst mit dem Kerygma der Urgemeinde also beginnt has theologische Denken, beginnt die Theologie des NT. Zu seinen geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen gehört freilich das Auftreten und die Verkündigung Jesu; und in diesem Sinne muß die Verkündigung Jesus in die Darstellung der neutestamentichen Theologie einbezogen werden" (pp. 1–2).

[9] It might be noted that even Brevard Childs does not ignore diachronic aspects to Biblical theology, referring to them as the "depth dimension" of the kerygma (*Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* [Philadelphia: .Fortress Press, 1993], 216–17). This for Childs has to do with understanding "the direction in which the tradition grew" (p. 216) and aids the interpreter in grasping "the range of kerygmatic diversity" and "the nature of its unity" (p. 217). Nevertheless, Q presents a problem for Childs, especially if it ever functioned as a gospel for an early Christian community (p. 256), since it does not cohere well with the way in which Childs defines the "depth dimension" of the kerygma (pp. 255–57).

germane to the project of New Testament theology, we return to the legacy of Reimarus, who used historical judgments about the composition of the Gospels and the historical Jesus precisely to render problematic the theological orthodoxies of his day.

A final problematic area that Q studies have exposed has to do with the social-historical denomination of Q and the people it represents. The problem, to be more precise, arises primarily when the Q people are described in particular ways, with particular social-historical models in view. Older studies employed such categories as "itinerant radicalism," "eschatological charisma," and "eschatological prophecy" in order to describe the social stance of the Q people (and Jesus). These categories captured rather well a countercultural dimension of the Q people (and Jesus). However, if one described the Q people as wandering charismatics, it was a relatively simply move to treat their hero Jesus as the charismatic *par excellence* and thus to slide effortlessly from social categorization into christology.[10] This is especially true if "charisma" is treated [78] primarily as a property of individuals rather than (more appropriately) as a description of the *relationship* between groups and their leaders.[11] Similarly, classification of the Q people as "prophets" allows for a easy modulation into christological discourse by considering the hero of the "prophetic" Jesus movement to be the final or eschatological prophet. If, however, the Q people were to be treated as cynic-like, as they have been in some recent literature, the model, irrespective of its social-historical utility, makes a transition to christological and theological discourse much more difficult – perhaps impossible.

My point here is not that such denominations are necessarily suspect because of their obvious christological potential or that the cynic model ought to be embraced because of its seeming lack of theological utility or its possible "objectivity." Rather, it is that the *choice* of models by which to describe the

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[10] Martin Hengel (*The Charismatic Leader and His Followers* [trans. J.C.G. Greig; re-edition [1996] edited by John Riches; repr., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Crossroad, 1981], 69) invented the category of "eschatological charismatic" in order to stress the allegedly unique nature of Jesus' personal authority and to distinguish him from all others. "Quite certainly Jesus was not a 'teacher' comparable with the later rabbinical experts in the Law, and he was a great deal more than a prophet. Even within the characterization we have preferred, of an 'eschatological charismatic', he remains in the last resort incommensurable, and so basically confounds every attempt to fit him into the categories suggested by the phenomenology or sociology of religion. Consequently, the centrality, in recent discussion, of the phenomenon of the underivable nature of *Jesus' authority*, is fully justified. One can find no better adjective than 'messianic' to describe it" (emphasis original).

[11] Bryan R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religions Movements of Protest Among Tribal and Third-World Peoples* (London: Heinemann, 1973), 499: "*Charisma* is a sociological, and not a psychological concept.... [I]t expresses the balance of claim and acceptance – it is not a dynamic, causally explanatory, concept; it relates to an established state of affairs, when the leader is already accepted, not to the power of one man to cause events to move in a particular direction."

early Jesus movement is often not innocent of theological, especially christological, interests. It is necessary to distinguish carefully between the historically and socially descriptive aspects of explanatory models and their theological potential and not to confuse theological utility with historiographic adequacy.

Parenthetically, it might be observed that the models of "itinerant radicalism" and "eschatological prophecy" do not appear overwhelmingly obvious, at least as far as Q is concerned. It is true that Q 10 speaks of "workers" being sent throughout the (Galilean) region and being welcomed or refused entry into towns and villages. However, there is little evidence that the ethos of Q is one of itinerant radicalism.[12] Nothing indicates that Q's "workers" were supposed to encourage such roving among those they visited, or even that they were assumed to become leaders in those villages. Given the tiny area comprising the Lower Galilee – from the Nazareth Ridge to the Meiron massif and from the city regions of Gaba (in the Great Plain) and Ptolemais-Akko in the west to the Kinneret – the movements of the "workers" must be imagined on a very small scale – trips of an hour or less to reach the next large town and only a few hours to travel from one large center to another. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Q people thought that itinerancy as such was to be promoted. Rather than expressing a culture of itinerancy, [79] the "workers" seem to function instrumentally to define a network of towns sympathetic to the Jesus movement – hence Q's concentration on the issue of acceptance and rejection (10:5–9) and on the "exit ritual" (10:10–11) performed at the edge of towns unreceptive to the workers. That is, the role of the "workers" is not to exemplify the ethos of the Q group as a whole; rather, their role is a highly specialized one of defining the extent and boundaries of the movement.

"Prophecy" and "prophets" are only slightly more helpful categories for understanding Q's social location. Q invokes the example of Israelite prophets (Q 6:23; 10:23–24; 11:49–51; 13:34–35), mainly as models for understanding the rejection and persecution that the Q people seem to be experiencing. This might encourage the view that the Q people thought of themselves as "prophets."[13] Yet while John the Baptist is treated as (more than) a prophet (Q 7:26), it is important to note that Jesus is not. None of the standard markers of prophetic speech such as "in the *x*th year of NN, the word of the Lord came to NN" and "thus says the Lord" appears.[14] To make matters worse, *God never*

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[12] See the critique of the itinerancy hypothesis in Horsley, *Sociology*.

[13] Richard A. Horsley, "*Logoi Prophētōn*: Reflections on the Genre of Q," in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. Birger A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 195–209; idem, "Wisdom Justified by All Her Children: Examining Allegedly Disparate Traditions in Q," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1994 Seminar Papers* (ed. Eugene H. Lovering; SBLSP 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 733–51, esp. 747, 750.

[14] Joachim Jeremias (*Abba* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966], 148–49) and Hengel (*Charismatic Leader*, 69) try to read (ἀμήν) λέγω ὑμῖν as an equivalent to τάδε λέγει ὁ κύριος and thus to construe Jesus' speech as prophetic or as even consciously surpassing

speaks in Q; Jesus speaks, John speaks, the devil speaks, and Jesus *quotes* a saying of Sophia (11:49–51a); but there are no oracular pronouncements placed on Jesus' lips. There are, of course, individual speech forms that occur in prophetic literature – most notably woes (10:13; 11:39–52; 17:1) – but their presence in Q is scarcely an unambiguous sign of a prophetic genre, since they also appear in other genres. By broadening the notion of "prophet" to include persons who criticize ruling institutions and who promote forms of renewal or change, one might be able to classify the Q people as "prophets." But this redefinition of prophecy sacrifices the usual feature of prophets of oracular speaking and/or the providing of divine signs and portents. Q, of course, depicts Jesus as *refus*[**80**]*ing* such signs (11:29–30; 17:23–30) even though it also it also represents Jesus and his followers as engaged in wonderworking that is connected with the Reign of God (7:22; 10:9; 11:20).

An adequate social-historical categorization of the Q people must respond both to textual elements within Q, including its genre and its contents, and it must be compatible with the probable social location of Q within towns and villages in Galilee. Whether a particular social categorization *also* bears a potential for theological conversion should not be a reason for embracing or rejecting the category. As I shall argue in what follows, however, theological concerns seem to play a significant role in the evaluation of hypotheses that are more appropriately judged on their historical and sociological merits.

The Cynic Hypothesis

An excellent case in point is the so-called "cynic hypothesis."[15] It is fair to say, I think, that the suggestion, advanced by F. Gerald Downing, Leif E. Vaage, and Burton L. Mack, that the Sayings Gospel Q can appropriately be described as "cynic-like" has met with vigorous opposition.[16] I do not regard myself as a

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prophetic speech (thus Hengel). The textual data from Q hardly supports such a view. Most of Q's instances of the formula function not to introduce pronouncements (as τάδε λέγω ὑμῖν) but as interjections to strengthen an affirmation (Q 3:8; 7:9, 26; 10:24; 12:27, 44). Nothing suggests a shift to oracular speech. In fact, in 10:12; 11:51b, and 13:35b, all redactional in Q, the formula functions to signal a change of perspective from instructions (10:10–11) or a quotation (11:49–51a; 13:34–35a) *to* a pronouncement of Jesus. The formula introduces sayings at 7:28; 11:9; 12:22; and ⟦17:34⟧, but only the latter could be construed as a prophetic saying.

[15] Since the proponents of the hypothesis do not argue that Q was "influenced" by Cynicism or that the Q people might be classed as Graeco-Roman Cynics, I shall use the terms "cynic-like Q" and "cynic hypothesis" (all without capitals) when I am referring to Q and reserve "Cynics" and "Cynicism" for such figures as Diogenes, Crates, Bion and Demetrius and the way of life that is associated with those figures.

[16] F. Gerald Downing, *Christ and the Cynics: Jesus and Other Radical Preachers in First-Century Tradition* (JSOT Manuals 4; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988); idem, "Quite Like Q: A Genre for 'Q': The 'Lives' of Cynic Philosophers," *Bib* 69 (1988): 196–225; idem,

defender of this hypothesis, although I am far from being an innocent bystander insofar as Mack and Vaage have employed the compositional analysis of Q proposed in *The Formation of Q* (with significant modifications) in their articulation of a cynic-like Q.

My interest in the hypothesis is in part its adequacy for understanding the social stance of the Q people, but for the purposes of this essay, I [**81**] would like to probe some of the reactions to the hypothesis, reactions that have as much to do with theological utility as they do with history and social description.

At least since Paul Hoffmann's *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (1972), contemporary Cynics have been considered as a possible analogy to the homeless and vagrant lifestyle of Q's "missionaries."[17] Yet as Leif E. Vaage pointed out in his 1987 Claremont dissertation, the analogy was never taken very seriously.[18] This may be due partly to a pervasive assumption that first-century Galilee was insulated from the culture of Hellenism (despite good evidence to the contrary) and partly to an *a priori* conviction that early Christians were up to something so fundamentally different from any other Mediterranean persons that any analogy is bound to fail.

Beginning with Q's mission speech (Q 10:2–16) and extending his analysis throughout the formative stratum of Q, Vaage argued that for virtually every one of the component sayings the closest analogies were to be found in the realm of Cynicism. For example, the Q people, like contemporary Cynics,[19]

Cynics and Christian Origins (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1992); idem, "A Genre for Q and a Socio-Cultural Context for Q: Comparing Sets of Similarities with Sets of Differences," *JSNT* 55 (1994): 3–26; Leif E. Vaage, "Q: The Ethos and Ethic of an Itinerant Intelligence," Ph.D. diss., Claremont Graduate School (1987); idem, *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus' First Followers According to Q* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994); idem, "Q and Cynicism: On Comparison and Social Identity," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden and New York; Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 199–229; Burton L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q & Christian Origins* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993). See also Ron Cameron, "'What Have You Come Out to See?' Characterizations of John and Jesus in the Gospels," in *The Apocryphal Jesus and Christian Origins* (ed. Ron Cameron; Semeia 49; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 35–69; David Seeley, "Jesus' Death in Q," *NTS* 38, no. 2 (1992): 222–34.

[17] Paul Hoffmann, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 [2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980]), 318; Gerd Theissen, "Wanderradikalismus: Literatursoziologische Aspekte der Überlieferung von Worten Jesu im Urchristentum," *ZTK* 70 (1973): 245–71, esp. 255–56 [ET: "The Wandering Radicals: Light Shed by the Sociology of Literature on the Early Transmission of the Jesus Sayings," in *Social Reality and the Early Christians: Theology, Ethics, and the World of the New Testament* (by Gerd Theissen, trans. Margaret Kohl; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 46–47].

[18] Vaage, "Ethos and Ethic," 27–59.

[19] Vaage, "Ethos and Ethic," 386.

> enjoy a constitutive poverty ... they beg for sustenance. They have learned to survive rejection well ... they demonstrate their discontent and condemnation by a symbolical act. They understand themselves to be sent.

According to Vaage, Q did not offer a utopian alternative or a program of renewal, restoration or reform. Instead, it was satisfied with an attack on the self-evident character of the current order of things. The "reign of God" in Q served not as a utopian symbol but rather an instrument of socio-political destabilization. To pronounce an impoverished way of life to be blessed (Q 6:20b) or to compare the reign of God to a weed like mustard (Q 13:18–19) is to "imagine and construct an alternate reality to the dominant social institutions of [Q's] immediate context and its prevalent moral values."[20] The cynic-like deportment of the Q people appears especially in the woes against the Pharisees (11:39–44, 46–52). Q's criticism, rather than being a debate about exegetical norms or the hermeneutics of Torah, focused on the gap between appearance and reality, between the pretense of virtue and real[82]ity, between the ostensible basis of behavior and the silliness of its appearance.[21] Vaage concludes that

> [l]ike the Cynics, the "Galilean upstarts" whom Q's formative stratum represents conducted in word and deed a form of "popular" resistance to the official truths and virtues of their day. Registered in their unorthodox ethos, ethics, ideology, and ad hoc social critique as well as the sparse but vivid memory they maintained of certain "anti-heroes" of the recent past (John and Jesus) was both a decisive "no" to the typical habits and aspirations of their immediate cultural context, as well as a curious confidence in their own peculiar ability to achieve here and now, in the body and despite considerable adversity, a higher form of happiness. [22]

The book by Burton Mack continues and develops this view. Mack argues that the Q people – at least those represented at Q's formative stages – were comparable to Cynics, engaging in social critique and countercultural behavior[23]:

> The aphoristic style of Q^1 was very close to the Cynic's way of making pointed comment on human behavior, and the logic involved in recommending extravagant behavior in Q was very close to the rhetoric of a Cynic's repartee when challenged about his own behavior. The forthrightness with which social critique was registered in Q was exactly like that of the Cynics' attitude called *parrhesia* or bold, outspoken manner.

Mack's reading of the social history of Q embraces virtually all of the document and does so by distinguishing five successive stages. Beginning with the aphoristic core that lies behind the Q^1 speeches (stage I),[24] Mack detects as consistent perspective that exposes claims to "superior status based on such

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[20] Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts*, 56.

[21] Similarly, Downing, *Cynics and Christian Origins*, 136: "The controversy with Pharisees in Q is phrased in terms of the Stoic but also Cynic contrast between inner reality and 'mere' externals."

[22] Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts*, 106.

[23] Mack, *Lost Gospel*, 46.

[24] Mack, *Lost Gospel*, 110–11: Q 6:20b, 27–28, 38c, 39, 40, 43; 9:58; 10:2; 11:10; 12:2, 7, 23, 33; 14:11; 17:33; 14:34–35.

things as wealth, learning, possessions, secrets, ranks and power" as hollow (p. 111). The elaboration of these aphorisms into the larger blocks of Q^1 (stage II) preserved the critique of conventional values. The aim of the Q people as reflected in Q^1 was not social reform but social critique. Mack finds Q replete with Cynic-like themes: a challenge to a natural and simple life-style, voluntary poverty, renunciation of needs, rejection of family ties, fearlessness, troublesome public behavior, and a critique of wealth, pretension and hypocrisy. Yet, itinerancy itself is not characteristic of the Q people nor is it proper to speak of a Q "mission." The instructions in Q 10, while formulated as [**83**] "guidance for a movement that had spread throughout Galilee," are much less programmatic than Theissen or Hoffmann had thought. The movement spread almost casually, "in the normal course of contact and travel wherever talk about God's rule caught the attention of persons willing to listen."[25]

Although Mack emphasizes the Cynic-like character of Q's sayings, he also notes elements that distinguish Q from Cynicism, even at the earliest stages. Evidence of a rudimentary social formation can be detected in the shift from witty aphorisms to maxim-like generalizations,[26] the high incidence of imperatives, the use of the second person to address readers, and a heightened interest in human relations and in egalitarian social roles. At the literary stage of Q^1, the aphoristic core is transformed into a set of community rules and instructions. Mack also sees the beginnings of an effort to legitimate the group's ethos in three elements: references to the rule of God, appeals to nature as a manifestation of the divine, and the invocation of Israel's history in the person of Solomon (Q 12:27). The rule of God in Q^1 was not an apocalyptic fantasy but rather stood for "something that can be accomplished, something that contrasts with the conventional, meriting a change of attitude or behavior worthy of a new vision."[27]

At the levels of Q^2 (stages III, IV) and Q^3 (stage V) there seems to be a gradual drift away from cynic-like motifs. In place of aphoristic imperatives, one finds prophetic warnings, illustrations from the epic tradition, controversy stories and apocalyptic announcements. Mack thinks that even before the inscribing of Q^2 more attention was paid to the role of Jesus as a founder and to

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[25] Mack, *Lost Gospel*, 130.

[26] E.g. "Where your treasure is, there your heart" (Q 12:34).

[27] Mack, *Lost Gospel*, 124. Downing ("Common Strands in Pagan, Jewish and Christian Eschatologies in the First Century," *TZ* 51 [1995]: 196–211) has noted the broad currency of protological and eschatological expectations of the Golden Age or "life under Cronos" that functioned both to undergird countercultural behaviors and criticism of the prevailing cultural arrangements. Koester ("Jesus the Victim," *JBL* 111, no. 1 [1992]: 10–13) points out the language of divine kingship in Second Temple Judaism should be seen in relation to imperial propaganda of a new age of peace and prosperity realized in Augustus' reign. In this context, the invocation of God's rule, especially when associated with various countercultural imperatives, amounted to a confrontation with that propaganda.

matters of loyalty to the Jesus movement.[28] Conflict with the Pharisees appears at this stage (stage III) and this conflict lead to an effort to read biblical epic in such a way that it would ground the identity of the Q people. Thus Jesus is associated with the Heavenly Sophia, with John the Baptist, with a string of figures of Israel's epic history, and is fitted into a scenario of apocalyptic judgment. [**84**]

Thus at the level of the second redaction (Q^2, stage IV), mythmaking was in full swing. Jesus was recast as a prophet and related to the deuteronomistic themes of the rejection of the prophets and Sophia's sending of the prophets to Israel. The Jesus movement located itself with reference to the "foundations of the world" (Q 11:50) and the day of the Son of Man (17:26–28), and to many intervening points in epic history. At the final stage (V) is seen an even more advanced stage of mythmaking which casts Jesus as Son of God (4:1–13), an otherworldly being (10:21–22) and as the heir to the Kingdom (22:28–30).

Reactions to the Cynic Hypothesis

There has not yet been a full and detailed response to the cynic hypothesis that engages the hypothesis at the same level of detail with which it has been advanced.[29] Preliminary criticism of the hypothesis has raised several types of

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[28] Mack, *Lost Gospel*, 138–39, citing Q 6:22–23; 7:23; 10:16, 23; 11:20, 23; 12:8–9; 14:26–27.

[29] For critiques, see Christopher M. Tuckett, "A Cynic Q?" *Bib* 70, no. 3 (1989): 349–76; idem, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), 368–91; Hans Dieter Betz, "Jesus and the Cynics: Survey and Analysis of a Hypothesis," *JR* 74 (1994): 453–75; James M. Robinson, "The History-of-Religions Taxonomy of Q: The Cynic Hypothesis," in *Gnosisforschung und Religionsgeschichte: Festschrift für Kurt Rudolph zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Holger Preißler and Hubert Seiwert; Marburg: Diagonal-Verlag, 1994), 247–65; idem, "Building Blocks in the Social History of Q," in *Reimagining Christian Origins: A Colloquium Honoring Burton L. Mack* (ed. Elizabeth Castelli and Hal Taussig; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1996), 87–112; idem, "*Galilean Upstarts*: A Sot's Cynical Disciples?" in *The Canonical and Non-Canonical Sayings of Jesus: Collected Essays in Honour of Tjitze Baarda* (ed. W.L. Petersen, J.S. Vos, and H.J. de Jonge; NovTSup 66; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1997), 223–49; Martin Ebner, "Kynische Jesusinterpretation – «disciplined exaggeration»? Eine Anfrage," *BZ* 40, no. 1 (1996): 93–100; Paul Rhodes Eddy, "Jesus as Diogenes? Reflections on the Cynic Jesus," *JBL* 115, no. 3 (1996): 449–69; William E. Arnal, "The Rhetoric of Deracination in Q: A Reappraisal," Ph.D. diss. (Centre for the Study of Religion: University of Toronto, 1997) and David E. Aune, "Jesus and Cynics in First-Century Palestine: Some Critical Considerations," in *Hillel and Jesus: Comparative Studies of Two Major Religious Leaders* (ed. James H. Charlesworth and Loren L. Johns; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997), 177–92. Ben Witherington (*Jesus the Sage: The Pilgrimage of Wisdom* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994], 117–45; *The Jesus Quest: The Third Search for the Jew of Nazareth* [Downers Grove, Il: InterVarsity Press, 1995], 58–92, esp. 59–64) and G.A. Boyd (*Cynic Sage or Son of God?* [Wheaton, Ill: Victor Books,

objections: (1) diversity within Cynicism, both synchronic and diachronic, makes comparison of Q and Cynicism difficult; (2) the dearth of Cynic sources from the time of Cercidas (III BCE) to Demetrius (mid-I CE) raises the possibility that Cynicism lacked real influence during the intervening period; (3) the supposition that [85] Cynics were present in Galilee may be no more than, in Betz's words, "a fanciful conjecture"[30]; (4) the genre and structure of Q are not sufficiently close to Cynic lives to make for a cogent comparison; (5) stratigraphical and compositional analyses of Q do not support its characterization as cynic; and (6) some of the alleged Cynic parallels are either not exclusively Cynic or Cynic at all; and (7) there is an imperfect overlap of the standard *topoi* of Cynicism and those of Q; or that despite some similarities between Cynics and the Q people, their respective presuppositions and motivations were quite different.[31]

While all of these criticisms carry some weight, many of the points have been rebutted effectively by Vaage, Seeley and Downing.[32] What is striking in the debate, nonetheless, is the degree of overkill in argumentation, the lack of scientific rigor in the assessment of evidence and arguments, and at times, outright misrepresentation. My interest in this essay is not in attacking or defending the hypothesis, but in inquiring into what the debate itself, with all of its overstatements and expressions of shock, tells us about the state of our discipline. I do not want to offer amateur psychoanalyses or *ad hominem* comments on its proponents or opponents, as several have done, for such does a

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1995]) offer popularizing critiques of characterization of Jesus as a Cynic but with less attention to primary evidence or to recent studies of Cynicism.

[30] Betz, "Jesus and the Cynics," 471; repeated by Eddy, "Jesus as Diogenes?" 467; Witherington, *The Jesus Quest*, 61 ("for the most part conjecture").

[31] Betz ("Jesus and the Cynics," 462–70) provides an erudite account of the rebirth of interest in ancient Cynicism in Schopenhauer, Schlegel and Nietzsche and shows that Nietzsche came very close to regarding Jesus as a Cynic. But Betz's criticism that the current interest in a Cynic Jesus (or Cynic Q) is "severely compromised by its proponents' failure to examine the history of reception and interpretation, in particular its version in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" (p. 474) is vacuous. Betz himself makes no effort to indicate *how* the history of the nineteenth and twentieth century reception of Cynicism may affect our evaluation of the comparison of Q or Jesus with Cynicism. Does the association of Cynicism with Nietzsche help to account for the panic that is seen when scholars of Christian origins dare to associate Q and Cynicism? Has the revival of interest in Cynicism in the nineteenth century allowed for valid historical comparisons to be made? Or does it obscure much better analogies? What interests are served by such a comparison? What interests are threatened by the comparison? Until Betz clarifies some of these questions, it remains wholly unclear just how the thesis is "severely compromised."

[32] Vaage, "Q and Cynicism," 199–229 [responding to Tuckett]; David Seeley, "Jesus and the Cynics: A Response to Hans Dieter Betz," *JHC* 3, no. 2 (1996): 284–90; idem, "Jesus and the Cynics Revisited," *JBL* 116, no. 4 (1997): 704–12 [a response to Eddy]; F. Gerald Downing, "Deeper Reflections on the Jewish Cynic Jesus," *JBL* 117, no. 1 (1998): 97–104 [also responding to Eddy].

profound disservice to the erudition and discipline on all sides of the debate. Rather, I am interested in the deeper intellectual issues that are variously challenged and [86] defended in the debate. In order to make this point, however, I must discuss briefly a few examples of unbalanced or even irresponsible argumentation.

1. N.T. Wright: The Wrong Stuff

A glaring instance of misrepresentation of the hypothesis is N.T. Wright's attack on the current state of Q studies, which he summarizes as follows:[33]

> Q reflects [according to most recent scholars] a very early Christian community for whom the Jewish stories, both in form and in content, were not particularly important. The focus, instead, was on a different style and content of teaching: the Hellenistic philosophy known as Cynicism, on the one hand, and, on the other, a tradition of teaching which offered a secret wisdom, a secret Gnosis. It was, in fact, a community that would have been just about as happy with the *Gospel of Thomas*. Jesus was a teacher of aphoristic, quasi-Gnostic, quasi-Cynic wisdom.

Wright cites as proponents of this view of Q myself, Downing, Mack, Crossan and Seeley.[34] He notes that a few dissent from this view, regarding Q instead as "prophetic and Jewish-Christian rather than within a Cynic, Stoic or Gnostic matrix"[35], but assures his readers that "the majority of recent Q scholarship is firmly within the tradition I have just described."[36]

It is difficult to know where to begin in refuting Wright's statements. In the first place, the view that he ascribes to "the majority of recent Q scholarship," which supposedly contrasts Q with "Jewish Christianity" is a phantom. None of the authors he cites juxtaposes Q with "Jewish Christianity." On the contrary, Q clearly represents one form of the Jesus movement of *Jewish* Palestine. Q repeatedly evokes the epic traditions of Israel, referring expressly to Abel, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, [87] Lot, Solomon, Jonah, and Zechariah (ben Jehoiada) and alluding to Elijah (Q 7:27 and perhaps 7:22[37]). Thus while Q, as

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[33] N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (vol. 1 of *Christian Origins and the Question of God*; Minneapolis: Fortress Press; London: SPCK, 1992), 437.

[34] Wright (*New Testament and the People of God*, 437 n. 64) refers to Kloppenborg, *Formation*; "Downing 1988" (confusing, since his bibliography lists both *Christ and the Cynics*, and *Quite Like Q*); Burton L. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988); Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, and Seeley, "Jesus' Death in Q".

[35] Wright (*New Testament and the People of God*, 437 n. 65), citing Tuckett, "A Cynic Q"; Gerd Theissen, *The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), chap. 5 and David R. Catchpole, *The Quest for Q* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993). Only later (p. 439) does he cite the primary proponent of viewing Q as prophetic: Migaku Sato, *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988).

[36] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 437.

[37] Striking parallels exist between the list of deed in Q 7,27 and those of the Messiah in

a collection (mainly) of discourses, obviously has a dearth of full narratives, it does recall many of the key "stories" of Israel's history and quite clearly aligns itself with that history.[38] It does so with greater intensity and clarity than Proverbs, about whose "Jewishness" there is scarcely any doubt. Moreover, Q situates itself in relation to the Galilean towns of Bethsaida, Kefar Naḥum, Khorazin and perhaps Nazara (Q 4:16), to the Judaean city of Jerusalem, and over against the non-Jewish cities of Tyre, Sidon, Nineveh and Sodom.[39] If there is an issue here, it is the *kind of Judaism* that is reflected by the Q people and their document.

As to the claim that the majority view of Q is one of "quasi-Gnostic, quasi-Cynic wisdom" – he later throws in "Stoic" (p. 437) and "Platonic" (p. 442) – , no one who has actually read any of the authors to whom Wright refers could reasonably come to such a conclusion. No one to my knowledge has ever argued that Q is either Stoic or Platonic. I have not claimed that Q is either gnostic or Cynic at any level. In fact, I expressly argued that Q was *not* Cynic, despite the fact that my Q^2 is a chriae collection, a genre used *inter alii* by Cynics.[40] Nor does Robinson think that Q is gnostic or Cynic. Although Koester has spoken of a gnosticizing *proclivity* of Q,[41] he does not hold it to be Cynic or quasi-cynic. [88] Neither Downing, nor Mack, nor Seeley, nor Vaage,

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4Q521. John J. Collins ("The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1, no. 1 [1994]: 98–112) has suggested that the Messiah of 4Q521 is neither a fiery judge nor a Davidic messiah, but has strong affinities with Elijah.

[38] I made this point in another connection in "'Easter Faith' and the Sayings Gospel Q," in *The Apocryphal Jesus and Christian Origins* (ed. Ron Cameron; Semeia 49; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 71–99, esp. 82 [chap. 7 in this volume]. Wright (*New Testament and the People of God*, 435) complains of the "strange, unstoried world" of the *Gospel of Thomas* and Q. Whatever one says of Thomas, Wright misses the fact that Q projects a "narrative time" (Norman Petersen's term) extending from Abel (11:49–51) to the Parousia (17:23–37) and the judgment of Israel (22:28–30), and encompassing the activities of John, Jesus and the mission of the Q workers.

[39] See John S. Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)," *Semeia* 52 (1990): 145–60; Jonathan L. Reed, "The Social Map of Q," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 17–36.

[40] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 324–25.

[41] Helmut Koester, "One Jesus and Four Primitive Gospels," in *Trajectories Through Early Christianity* (James M. Robinson and Helmut Koester; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 158–204, p. 196: "Faith is understood as belief in Jesus' words, a belief which makes what Jesus proclaimed present and real for the believer. The catalyst which has caused the crystallization of these sayings into a 'gospel' is the view that the kingdom is uniquely present in Jesus' eschatological preaching and that eternal wisdom about man's true self is disclosed in his words. The gnostic proclivity of this concept needs no further elaborations." On the nonapocalyptic character of the formative components of Q, see also Helmut Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels," *HTR* 73 (1980): 105–30, at 113; idem, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia; London: Trinity Press International; SCM Press, 1990), 150.

who *do* argue that Q is Cynic or cynic-like (either as a whole or at its formative levels), has ever suggested that Q is gnostic.

Likewise Wright's suggestion that these scholars also depict "early Q" as "purveying a special and hidden wisdom" (p. 437) is an utter misrepresentation. So too is his claim that the distinction between "early" and "late Q" is one of "realized eschatology" *versus* a "much more Jewish eschatology."[42] I have argued, on the contrary, that Q^1 presents a wisdom that is infused with, and intensified by, appeals to the imminent dawning of the Reign of God.[43] This is hardly realized eschatology. It was the *Gospel of Thomas*, not Q, that exercised one of the hermeneutical options of wisdom literature, to construe the sayings of the sage as secret and in need of special interpretation and moving towards a contemporizing presentation of Jesus' sayings; Q in fact moved in an opposite, biographical direction.[44]

Wright labors under several basic confusions, but these confusions are instructive inasmuch as they help to illuminate the way in which Q is perceived and misperceived to constitute a theological problem. First, he thinks that the issue of stratigraphy in Q is really a matter of history of religions rather than of literary history such that literary stratigraphy in Q seems to imply distinct theological strata in the early Jesus movement. That is, he conflates and confuses composition history with history of ideas. In order to refute this supposed distinction between (early) realized eschatology and (late) future eschatology, Wright adduces 1QS which, he declares, is "like the hypothetical Q, a book which sets out the 'two ways' that one may follow, the way of wisdom and the way of folly (3.13–4.26)."[45] 1QS expresses both a realized eschatology and a strongly futuristic one. Thus, he concludes: [**89**]

> The Qumran *Community Rule* offers excellent evidence that the divisions made in the Q material by Kloppenborg and others have no real basis in the actual history of first-century religion, but belong rather to the world of contemporary mythologizing, projecting unwarranted distinctions on to the screen of speculative history.[46]

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[42] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 438 and n. 69, citing Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, 149–50. The distinction, however, is Wright's fabrication, not Koester's. Koester describes the original version of Q as including "wisdom sayings as well as eschatological sayings" and the later version adding apocalyptic sayings (by which Koester means future Son of Man sayings). Koester clearly does not regard the earliest version of Q as having a "realized eschatology" and has never distinguished the two eschatologies of Q on the basis of their relationship to "Jewish eschatology."

[43] John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988), 320–21; see the more detailed discussion of eschatology in Kloppenborg, "Symbolic Eschatology", also ignored by Wright.

[44] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 322, 327–28.

[45] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 440.

[46] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 440.

Three comments are pertinent here. First, Wright believes that the co-existence of two forms of eschatology in one document implies a similar co-existence in a second document or, to be more precise, the (supposed) fact that two forms of eschatology co-exist at the same compositional level in one document implies that they cannot exist at different compositional levels in another document. Stated thus, the belief is absurd. *Nothing* follows from the particulars of the composition of 1QS apart from the fact that the particulars of Q's composition might or might not be the same or similar.

Second, Wright's understanding of the basis for strata delineation is Q is mistaken. The basis for the stratification of Q has nothing to do with its eschatology or eschatologies and no one to my knowledge has ever formed an argument for strata-delineation in Q on the basis of realised versus future eschatology.[47] Had the delineation of strata in *Formation of Q* been effected on the basis of the *criterion* of eschatology and had it proceeded on the extra-ordinarily dubious assumption that realized eschatology was prior to future eschatology or somehow incompatible with it, Wright's criticism would have been fully justified. If the analysis had been based on the arbitrary selection of *any* thematic or theological characteristics and the privileging of any one of them as early or late, the criticism would be valid. But such a procedure was expressly and carefully rejected; I specifically criticized the thematically- or theologically-based analyses of Q by Schulz and others.[48] The criteria for [**90**] strata-delineation have nothing to do with eschatology (which I did not even discuss) or with a supposed priority of wisdom over prophecy or apocalyptic. Instead, it has to do with compositional markers – indications of literary manipulations such as aporiae, glosses, commentary words, editorial framing, and so forth.[49] The use of theologically-based criteria for source- and literary

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[47] The only scholar of whom I am aware that discusses realized eschatology in Q is Christopher Mearns, "Realized Eschatology in Q? A Considerations of the Sayings in Luke 7.22, 11.20 and 16.16," *SJT* 40, no. 2 (1987): 189–210. Mearns argues that Q has a consistently futuristic eschatology, but betrays knowledge of, and polemicizes against, a realized eschatology in Q 16:16 (an "anti-charismatic condemnation" of persons with an over-realized eschatology, p. 198), Q 7:22 (evincing an imminent apocalyptic expectation, p. 203), and Q 11:20, whose potential for a realized interpretation is curtailed by the context (p. 203–208). But Mearn's theories have nothing to do with argument about stratigraphy in Q.

[48] John S. Kloppenborg, "Tradition and Redaction in the Synoptic Sayings Source," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 34–62; idem, "The Sayings Gospel Q: Literary and Stratigraphic Problems," in *Symbols and Strata: Essays on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. Risto Uro; Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65; Helsinki and Göttingen: Finnish Exegetical Society and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 1–66 [chap. 11 in this volume]; see also the review of Paul Hoffmann, "Besprechung von S. Schulz, *Q: Spruchquelle der Evangelisten*," *BZ* 19 <neue Folge> (1975): 104–15.

[49] See the clear discussion of method in Dieter Zeller, "Redaktionsprozesse und wechselnder 'Sitz im Leben' beim Q-Material," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 395–409; ET: "Redactional Processes and Changing

analysis had already been criticized as dangerously circular in the case of Bultmann's attempt to isolate sources for the Fourth Gospel. Most recent efforts to describe the composition history of Q follow the lead of the much more controlled, literary-critical approaches to source criticism of the Fourth Gospel advanced by R. T. Fortna, and W. Nicol.[50]

Third, the example Wright selects is itself unfortunate: by adducing 1QS he kicks the ball into his own net (to use one of Wright's own phrases). For 1QS is, like Q, a *stratified document*. As Murphy-O'Connor and Pouilly have independently shown,[51] the formative components of 1QS are in cols. viii–ix. To these were added, first, the materials in cols. v.1–vii.25 (which include the Two Angels section in iii.13–iv.14 + iv.15–26), and then cols. i–iv and x.8–xi.22. The delineation of strata in 1QS was not effected by making suppositions about the evolution of Qumran dualism, or about eschatology, or about wisdom and apocalyptic. On the contrary, the analysis of the document, for both Murphy-O'Connor and Pouilly, proceeded by means of a *literary analysis* of the relation of various parts of the document to one another. [**91**]

No one would assumed that the composition history of 1QS reflects some general history of ideas, such that the cosmic dualism of 1QS iii.13–14.26 is posterior to the less dualistic theology of earlier strata. Literary history cannot naïvely be converted into tradition-history. But it would be useful to ask whether the incorporation of the Two Angels section into the document reflects a specific exigency in the community that the Two Angels section helpfully

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Settings in the Q Material," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (ed. and trans. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 116–30. See also John S. Kloppenborg, "*The Formation of Q* Revisited: A Response to Richard Horsley," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 28; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989), 204–15.

[50] Robert Tomson Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel* (SNTSMS 11; Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Wilhelm Nicol, *The Semeia in the Fourth Gospel: Tradition and Redaction* (NovTSup 32; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972). For criticisms of Bultmann, see Eduard Schweizer, *Ego Eimi: Die religionsgeschichtliche Herkunft und theologische Bedeutung der johanneischen Bildreden* (FRLANT 56; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939) and Eugen Ruckstuhl, *Die Literarische Einheit Des Johannesevangeliums der Gegenwärtige Stand der Einschlägigen Forschungen* (Studia Friburgensia NF 3; Freiburg/Sw: Paulusverlag, 1951).

[51] Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la *Règle de la Communauté*," *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49, and Jean Pouilly, *La Règle de la communauté de Qumrân. Son évolution littéraire* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 17; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1976). Similarly, Horsley ("Logoi Prophētōn") tried to make a case against stratigraphy in Q by citing the analogy of the *Didache*, ironically, a document about whose composite character there is scarcely any doubt: see Kurt Niederwimmer, *Die Didache* (2. ergänzte Aufl. 1993; Kommentar zu den apostolischen Vätern 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Willy Rordorf and André Tuilier, *La Doctrine des douze apôtres (Didachè): introduction, texte, traduction, notes, appendice et index* (deuxième édition (1998) revue et augmentée; SC 248; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1978).

addressed. To be clear: the literary stratification of a particular document (such as 1QS or Q) cannot be extrapolated into a general history of ideas; nor can responsible documentary analysis proceed on the basis of an arbitrary presupposition that one type or set of themes and motifs are either earlier than, or incompatible with, a second set of themes and motifs. On the contrary, documentary analysis should proceed by attending to literary markers. Once, however, a literary stratigraphy is posited, it is necessary to inquire into the logic of growth: why, and for what theological, rhetorical, apologetic, or social-historical reasons were particular elements added to the document. Why, and under what conditions, might the dualism of 1QS iii.13–iv.26 be useful? In other words, the compositional history of a particular document might serve as *one* index to the *specific* social-history of the community, which first produced and then supplemented the document.

Wright's second confusion follows from his first, for he assumes that strata delineation in Q is really about "the actual history of first-century religion" – that is, about the history of ideas. It nothing of the kind, as was clearly stated in *Formation* (pp. 244–245). Wright supposes that "early Q"[52] represents (in the view of its advocates) a discrete and early theological stage of the Jesus movement that was Greek rather than "Jewish." This is of course wrong on several counts. First, the effort to situate Q within a spectrum of ancient literary genres or to classify Q^1 as an instruction or Q^2 as a chriae collection is hardly to treat it as Greek rather than Jewish. Key instances of the instruction are found in Prov 1–9; 22:17–24:22 and Sirach, and as H.A. Fischel has argued, *m. ʾAbot* is an instance of a chriae-collection.[53] The fact that there are non-Jewish instances of both instructions and chriae collections hardly makes Q non-Jewish. That would be to confuse form with con[91]tent. Second, proponents of the cynic-hypothesis have carefully and expressly resisted the false dichotomy between "Judaism" and "Cynicism."[54] Instead, they insist that ancient cynicism was sufficiently pervasive to have measurable influence on literary and intellectual aspects of Judaism; or they have argued that certain aspects of the Jesus movement are "cynic-like", without claiming any direct or indirect influence from Cynics sources.

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[52] This is Wright's term, but since he never explains what he thinks early Q includes, it is impossible to know whether his "early Q" conforms to what I identified as the formative stratum or Q, or to the early layers posited by Vaage or Mack.

[53] H. A. Fischel, "Studies in Cynicism and the Ancient Near East: The Transformation of a Chreia," in *Religions in Antiquity: Essays in Memory of Erwin Ransdall Goodenough* (ed. Jacob Neusner; Studies in the History of Religions 14; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), 372–411.

[54] Downing repeatedly speaks of "Jewish Cynicism," e.g., "Deeper Reflections," 100. Vaage ("Q and Cynicism," 206): "The implied unbridgeable gap between 'Judaism' and 'Cynicism' is meaningful – though unverifiable – only when key terms such as 'Judaism' function, as they have in the history of New Testament scholarship, according to [Jonathan Z.] Smith, as a kind of covert theological code for an exclusive – Protestant – imagination of Christian origins."

The reason Wright is so exercised about Q and its alleged non-Jewish Hellenistic character seems to be that it collides with two key assumptions in his theological history of early Christianity. Wright is prepared to admit a considerable degree of diversity within the Jesus movement in attitudes toward Rome, to the Temple, to the application of circumcision, purity practices and dietary laws, and even concedes that "some may well have placed little emphasis on the savific [sic!] effect of the cross" while "others, by no means only in the Pauline tradition, emphasized it as central to the divine plan of salvation."[55] But what held this diversity together (from a theological point of view) was that early Christians "told, and lived, a form of Israel's story which reached its climax in Jesus and which then issued in their spirit-given new life and task."[56] The world-view of the early Christians had a double structure: it was "first, emphatically Jewish rather than pagan, and then second, emphatically Christian rather than Jewish in the sense of an ethnic and Torah-based identity."[57]

A completely "Hellenistic" or "cynic" Q would, presumably for Wright, not be the "recognizable variation on the Jewish worldview" which Wright requires of all early Christian theologies.[58] Wright's concern here rests on a mistaken reading of the relevant literature, as I have suggested above. The cynic hypothesis in particular, and recent Q scholarship in general, do not posit a non-Jewish Q. But even once Wright's caricature of recent scholarship on Q is dismissed as false, Q would nonetheless remain theologically problematic for Wright. For the other part of the double structure of to early Christian practice upon which [93] he insists is its emphatic Christ-centeredness. Baptism, for example, *both* linked early Christians with "the imagery of a Jewish sect (including exodus-typology)" and represented "the mode of entry into the eschatological people of Israel's god" *and* involved a "specific historical reference to Jesus himself, and to his death and resurrection."[59] Similarly, the

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[55] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 454–55, esp. 455.

[56] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 456.

[57] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 456. [Ed. note: it is hard not to recall Jonathan Z. Smith's trenchant critique of such a formulation: in many forms of twentieth century scholarship, "Judaism has served a double (or, a duplicitous) function. On the one hand it has provided apologetic scholars with an insulation for early Christianity, guarding it against 'influence' from its 'environment'. On the other, it has been presented by the very same scholars as an object to be transcended by Christianity" (*Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* [Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion, 14. School of Oriental and African Studies; London: The School of Oriental and African Studies; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990], 83).]

[58] Wright, *New Testament and the People of God*, 456.

[59] Wright (*New Testament and the People of God*, 447 n. 11) cites Matt 28.19; Acts 2.38; 8,16; 10.48 [all having to do with baptism in the name of Jesus]; and Rom 6.2–11 [Paul's interpretation of baptism as baptism into Jesus' death and resurrection].

Eucharist was associated with the exodus, Passover and the (Davidic) kingdom and (insofar as it was weekly), to the events of Jesus' death and resurrection.[60]

The obvious difficulty that Q represents is that while it is replete with allusions to various aspects of Israel's history (though not to David), there is no salvific interpretation of Jesus' death and no clear references to Jesus' resurrection.[61] *A fortiori* the double structure that Wright sees as so important is missing in Q. It remains unclear whether the Q people practiced baptism – and whether the baptism of Jesus was even narrated.[62] While there are many references to ordinary eating in Q (Q 7:34; 10:7; 11:3, 11; 12:22, 29; 13:21, 26, 28–29; 14:16–24; 17:26–27, 28–29, 34[?], 35), we have no indication of any eucharistic practice, much less one of a Pauline type. The Q people apparently expected a meal in the [**94**] kingdom of God with the patriarchs (Q 13:28–29). We might speculate that *if* they had periodic communal meals (and we do not know that the Q people were ever a discrete "community"), they *may* have thought that these anticipated with meal with the patriarchs. But all this is utterly speculative; no data helps us to know whether it is fact or fancy. What *is* clear, as I have argued elsewhere, is that Q *does* have an understanding of Jesus' death, but one that differs from that found in 1 Cor 15:3b–5 or Galatians or Romans. Q view's Jesus' death through the lens of the Deuteronomistic understanding of the prophets, as the usual, virtually inevitable, fate of God's

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[60] Incredibly, Wright (*New Testament and the People of God*, 448) states: "[W]e know of no early eucharist that did not recite the events of Jesus' death, much as the Passover liturgy recited the events of the exodus." He seems to neglect *Did.* 9–10, whose Eucharistic prayers contain no references to Jesus' death at all.

[61] There may be an allusion to the "assumption" of Jesus; see Dieter Zeller, "Entrückung zur Ankunft als Menschensohn (Lk 13,34f.; 11:29f.)," in *A cause de l'évangile: études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes: offertes au P. Jacques Dupont, O.S.B. à l'occasion de son 70^e anniversaire* (Lectio Divina 123; Paris: Publications de Saint-André and les Editions du Cerf, 1985), 513–30. This has been pursued somewhat in my John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis; Edinburgh: Fortress Press; T. & T. Clark, 2000), 374–79 and is developed with great sophistication by Daniel A. Smith, *The Post-Mortem Vindication of Jesus in the Sayings Gospel Q* (LNTS 338; London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2007).

[62] The IQP initially included the baptism in Q, but only with the lowest degree of probability {D}, meaning that no actual Greek words are printed: Milton C. Moreland and James M. Robinson, "The International Q Project Work Sessions 31 July - 2 August, 20 November 1992," *JBL* 112, no. 3 (1993): 500–506 (502). Eventually, the grade was raised to {C}. I have dissented from this judgment, along with several others: Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, §5; Frans Neirynck, "The Minor Agreements and Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 49–72; William E. Arnal, "Major Episodes in the Biography of Jesus: An Assessment of the Historicity of the Narrative Tradition," *TJT* 13, no. 2 (1997): 201–26. For recent advocates of the baptism in Q, see James M. Robinson, "The Sayings Gospel Q," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* (ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992), 361–88 and Catchpole, *Quest for Q*, 62–63. [Ed. note: See further, Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q*, 93 for a summary of arguments against including Luke 3:21–22 in Q; the *CEQ*, however, includes it.]

envoys.[63] And despite the fact that Q has many occasions, in speaking of persecution and death in general, where it might have invoked an special interpretation of Jesus' fate, it *consistently fails to do so*. This is still perhaps an argument from silence,[64] but a powerful one.

Even when Q is stripped of the caricatures that Wright applies and is seen as a document of the Galilean Jesus movement that situates itself in Israelite history (however else it might *also* be characterized), it does not cooperate with Wright's apologetic attempt to create a unified map of the Jesus movement. Too much extra needs to be imported into Q and too much of Q's own dynamics need to be ignored in order to bring it under Wright's theological umbrella.

2. Comparative Parity

Some of the criticism of the cynic hypothesis has come from specialists in Q studies and in Synoptic criticism in general, but even among these odd arguments can be noted. [**95**]

a. The Dating of Cynic Parallels

One of the criticisms that has been offered has to do with the dating of the Cynic materials. Tuckett, for example, argues that Cynicism[65]

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[63] Kloppenborg, "Easter Faith" [chap. 7 in this volume]. On the Deuteronomistic understanding of the fate of the prophets, see Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967).

[64] Wright (*New Testament and the People of God*, 441) raises the issue of material outside the double tradition that might arguably derive from Q, and warns "supporters of Q" that it may well have contained "birth narratives, passion narratives, Peter's confession, and all sorts of interesting christological, apocalyptic and other material." The point is whimsical, for Wright offers no concrete arguments for any of these items, and is apparently unaware of the literature that already discusses this problem: Heinz Schürmann, "Sprachliche Reminiszenzen an abgeänderte oder ausgelassene Bestandteile der Redequelle im Lukas- und Matthäusevangelium," in *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den synoptischen Evangelien* (Kommentare und Beiträge zum Alten und Neuen Testament; Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1968), 111–25; Petros Vassiliadis, "The Nature and Extent of the Q Document," *NovT* 20 (1978): 49–73; Kloppenborg, *Formation*, chap. 2 and numerous articles arguing for the inclusion of specific pericopae.

[65] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 373. Eddy ("Jesus as Diogenes?" 451) first refers to the "debate" concerning whether Cynicism truly "died out" during the second and first century BCE, or "merely suffered a low profile" (citing Billerbeck for the first view, and Moles for the second). But by the end of the article (p. 467) he seems to have decided in favour of Billerbeck, though without any argument: "The dating problem is exacerbated by the fact that the Imperial revival of Cynicism, which replaced its dearth from the second century BCE on, is not attested until the *middle* of the first century – and thus *after* the death of Jesus and the birth of the Christian movement" (emphasis original).

seems to have faded away quite considerably in the second and first centuries BCE, but to have revived in importance in the second half of the first century CE with figures such as Demetrius and Epictetus writing about the Cynic ideal.

Tuckett here relies on the classic position articulated by D. R. Dudley a generation ago that between the time of Cercidas (ca. 290–220 BCE) and Demetrius (mid-I CE), Cynicism was largely eclipsed (even though the figure of the Cynic sometimes appeared in literature).[66] Tuckett concedes to Downing that Cicero knew some of the Cynic epistles in first century BCE Rome (*Tusculan Disputations* 5.90) but passes over rather too quickly Downing's lengthy list of evidence of Cynicism in the first centuries BCE and CE.[67] Other evidence includes the Epistles of Pseudo-Crates 1–29, which Malherbe places in the first century BCE, the Epistles of Heraclitus (first century CE), and the Epistles of Ps-Socrates 1–7 (first century CE or earlier).[68] To this [**96**] should be added Moles's observation that Cicero treated Cynicism as a live option in his day.[69] And

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[66] Donald R. Dudley, *A History of Cynicism from Diogenes to the 6th Century A.D.* (London: Methuen, 1937 [repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1967]), esp. 117–24. A similar view is taken by Margarethe Billerbeck, *Der Kyniker Demetrius: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der frühkaiserzeitlichen Popularphilosophie* (Philosophia Antiqua 36; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979); idem, "Greek Cynicism in Imperial Rome," in *Die Kyniker in der moderenen Forschung* (ed. Margarethe Billerbeck; Amsterdam: Grüner, 1991), 147–66, esp. 148.

A careful reading of Dudley shows that his position is not as blunt as is often implied by those who cite him against advocates of the cynic hypothesis. Dudley point out that there is evidence of Cynicism in this period though it suggests that Cynicism as "obscure and unimportant" (p. 117). Yet he also notes that "street preachers were familiar enough in Rome towards the end of the first century B.C., as we gather from Horace's references to such persons as Fabius, Crispinus and Stertinius" and that there is "nothing to distinguish them from the Cynics of Hellenistic times as far as their creed goes" even though they called themselves Stoics. Moreover, Dudley points out that in the Greek East the evidence of survival is scant though less ambiguous, referring to Meleager, Diocles of Magnesia (Diogenes Laertius 6.104), and Antipater of Thessalonica; *P. Berol.* inv. 13044 (ca. 100 BCE); the Vienna Diogenes Papyrus (i.e., *P. Vindob. G.* 29946; I BCE) and some of the Cynic epistles, which date from the Augustan period (p. 123).

[67] Downing, *Cynics and Christian Origins*, 340–42.

[68] On Ps-Crates: Abraham J. Malherbe, ed., *The Cynic Epistles: A Study Edition* (SBLSBS 12; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 10; the Epistle of Heraclitus: *ibid.*, 22; Harold W. Attridge, *First-Century Cynicism in the Epistles of Heraclitus* (HTS 29; Missoula, Mont.: Published by Scholars Press for the Harvard theological review, 1976); Ps-Socrates 1–7: Malherbe, *Cynic Epistles*, 27. For the problem of Cynicism in the first century, see in general Ronald F. Hock, "Cynics," in *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 1 (David Noel Freedman, gen. ed., ed. Gary A. Herion, et al.; New York; London; Toronto: Doubleday, 1992), 1221–26.

[69] See John L. Moles, "*Honestius Quam Ambitiosius*: An Exploration of the Cynic's Attitude to Moral Corruption in His Fellow Men," *JHS* 103 (1983): 103–23, esp. pp. 120–23, who revisits Dudley's argument concerning the eclipse of Cynicism in the second and first centuries BCE. Moles points to several evidences of the continuous survival of Cynicism, especially Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.128; 1.148; *De finibus* 3.68, where Cicero treats Cynicism as "an option at the time of writing" (p. 122). He suggests against Dudley that the apparent demise of cynicism in this period is a matter of scant sources rather than of actual demise.

Griffen has shown that in the late Republic it was necessary for Stoics to disown certain sorts of behavior as Cynic,[70] which would be hardly necessary if Cynics were simply a literary memory.

To the list of contemporary Cynics we should add Avidienus (Horace, *Sat.* 2.2.55–62) from the first century BCE, and Carneades (Eunapius, *Vita Philosophorum* 2.1.5), Didymus (Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum* 7.412F–413D), Hermodotos (in an epigram by Lucilius in the *Anthologia Graeca* 11.154), Menestratos (*Anthologia Graeca* 11.153), from the first century CE. In the 60s of the Common Era, Seneca had a Cynic friend, Demetrios of Corinth; other Cynics are mentioned during the time of Nero (Isidorus: Suetonius, *Nero* 39.5–6; Menippos of Lycia: Eunapius, *Vita Philosophorum* 2.1.5; Philostratos, *Vita Apollonii* 4.25) and Vespasian (Diogenes the Sophist and Heras: Cassius Dio 65.15).[71]

While much of this evidence pertains to Rome, there are data from the East: Meleager of Gadara (135–50 BCE), who moved to Tyre and Cos, and his contemporary Diokles of Magnesia (in Asia Minor). Allusions to Cynicism are found in Antipater of Thessalonica (time of Augustus, *Anthologia Graeca* 11.158) and the awareness of Cynicism is displayed [97] by Dio Chrysostom (40–after 112 CE).[72] Just as important are papyri with Cynic chriae or allusions to Cynic teachings: *P.Berol.* inv. 13044, dated by U. Wilckens to 100 BCE and echoing Onesicritos' account of Alexander's meeting with the Gynosophists, wearing Cynic mantles[73]; and *P.Vindob. G.* 29946, a fragmentary collection of

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[70] Miriam Griffin, "Cynicism and the Romans: Attraction and Repulsion," in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy* (ed. R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé; Hellenistic Culture and Society 23; Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 190–204.

[71] See Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, "Le cynicisme à l'époque impériale," *ANRW* II.36.4 (1990): 2720–2823; idem, "Catalogue of Known Cynic Philosophers," in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy* (ed. R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé; Hellenistic Culture and Society 23; Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 389–413; Billerbeck, *Der Kyniker Demetrius*.

Varro (116–27 BCE) was known by some as a Cynic, because he imitated Cynic satire (Cicero, *Academica* 1.8; Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 2.18; Tertullian, *Apologeticus* 14.9) and Horace (65–8 BCE) has one of his characters enunciate Cynic teachings (*Satire* 2.7.83–88). But as Dudley (*History of Cynicism*, 119) points out, "there is no reason to suppose that in the Republic Diogenes would have commanded a much better rate of exchange" and that Varro's imitation of Cynic style does not make him a Cynic.

[72] On Philo of Alexandria (ca. 30 BCE–45 CE) as a witness to Cynicism, see Dudley, *History of Cynicism*, 186–87, who argues that the influence is purely literary.

[73] Hermann Diels, "Laterculi Alexandrini aus einem Papyrus Ptolemäischer Zeit," in *Abh. der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-hist. Klasse 2; Berlin: Die königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1904), 1–16 (cf. Roger A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt* [2d rev. and enl. ed; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1965], no. 2068). On the dating: Ulrich Wilcken, "Alexander der Grosse und die indischen Gymnosophisten," in *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1923), 150–83.

Diogenes chriae dating from the first century BCE.[74] Finally, as Downing has more recently noted, the pervasive influence of the Diogenes tradition on the *Progymnasmata*, the textbooks for elementary rhetorical instruction, suggests that anyone studying rhetoric would encounter Cynics, on the page at least, if not in person:[75]

> [A]nyone learning Greek in Palestine would be likely to be introduced to Cynicism, in this way if in no other, and be provided with good stories and witty comments – and a radical ethos – to pass on, in the original or in translation.

Technically, Tuckett is correct. We have Cynic data from the late republican Rome and the time of Augustus, and again, from the time of Nero. But when Tuckett refers to the "awkward gap in our extant evidence about the actual activity of Cynics in the first half of the first century CE" (p. 373), he imposes a standard on the evidence that, if extended to other sets of data, would disqualify all comparisons and analogies. The Dead Sea Scrolls, which have been exploited widely to establish the context for all sorts of beliefs of the early Jesus movement, date mainly from the second and first century BCE, not the first century CE. The same is true of *1 Enoch* and Sirach. Rabbinic evidence is derived from a collection [**98**] compiled from the early third century CE onwards. *2 Baruch* and *4 Ezra* are at least a half a century after Q. Yet no one speaks of an "awkward gap" in our knowledge of Judaism at the time of Q. Of course many gaps exist in our documentation of practically every social, political, economic and religious aspect of antiquity. Such gaps, however, do not paralyze scholarship. Rather, they invite cautious and disciplined extrapolations of the existing data, just as is routinely and unblinkingly done in the case of the standard reconstructions of "Judaism in the time of Jesus."

It is often forgotten that the conclusions drawn by Dudley on the eclipse of Cynicism between Cercidas and Demetrios pertain mainly to Rome; for the Greek East, Dudley himself concludes that Cynicism survived "in obscurity, attracting far less attention than had been the case in the third century" (when it had been highly visible).[76] But he also concludes that Cynic literature continued to have a "considerable influence." Copies of Diogenes chriae on papyri and the use of Diogenes chriae in *Prosgymnasmata* indeed suggest that

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The pairing of gynosophists with the Cynics seems to have begun with Onesicritos, a companion of Alexander (Strabo 15.1.63–65; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 65).

[74] Carl Wessely, "Neues über Diogenes den Kyniker," in *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz: dargebracht zum siebzigsten Geburtstage am 29. Marz 1902 von Schülern, Freunden, Kollegen* (repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1979; repr., Wien: Alfred Hölder; F. Tempsky, 1902), 67–74 [I BCE] (= Pack, *Greek and Latin Literary Texts*, no. 1987); cited in Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 340. See also Wilhelm Crönert, *Kolotes und Menedemos: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Philosophen- und Literaturgeschichte* (repr. Amsterdam, Hakkert, 1965; repr., Studien Zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde 6; Leipzig: E. Avenarius, 1906), 49–53.

[75] Downing, "Deeper Reflections," 102.

[76] Dudley, *History of Cynicism*, 124.

sufficient Cynic materials were in principle available to persons in the first half of the first century.

The cynic hypothesis does not require that Cynics be attested in large numbers in the early first century CE. It does not require that there were contemporary high-profile Cynics such as Diogenes or Demetrios. It only requires one of two assumptions: either that there were still *some* Cynics or persons who would be identified as cynic-like on the basis of their dress, behavior, or teaching; or that the *literary* figure of the Cynic and the basic profile of Cynic behavior and teaching were sufficiently well-known to be recognized when it was encountered in a *literary* presentation of Jesus – which is, after all, precisely what Q was. It is clear from the data cited above that both of these assumptions are reasonable. The dismissal of Cynic parallels on grounds of date would appear to misuse Dudley and to overlook several of important evidences.

b. The Culture of the Galilee

A second type of objection rests on the assumption that, irrespective of the dating of Cynic materials, Cynics were not likely to have been found near the persons responsible for Q. The general point it made (and tediously repeated) that Cynicism was an urban phenomenon, while the cultural setting of the Galilee was mainly rural.[77] This appears to ignore Downing's observation that [**99**][78]

there is actually much more evidence for Cynics out of town in the sources, even if not in the standard generalizations. And many moved around – that is, through the countryside, on foot, at walking pace, where else and how else?

Of course no one ignores the fact that the Galilee contained two large cosmopolitan centers, Sepphoris and Tiberias, both with mixed populations (Galileans, Judaeans, some Greeks, ruling élite, retainers). The population of the Galilee in general appear to be rather high – Broshi sets the population of Western Palestine at about one million, making it one of the most densely populated regions of the empire.[79] Goodman estimated the population of the

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[77] Tuckett, "A Cynic Q?" 358; Eddy, "Jesus as Diogenes?" 462; Aune, "Jesus and Cynics," 191.

[78] Downing, "Deeper Reflections," 99–100 and n. 16, citing Downing, *Cynics and Christian Origins*, 26–56, esp. 26–30, 45–52, 82–84, 148–49; Lucian, *Demonax* 1 (referring to an otherwise unknown Sostratos, who lived in the open on Mount Parnassus) and *Philosophies for Sale*, 10 (which advises the would-be Cynic to "frequent the *most crowded place* and in those very places desire to be solitary and uncommunicative, greeting neither friend nor stranger.") The latter text seems not to support Downing's point.

[79] Magen Broshi, "The Population of Western Palestine in the Roman-Byzantine Period," *BASOR* 236 (1979): 1–10. Ze'ev Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 436 suggests that Broshi's figures, which are based on maximum

Galilee about 135 CE at 300,000 – the bulk of which would be in the Lower Galilee.[80] Both Tiberias and Sepphoris had populations of perhaps 24,000.[81] While such populations do not rival the great metropolises of Alexandria, Antioch or Rome, these two cities of the Galilee were far from insignificant. A decade ago, in commenting on Downing's thesis, Hengel seemed to have no difficulty in imagining the presence of Cynics in Sepphoris:[82]

> Why should not the craftsman Jesus, who grew up in the neighbourhood of Sepphoris, have made contact with Cynic itinerant preachers, especially as he himself spoke some Greek?... These affinities between Gospel traditions and Cynic religious and social criticism [discussed by Downing] go right back to Jesus himself. [**100**]

In the meantime, however, opponents of the cynic hypothesis have attempted to obviate this possibility. Tuckett observes rightly that the gospels (and Q) refer to small towns and villages in the Galilee (but not to Sepphoris and Tiberias); this, he claims, "would appear to make the theory of Cynic influence rather less probable."[83] To this Eddy adds two points: (a) that while the Galilee might have been hellenized, hellenization would probably not have affected very deeply the local populations, being restricted mainly to the rulers and administrative hopefuls; and (b) that the political and economic rift between urbanized, hellenized centers and the surrounding villages implies that, if anything, Jesus (and, presumably Q) would have been influenced not have been influenced positively by Sepphoris.[84]

As a general comment, one might observe that there is again a glaring lack of comparative parity between the evaluation of the cynic hypothesis and other claims of ideological "influence" on Q, for example, from Qumran. It would be rare to find those scholars who invoke the Scrolls as relevant to the interpretation of the Gospels expressing the reservation that the Qumran covenanters were not rural, not Galilean, not peasant farmers or artisans, and not

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estimates of grain growing capacity, may be too low for the Byzantine period, when the available land may have been farmed more intensively than Broshi assumed.

[80] Martin Goodman, *State and Society in Roman Galilee, A.D. 132–212* (Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies; Totawa, N.J.: Rowman & Allanheld, 1983), 32.

[81] Jonathan Reed ("Populations Numbers, Urbanization, and Economics: Galilean Archaeology and the Historical Jesus," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1994 Seminar Papers* [ed. Eugene H. Lovering; SBLSP 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994], 213–14) estimates Tiberias at 24,000, based on a probable size of 80 hectares and a population coefficient of 300 persons per hectare. J. Andrew Overman ("Who Were the First Urban Christians? Urbanization in Galilee in the First Century," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* [ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988], 164) estimated Sepphoris at 30,000, but Reed has reduced this to 24,000, based on an area of 50–60 hectares within the walls and another 50 hectares outside. Josephus (*Bell.* 2.608) puts the population of Magdala-Taricheae at 40,000, but this appears too high.

[82] Martin Hengel, *The "Hellenization" of Judaea in the First Century After Christ* (trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia; London: Trinity Press International; SCM Press, 1989), 44.

[83] Tuckett, "A Cynic Q?" 358.

[84] Eddy, "Jesus as Diogenes?" 464–65.

largely illiterate, and that they were relatively inaccessible to Galileans – even those travelling to Jerusalem – and espoused a priestly ideology and communal practice that is not likely to have had much currency in the Galilee. The kind of insistence on careful attention to geo-political and social stratification on the society of Jewish Palestine that characterizes evaluations of the cynic hypothesis seems oddly lacking when it comes to evaluating other hypotheses.

Tuckett's inference that Cynics, were they in Sepphoris, would still not likely have influenced the Q folk, ignores much of the available literature on the interactions between city and countryside in antiquity.[85] The well-known phenomenon of periodic markets days, regional markets, and fairs, which are well attested in Roman Palestine, would naturally have brought inhabitants of the villages of the Lower Galilee into periodic contact with urban areas. Eddy's supposition that hellenization (and hence, presumably, Cynic influence) would have pertained mainly to the ruling gentry is curious, since if anything is clear it is that Cynics, [**101**] though present mainly in cities, were consistently critical of the *polis* and used the gentry as their typical targets.[86] His conclusion that Jesus (and the Q people) would not likely have been inclined in that direction assumes a monolithic view of culture and a single and uniform model of adhesion and repulsion. This is plainly not the way in which cultural interaction works. It would be tedious to point out the numerous examples of cultural critique that takes the form of adopting aspects of the dominant or opponent culture in order to criticize it more effectively. The imitation of colonialist religions in so-called "cargo cults"[87] or the adoption of western computer and communication technology by Islamic fundamentalists as instruments for their ideological opposition to "western values" are cases in point.[88]

Without appealing to Cynics at all, Seán Freyne and William E. Arnal have make a plausible case for concluding that much of Q's rhetoric is born from anxieties over the urbanization and monetization of the Galilee and the baneful effects on land-ownership patterns, taxation, and local economies that resulted

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[85] See, e.g., John Rich and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, eds., *City and Country in the Ancient World* (Leichester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 2; London; New York: Routledge, 1991); John Rich, ed., *The City in Late Antiquity* (Leichester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 3; London and New York: Routledge, 1992). On Galilee specifically: David Adan-Bayewitz and Isadore Perlman, "The Local Trade of Sepphoris in the Roman Period," *IEJ* 40, no. 2–3 (1990): 153–72; J. Andrew Overman, "Recent Advances in the Archaeology of the Galilee in the Roman Period," *CRBS* 1 (1993): 35–57.

[86] See John L. Moles, "Cynic Cosmopolitanism," in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy* (ed. R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé; Hellenistic Culture and Society 23; Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 105–20.

[87] Peter Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cults in Melanesia* (2nd ed.; London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968).

[88] Seeley ("Jesus and the Cynics Revisited," 710) make a similar point, adducing 4 Maccabees use of Greek, Hellenistic rhetoric and Hellenistic philosophy in its critique of Greek culture.

from this.[89] This city-countryside friction, amply attested in Josephus, provides a social context in which cynic-*like* critique of the *polis* and its functionaries might plausibly take root and flourish.

Still, the historical question remains: where there Cynics in Sepphoris or Tiberias? Tuckett observes that Josephus, who is otherwise well informed about the Galilee, says nothing of Cynics.[90] Eddy adds that the [**102**] cynic hypothesis presupposes a thoroughly hellenized situation in the Lower Galilee, which is not supported by archaeological evidence.[91] He concedes that Cynics were indeed present across the Kinneret in Gadara,[92] but seems to agree with Betz's assessment:

> The presumed presence of Cynics in the Galilean society in which Jesus lived is mostly a fanciful conjecture. The evidence for Cynicism is limited to Gadara and Tyre, Hellenistic cities outside the Galilee, though smaller cities existed in Galilee itself, especially Sepphoris. It is, therefore, wrong to make up for our lack of evidence by projecting a sophisticated urban culture replete with Cynics into every part of Galilee and then to place a Cynic-inspired sayings source Q together with the Jesus movement in this Galilee.[93]

Of course none of the advocates of a cynic-like Q imagines a "sophisticated urban culture replete with Cynics into every part of Galilee." Apart of its obvious overstatement, however, Betz's point is unfortunate, for he seems not to be aware of the fact that the strong economic ties between Tyre and both the

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[89] Seán Freyne, "Herodian Economics in Galilee," in *Modelling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in Its Context* (ed. Philip F. Esler; London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 23–46; idem, "Jesus and the Urban Culture of Galilee," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts. Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman* (ed. Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm; Oslo, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Boston: Scandanavian University Press, 1995), 597–622; idem, "Town and Country Once More: The Case of Roman Galilee," in *Archaeology and the Galilee: Texts and Contexts in the Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Periods* (ed. Douglas R. Edwards and C. Thomas McCollough; South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism.143; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 49–56; Arnal, "Rhetoric of Deracination". See also Ronald A. Piper, "The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Sayings in Q: A Study of Q 6:27–36," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 53–72. [Ed. note: See further, Milton C. Moreland, "Q and the Economics of Early Roman Galilee," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense XLIX; ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 561–75.]

[90] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 375.

[91] Eddy, "Jesus as Diogenes?" 466–67. Similarly, Aune, "Jesus and Cynics," 188: "There is, furthermore, no literary or archaeological evidence for a Cynic presence in first-century Galilee." One wonders just what sort of archaeological evidence Aune has in mind that would indicate Cynic presence: bath tubs?

[92] See Downing, *Cynics and Christian Origins*, 147; Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 374. Cynics at Gadara include Menippus of Gadara (early III BCE), Meleager of Gadara (135–50 BCE) and Oenomaus of Gadara (II CE).

[93] Betz, "Jesus and the Cynics," 471–72; similarly, Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 374.

Upper and Lower Galilee.[94] Moreover, the trade route that lead from Gadara to Ptolemais-Acco passed through Tiberias before turning west at Arbel, crossing the Tiran valley, and along to Sepphoris. One branch of the main road from Damascus to the coastal plain passed Bethaida, Kefar Naḥum and Tarichaeae (Magdala) before joining the road to Ptolemais. Another branch passed Khorazin before going west along the base of Meiron massif. Hence, while it is perfectly correct that we have no reports of Cynics in the Galilee, circumstantial evidence ought to lead us to expect that those who lived along these major routes were likely to have come into contact with all sorts of persons – soldiers, travelling merchants, refugees, magicians, hucksters, scribes, philosophers – even Cynics.[95]

To be sure, we do not have positive evidence of Cynics at Sepphoris or Tiberias. We do not have much evidence about the demography of these two cities *at all*. Josephus is virtually our only source for the [103] period. His interests in detailing the course of war with Rome – or, to be more precise, the brief period from the outbreak of hostilities until his capture at Yodefat – and the principal groups he variously exploited and opposed would hardly have extended to the description of unorganized, individual dissenters whose political impact was mostly likely negligible. If there were Cynics in the Galilee, Josephus is unlikely to have been bothered to mention them. His silence tells us very little.

Again, my point is here is not to defend the contention that there were Cynics in the Galilee. I simply do not know. Rather, the point is to observe that the *dismissal* of the possibility of a Cynic presence in the Galilee is utterly premature, based either on an ignorance of physical geography or on *a priori* notions of what Galileans "could" and "could not" have been or have known, or both.

c. Diversity in Cynicism and the Cogency of Parallels

A third area which illustrates lapses in argumentative logic has to do with the definition of ancient Cynicism and the analysis of alleged parallels.[96]

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[94] Most of the Upper Galilee is within a 25 km. radius of Tyre. There is ample numismatic evidence of the economic dominance of Tyre in the region.

[95] [Ed. note: see now F. Gerald Downing, "Dissident Jesus," in *Order and (Dis)Order in the First Christian Century: A General Survey of Attitudes* (NovTSup 151; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2013), 287–88.]

[96] Betz, "Jesus and the Cynics," 474 lists two "problems" with the cynic hypothesis concerning parallels. First, he points out that "we have different versions of Q, among which a given saying may be close to Cynic parallels in one version, and quite different in another." Parallels with Cynicism are not restricted to Q "but can be found in other parts of the New Testament as well." This hardly constitutes a serious objection: whether or not other NT documents have Cynic parallels is irrelevant to the case with regard to Q. And even if Betz is correct that there are multiple versions of Q and that some are closer to Cynicism than others – Betz cites no instances here –, it is hard to see how this is a "problem" for Downing or Vaage.

Tuckett make the sensible points that Cynic sources are diverse, that some of Downing's parallels (in Musonius Rufus, Seneca and Epictetus outside Book 3) are Stoic rather than Cynic, that some of characteristics cited as Cynic are not exclusively Cynic, and that there were real differences among Cynics, some adopting austere forms, and others milder or "hedonistic" forms.[97] Betz also notes the diversity within Cynicism and suggests [**104**] treating Cynic figures individually and calls for careful distinctions between idealizations, satirical depictions, school traditions, and so forth.[98]

One might have expected the point about diversity to issue in an effort to sketch a spectrum of Cynic types and to inquire whether Q might be compassed as a possible type within this diversity. It might be argued, for example, that Q is closer to the "philanthropic" Cynicism of Crates in its ethics, but approximated "austere" (Diogenean) aspects when it came to the conduct of the "workers." Oddly, however, diversity within Cynicism is presented as an objection to the hypothesis. Of course, diversity within Judaism has not prevented scholars from discussing Q's place within Judaism.

A contradictory objection is make with respect to specific parallels. Apropos of Downing's citation of Epictetus' description of the Cynic's duty to love those who beat him (*Diss.* 3.22.53–54) as a parallel to Q 6:27–28, Tuckett objects that "Diogenes is often portrayed as very far from exhibiting such a generous attitude to his 'enemies'."[99] This makes Diogenes into the benchmark

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Second, Betz states: "Although Downing's collection may be useful at this point, a more precise interpretation of the material is still a desideratum." But Betz does not offer one, and so, even if we agree with general and innocuous point that precise interpretation of the parallel materials will be important, Betz provides no concrete reason for thinking that a particular parallel is a good or poor one, let alone that the entire assemblage of parallels is telling or not. The criticism seems vacuous.

[97] Tuckett, "A Cynic Q?" 351–52; similarly, Eddy, "Jesus as Diogenes?" 459. For the distinction of austere and hedonistic Cynicism, see Dudley, *History of Cynicism*, 42–53, comparing the more austere Diogenes with the "philanthropic" Crates; Abraham J. Malherbe, "Self-Definition Among Epicureans and Cynics," in *Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. Ben F. Meyer and E.P. Sanders; vol. 3 of *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition*; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 46–59, 192–97; idem, "Pseudo Heraclitus, Epistle 4: The Divinization of the Wise Man," *JAC* 21 (1978): 42–64.

[98] Betz, "Jesus and the Cynics," 473: "Consequently, every Cynic philosopher at this time has to be treated in his own special way. Also, one needs to make literary distinctions between school traditions, idealized and satirical portraits, and attempts, such as that by Diogenes Laertius, to create a Cynic school on the analogy of other philosophical schools." None of this, of course, constitutes a "major problem" for the cynic hypothesis, only a list of *desiderata* in careful historical comparison.

[99] Tuckett, "A Cynic Q?" 366. Witherington (*The Jesus Quest*, 124) makes the dubious distinction that Jesus, unlike the Cynics, did not engage in acts of public indecency – he has in mind accounts of Diogenes defecating and masturbating in public. Like Tuckett, Witherington arbitrarily selects *one* Cynic figure (Diogenes) and treats him as the criterion for all Cynic behavior (Witherington shows very little acquaintance with primary sources, but seems largely dependent upon the treatment of Cynicism in Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early*

for all Cynic behavior and ignores, on the one hand, that a Cynic such as Crates was far more philanthropic than Diogenes, and on the other, that Q 11:39–52 portrays Jesus as able to use rather strong and insulting words against his opponents.

A yet more striking instance of odd argument is the tedious point that Q's prohibition of the *pēra* (knapsack) and staff was a *conscious* rejection of Cynic behaviour,[100] especially when this is coupled with the [**105**] two preceding arguments – as it is in Tuckett and Eddy – that Cynics could not have influenced Q by reason of the date of Cynic sources and geography. It is patently illogical to wish to have it both ways: either Cynics were a real presence to influence Q's depiction of Jesus, whether positively or negatively, or they were not. If they were not, as Tuckett and Eddy argue, then the prohibition of the *pēra* cannot be anti-cynic.

The objection to the parallel, however, is itself problematic, since it reifies one *typical* portrait of Cynic attire and falsely makes it the *criterion* for all Cynics. It is simply not the case that all Cynics carried a staff and a *pēra*, though both were often part of Cynic attire. Teles, for example, advised against taking a *pēra*[101] and Diogenes is said to have gone without a staff (Dio 6.60).[102] The point made by Downing and Vaage is that the mention in Q of the trio, "sandals – staff – *pēra*," would likely recall typical Cynic attire and thereby invite comparison with Cynics.

James M. Robinson, not a supporter of the hypothesis, nonetheless acknowledges the striking character of some of the parallels adduced and calls on critics to "desist from their shocked, indeed reproachful tone about the Cynic

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Christianity [2d ed; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1993]). Apparently for Witherington, Jesus' eating with disreputables is somehow not a case of public indecency.

[100] Tuckett, "A Cynic Q?" 367–68, citing Howard Clark Kee, *Christian Origins in Sociological Perspective: Methods and Resources* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980), 58: "The fact that the restrictions on the Christian itinerants were omre severe than those placed on Cynic preachers ... suggests that *there was a conscious differentiation* between the Christian charismatics and the cynics, even though the basic methods of itinerancy and public preaching were so similar" (The emphasis is not Kee's but Tuckett's). A similar argument was made by Theissen, "Wanderradikalismus," 245–71, p. 259, and the point is repeated by Horsley, *Sociology*, 117 ("almost as *anti*-Cynic"); Eddy, "Jesus as Diogenes?" 462, citing Horsley approvingly.

[101] Edward O'Neil, trans., *Teles (the Cynic Teacher)* (SBLTT, no. 11. Graeco-Roman religion series 3; Missoula, Mont.: Published by Scholars Press for the Society of Biblical Literature, 1977), 47.

[102] See Vaage, "Q and Cynicism," 208–10, citing Diogenes Laertius 6.22–23 (on the staff) and 6.102 (on the rough cloak); Seeley, "Jesus and the Cynics Revisited," 706; Downing, "Deeper Reflections," 98; Aune, "Jesus and Cynics," 183;. See now the essay by Diskin Clay, "Picturing Diogenes," in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy* (ed. R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé; Hellenistic Culture and Society 23; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 366–86, which details significant variations in the portraiture of Diogenes.

comparison until they have shown that Q 12:22–31 has a closer matrix elsewhere."[103] In fact, the cynic comparison gains at least part of its plausibility from the inability of interpreters to supply similarly close analogies for various of Q's sayings, in particular Q 9:59–60; 10:4; and 12:22–31.

Although the point of this article is not to evaluate the cynic hypothesis as such but rather to comment on the *treatment* of the cynic hypothesis, it is only fair to register some shortcomings.

A few strong parallels and even more interestingly close parallels does not necessarily make Q cynic or even cynic-like, whether one per[106]ceives the issue as one of genealogy and influence or one of analogy.[104] David Aune makes the important point that parallels ought to exist not only at the level of individual sayings but at the level of patterns of thought, especially the structurally central virtues of Cynic of *autarcheia* and *parrhēsia*.[105] Or, one might argue, there should be some analogy in Q for the traditions of "defacing the currency," in demonstrating by personal example the superiority of nature to custom, and in the emphasis on *askēsis* and the disdain of pleasure.

It is here that the case for a cynic-like Q has not (yet) been made effectively, for it is difficult to show that the logic underlying Q's presentation of the reign of God and the particular ethic associated with it is very closely associated with the personal virtue of self-sufficiency.[106] Q has plenty of frank speech (*parrhē-*

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[103] Robinson, "A Sot's Cynical Disciples?" 225. Witherington (*Jesus the Sage*, 133–34) offers Prov 6:6 as a better parallel but does not appear to notice that the point is opposite to the Cynic point of Dio 10.15–16.

[104] See the discussion of this in Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts*, introduction; idem, Vaage, "Q and Cynicism," 199–200, citing Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine*.

[105] Aune ("Jesus and Cynics," 185–91) lists as structurally central, *eleutheria*, *autarcheia*, *parrhesia*, and *adiaphora*. Aune also makes the point that there are stylistic differences, with Cynic chriae tending toward humor and satire (190). This is less compelling for the simple reason that we are not in a position to gauge how Q's sayings were heard. A case can be made that some of Q's woes are burlesque: Leif E. Vaage, "The Woes in Q (and Matthew and Luke): Deciphering the Rhetoric of Criticism," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLASP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 582–607. Aune (ibid.) also argues that Cynic chriae pit the sage against either an anonymous person or a famous one; Jesus' chriae, by contrast, are directed against groups and "Jesus himself does not function as an individual sage so much as a representative of a group." The same, however, might be said of Cynic chriae – that the sage serves to enunciate a more general *ethos*; but the fact remains that Jesus' chriae are attributed to an individual.

[106] In spite of variations among Cynics, self-sufficiency and *parrhesia* remained fairly constant marks. See Margarethe Billerbeck, "The Ideal Cynic from Epictetus to Julian," in *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy* (ed. R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé; Hellenistic Culture and Society 23; Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996), 205–21. L. Vaage (*per litt.*), however, has indicated that "*autarcheia* is the best word to name the sort of social posture, or programme, and analysis, or critique, that Q carries out. Though Q's own language for that state is variously 'be(com)ing a son of God' or 'kingdom of God.' But because this language is so encrusted with theological and other overlay, the Cynic term *autarcheia* names better than any other I

sia) but this was hardly the sole possession of Cynics. What seems lacking in Q is the promotion of self-sufficiency for its own sake (i.e., as a virtue) in spite of the fact that Q 12:22–31 makes an argument quite similar to Cynic arguments made in support of *autarcheia*. Similarly, the fairly constant Cynic emphasis on *askēsis* seems wanting in Q. These lacunae perhaps account for the fact that, as Betz has pointed out, comparisons of Jesus with Cynics were rare in antiquity. Betz notes two figures, Perigrinus and Maximus-Heron, who had both Cynic and Christian phrases, but finds only one [**107**] fourth-century depiction of Jesus as a Cynic.[107] The point is a powerful one: ancient observers did not seem to make the connection that Vaage, Downing and Mack wish us to make.

Robinson's criticism of Vaage goes to the same issue: while there are many individual parallels between Q and Cynicism, such parallels cannot be given a coherently cynic interpretation:[108]

> [W]hat is most problematic in this presentation is not the Cynic parallels to Q 6:27–35 that Vaage has presented. Rather it is the focus of attention on the suggestions Cynic texts contain for interpreting such deprivation: The self-serving cunning typical of Cynics for evading often violent social disapproval....
>
> The explicit practice of the Q community [that can be deduced from sayings in the formative stratum such as Q 6:27–35; 10:9; 11:2–4, 9–13; 12:6–7, 22–31] as turning from self-interest is quite the reverse of the "cunning," the "prudential considerations," the "craftiness," the "specific benefits," the "'smart moves' under the circumstances," the "ability to handle hostility with notable restraint and calculated inversion," which Vaage derives from the Cynics and applies to the formative stratum of Q in replacement of the text's own interpretive sayings.

While Downing prescinds from a stratigraphic analysis of Q,[109] stratigraphy is

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have seen to date, because it can account more comprehensively than any other, for the various and specific features of the social programme the discourse of Q appears to recall and/or to want to set in motion."

[107] Betz, "Jesus and the Cynics," 461–62. The representation of Jesus as a Cynic appears on a fourth century sacrophagus from Rome.

[108] Robinson, "A Sot's Cynical Disciples?" 246, 249.

[109] F. Gerald Downing, "Word-Processing in the Ancient World: The Social Production and Performance of Q," *JSNT* 64 (1996): 29–48. Downing has criticized reconstructions of the social history of Q that imagine too radical a discontinuity between one literary stage and another on the grounds that an editor (of Q^2) would not have been able to "get away with" testing a drastically revised version of the document on an audience that had become accustomed to the earlier edition (esp. p. 42). This criticism is quite unfair; I have not posited such discontinuities, and in fact describe various continuities. It is fair to say that Mack is not in fact as susceptible to this criticism either, for he is quite careful to draw lines of continuities between his five stages. Downing's insistence on continuity is also exaggerated, for his rather glib assumption that an audience would resist significant alterations simply ignores the fact that Matthew, for example, has completely reversed certain Markan characterizations (e.g., the disciples' reaction to the walking on the sea, Matt 14,33). One must either assume that the Matthaean audience was completely unfamiliar with Mark (and so had no occasion to resist Matthew's rewriting) or that they rejected Mark's characterizations and so embraced Matthew's. Neither assumption is very likely.

essential for both Vaage and Mack. Since Vaage especially is concerned to present the formative stratum as cynic-like, it is imperative that most or all of Q^1 cooperates with this rhetorical strategy. While Vaage begins with the analysis of Q laid out in *Formation of Q*, some of the sayings that are key to his thesis are sayings that I had located in the secondary redactional stratum: Q 7:24–24, 28a, 33–34; [**108**] 11:14–20, 24–26, 33–36, 39b–48, 52. Vaage therefore devotes an appendix to the justification of his reallocation of these sayings to Q^1. C. M. Tuckett and James Robinson have pointed out, however, that the basis of this reallocation is not formal and literary-critical (the basis for the stratigraphy in *The Formation of Q*) but material, based on content. This, as Tuckett rightly notes, undermines the entire foundation of Vaage's isolation of Q^1 as what is most cynic-like[110] and opens Vaage to all the criticisms of a stratigraphic analysis whose criteria are content-based rather than genuinely literary-critical.[111]

The point is not irrelevant. For although one might retort, the cynic comparison that Vaage has made might be cogent whether or not one can securely locate a particular saying at Q^1, in fact the integrity of stratigraphical analysis is crucial to Vaage's case. The argument for Vaage is deeply literary and rhetorical, and hence it matters greatly that all (or at least most of) the sayings in a particular stratum cohere with an explicit rhetorical strategy of cultural destabilization. If the stratification of Q does not cooperate with this rhetoric, the argument begins to lose its cogency.[112]

There are, nonetheless, interesting and puzzling parallels with Cynicism that cry out for exploration, not simple dismissal. Beyond the several literary and argumentative parallels noted by Downing and Vaage is the fact, adduced by Goulet-Cazé, that in Roman times Cynicism tended to be found among disenfranchised persons.[113] This is perhaps significant in light of current inclinations to see Q as representing Galileans who experienced a significant degree of disenfranchisement, owing to the encroachments of the Herodian élite, increasing debt-burden, and the monetization of the economy. It is also worth pondering the fact that Cynicism, at least in Rome, assumed a critical posture *vis à vis* the élite (including the Emperor) – so much so that Stoics felt obliged to purge their Cynic heritage –, alongside the fact that Q's rhetoric is deeply committed to a proclamation of the coming Reign of God that will invert (and

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[110] Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, 369–73; Robinson, "A Sot's Cynical Disciples?" 228–43.

[111] [On this distinction, see above, chap. 11].

[112] It should be noted, by way of contrast, that Richard Horsley's efforts to read Q as a document expressive of a prophetic renewal movement does not depend either on stratigraphy (which he rejects) or even on compositional observations since in practice Horsley still works in the vein of form-criticism, privileging individual sayings and reading them against a presumed social history of Roman Palestine. Q as a document hardly matters.

[113] Goulet-Cazé, "Le Cynicisme," 2735.

does invert) social privilege (Q 14:11, 16–24) and economic patterns (debt: Q 6:30; 11:4). This does not make Q Cynic, though it is perhaps cynic-like; but it does call for serious inquiry and a [**109**] serious consideration of the analogies between Cynicism and the Jesus movement.

The Sub-Text of Criticism

The usual alternative to a Cynic Q is to assert that Q reflects a prophetic movement, either endorsing the renewal of village life in Galilee, or anticipating the imminent inauguration of the Reign of God. Richard Horsley has been perhaps the most vocal advocate of the former option and opponent of the Cynic hypothesis. Helmut Koester, who espouses a stratigraphy of Q not unlike mine (at least in its result), has recently argued that the Jesus of Q is "an eschatological prophet who announces the presence of the kingdom."[114] Tuckett concludes his article on Q and Cynicism with the simple statement[115]:

> By contrast, Q does appeal frequently to the Jewish prophetic traditions as providing such precedents [viz. precedents for experience of Christians 6:22 etc.]. In his recent book, Migaku Sato has impressively portrayed the strength of the parallels between Q and Jewish prophetic traditions. "Q und Prophetie" seems perhaps a more promising avenue of approach for the analysis of Q than an allegedly Cynic Q.

What is noteworthy here is that having dispensed with the Cynic analogy on the grounds of the dating and provenance of the comparative materials or the inexact "fit" of parallel traditions, Tuckett does not feel obliged to defend the "prophetic analogy" similarly. Were there prophets in the Galilee? If there were, they are not mentioned by Josephus, who describes various figures active in Judaea, one in Samaria, but none in the Galilee during the first century CE.[116]

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[114] Helmut Koester, "The Sayings of Q and Their Image of Jesus," in *The Canonical and Non-Canonical Sayings of Jesus: Collected Essays in Honour of Tjitze Baarda* (ed. W.L. Petersen, J.S. Vos, and H.J. de Jonge; NovTSup 66; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1997), 391–92: "rather than being a demonstration of Cynic virtues of freedom from possessions, the [wandering] life-style demonstrates, in a kind of prophetic symbolic 'sign' analogous to prophetic actions in the OT, the total trust and confidence in God who is about the inaugurate the kingdom...."

[115] Tuckett, "A Cynic Q?" 376.

[116] Richard A. Horsley (*Galilee: History, Politics, People* [Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995], 268–71) mentions Judas son of Hezekiah (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.271; *Bell.* 2.56), who led an abortive uprising in Sepphoris in 4 BCE, and whose brigand-father had been killed by Herod at the caves of Arbel (*Bell.* 1.204, 311; *Ant.* 14.429–30). Horsley wishes to view Hezekiah as a "social bandit" and thereby see him as broadly part of "prophetic movements" in the Galilee. Seán Freyne, however, casts Horsley's model into grave doubt ("Bandits in Galilee: A Contribution to the Study of Social Conditions in First Century Palestine," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute of Howard Clark Kee* [ed. Jacob Neusner and et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988], 50–67). Judas the Galilean, who founded the "Fourth Philosophy" in 6 CE, was active

Seán Freyne observes that [**110**] "none of the [prophetic] movements in question occurred in or near Galilee, nor, insofar as we are informed, did any Galilean participate."[117] If one wishes to argue that Galileans Jews were involved in an imaginative recovery of the prophetic heritage of the Hebrew Bible, she will have to point to some evidence to that effect, if indeed we are to achieve comparative parity with the case *against* Cynicism. That no one advances such evidence or, evidently, thinks it necessary flows from a pervasive explanatory habit that takes for granted the *a priori* plausibility of any "biblical" explanation but demands disproportionate argument in support of a non-biblical explanation.

To put the issue differently: why should the cynic hypothesis call forth such a muscular reaction? The cynic hypothesis is, after all, defended by Vaage, Downing and Mack in much the same way that other comparisons have been ventured: by assembling a series of parallel texts which approximate the language of Q, followed by an attempt to read Q in a coherent manner with such texts in view. It is not difficult to find instances of analogous attempts to read Q as a sapiential text, as a prophetic text, as a set of apocalyptic traditions, and so forth. The effort to read Q alongside Cynic texts, however, has been met vigorous opposition and the *ad hoc* imposition of standards of comparison which, if applied to these more usual comparisons, would equally rule them out of court. The facts that they have not been criticized with a similar energy and that critical parity has not been achieved or even attempted in the assessment of the cynic thesis suggests to me that a very deep nerve has been touched. Critical assessment of the cynic thesis has become exorcism.

Why? I have no full answer to my question, only three hunches that I offer at this point for discussion. Each has to do, not with the plausibility of the cynic hypothesis *as a historical account* of Q, but because the hypothesis does not appear amenable to theological transformation. This issue is not historiographic plausibility but theological utility. [**111**]

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not in the Galilee but in Judaea (*Bell.* 2.118). [See also John S. Kloppenborg, "Unsocial Bandits," in *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Sean Freyne* (ed. Zuleika Rogers; in collaboration with Margaret Daly-Denton and Anne Fitzpatrick McKinley; JSJSup 132; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2009), 451–84.]

[117] Freyne, "Bandits in Galilee," 195. Freyne notes that the long rule of Antipas insulated the Galilee from the hardships of direct Roman rule. He observes: "One must surmise that a census was held in the Galilee similar to that in Judaea when eventually the former territory came under direct Roman rule in 44 C.E. Yet there is no trace of any extreme nationalism similar to that displayed by Judas the Galilean in Judaea when he call for freedom and acceptance of the sole rule of God occasioned the emergence of the Fourth Philosophy" ("Galilean Religion of the First Century C.E. Against Its Social Background," *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association* 5 [1981]: 101).

1. A Cynic Q and Biblical Theology

In the discussion of Wright's treatment of Q above I have suggested that underneath the confused presentation of current Q scholarship, including the cynic hypothesis, is the worry that a "cynic" – by which he seems to mean, pagan and Hellenistic – Q would represent a rupture in some supposed fabric of "Jewish stories" and "Jewish world view" that he posits as the necessary matrix for the theological history of early Christianity. Hence his odd and unargued opposing of "cynic" to "Jewish," as if that is how the defenders of the hypothesis had presented the case and as if that dichotomy were somehow self-evident.

The categorical separation of Judaism from Hellenism, as Jonathan Z. Smith has argued, has served in contemporary scholarship not a historiographic goal, but an apologetic one, as a way to insulate Jesus and the early Jesus movement from its broader environment and to help secure claims to uniqueness.[118] For Wright it seems to function as a way to preserve the essentially "biblical" pedigree of the Jesus movement. But his case is empty: he cites no evidence in favor of his characterization of Q beyond the bare possibility that Q might have contained other materials; and he does not engage any of the evidence cited by Mack or Downing or Vaage, preferring instead to dispatch the cynic hypothesis with mere assertion and misleading caricature.

As William E. Arnal rightly observes a propos of the historical Jesus debate, the issue should not be whether Jesus (or Q) was either "Jewish" or "Cynic-/Hellenistic" but instead *what kind of Judaism* Jesus (or Q) represents.[119] The insistence that "Q is Jewish" of course rightly locates Q with respect to the history, culture and institutions of Israel. But all too often it also embodies a tacit assumption that "Jewish" mean "religious" and that "religion" is a discrete and bounded realm of cultural discourse, separate from social (family, village) and political structures. Thus, the assertion serves to isolate Q, not only from the context of the other cultural discourses of the Mediterranean, but from the social and political culture of Jewish Galilee. In this de-contextualized setting, it is far easier to imagine "culmination," "uniqueness" and incommensurability, the standard coin of theological discourse. The cynic comparison, whatever its failings, assumes that religion was "embedded" in other cultural and social forms and hence, that the tensions [112] between Q's Jesus and his culture should not be interpreted as narrowly-defined "religious" opposition, isolated from other cultural possibilities. Without ceasing to be Galilean and Jewish, Q may *also* have been simultaneously part of an intersecting discourse critical of certain institutions and patterns of Galilean and Judaean culture and *analogous*

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[118] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine*.

[119] William E. Arnal, "Making and Re-Making the Jesus-Sign: Contemporary Markings on the Body of Christ," in *Whose Historical Jesus?* (ed. William E. Arnal and Michel Desjardins; ESCJ 7; Waterloo, Ont.: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/-Corporation canadienne des sciences religieuses by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 308–19, at 309.

to Cynic criticism of Greek urban culture.[120] The cynic comparison implicitly resists compartmentalization, either of "religion" with ancient society, or of "Judaism" within the ancient world, or of "biblical religion" as an apologetic construct, but instead tries to locate Jesus at the conjunction of multiple intersecting discourses.

2. Cynicism, Eschatology and Christology

The second theological issue has to do with the dominance of "eschatology" and "apocalypticism" in discourse on Christian origins and its singular importance in systematic theology since the end of World War II.

Almost a century ago Albert Schweitzer proposed an apocalyptic Jesus, basing this understanding on the apocalyptic documents of second Temple Judaism. His Jesus was thus consistent with the supposedly apocalyptic climate of the first century. Schweitzer's Jesus, however, was a stranger to the world of the early 1900s, for at the time Schweitzer wrote apocalypticism was regarded in European culture with distaste and disdain. Even for Schweitzer, it was not the mistaken apocalypticist of the remote past that was theologically important but the "spiritual Christ" who continued to animate the Christian church. Schweitzer's use of apocalyptic eschatology as a *descriptive* category, on the one hand, underscored the *commonalities* between Jesus and his environment, and the profound *distance* between that Jesus and early twentieth century Christian theology, on the other. Schweitzer's historical Jesus was part of first century culture but not part of ours.

Ironically, since Schweitzer's time a complete reversal has occurred. The terms "eschatological" and "apocalyptic" – usually stripped of their most blatantly predictive aspects – are regularly used in order to *distinguish* Jesus from his environment.[121] Thus, for example, Hengel's [**113**] study of discipleship uses the category of "eschatological charismatic" in order to render Jesus

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[120] See Leif E. Vaage, "The Scholar as *Engagé*," in *Whose Historical Jesus?* (ed. William E. Arnal and Michel Desjardins; ESCJ 7; Waterloo, Ont.: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/Corporation canadienne des sciences religieuses by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 186.

[121] A propos of Bultmann, Dieter Georgi observed: "Whereas for the history-of-religions school the term 'eschatological' described the foreignness of Jesus and of the early church – together with Jewish apocalypticism and other comparable ancient eschatologies – for Bultmann ... the term 'eschatological' stands for the novelty of Christianity, its incomparable superiority, the uniqueness of the victorious religion, deservedly victorious. Wherever a comparison is ventured, wherever analogies lift their head, wherever challenges are heard from other religious options but the canonical ones, the invocation of the 'eschatological' is made, and the demons, the shadows have to disappear. Historical criticism thus turns into exorcism." See Dieter Georgi, "Rudolf Bultmann's *Theology of the New Testament* Revisited," in *Bultmann, Retrospect, and Prospect: The Centenary Symposium at Wellesley* (ed. Edward C. Hobbs; Harvard Theological Studies 35; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 82.

incommensurable and unique within Judaism and the Hellenistic world.[122] At the same time that apocalyptic and eschatology were on the ascent in exegetical circles, eschatology was elevated to a central theological category by such systematic theologians as Pannenberg and Moltmann. Thus, Jesus' announcement of an imminent and decisive transformation of human reality happily coincided with what was seen to be at the heart of the Christian theological project. Analogously, emphasis on the eschatological orientation of Q served to cement Q and its Jesus to contemporary Christian theological interests rather than to distance him from modern sensibilities.

Seán Freyne is refreshingly forthright on the point. The insistence on the eschatological nature of Jesus' career, he says,[123]

> arises from my concern regarding the claims of ultimacy that Christian faith makes in terms of Jesus.... In the absence of an eschatological dimension to Jesus' utterances it would be impossible to see how any christological claims could be grounded in his earthly life, which is precisely the issue that gave rise to the quest for the historical Jesus in the first place as both an ecclesial and academic exercise.

This declaration is both refreshing and weighty for it makes clear the theoretical interest – christology and ultimacy – which Freyne sees as being served by highlighting Jesus' (and Q's) eschatology. "Eschatology" stands as a cipher for finality and ultimacy. Freyne expresses hesitations about this admission, fearing that it will destroy the credibility of his historical reconstruction. It should have no such effect. In Freyne's case (apropos of the historical Jesus) there is little danger of him being accused of engaging in covert apologetics or of smuggling theology into his historical analysis. But his admission clarifies why eschatology – however it is construed – has achieved so central a place in some treatments of the historical Jesus.

To the extent that Q scholarship and historical Jesus scholarship are identified (or confused) and to the extent that "Cynicism" is supposed [**114**] not to have a strong eschatological outlook,[124] the cynic hypothesis both undermines the categorical separation that eschatology was used to effect and it constitutes an impediment to christological transformation. A cynic Q with a cynic-like Jesus without a strong eschatological outlook and message is not so amenable to christological discourse as the "eschatological prophet" with a message of a

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[122] Hengel, *Charismatic Leader*, 69.

[123] Seán Freyne, "Galilean Questions to Crossan's Mediterranean Jesus," in *Whose Historical Jesus?* (ed. William E. Arnal and Michel Desjardins; ESCJ 7; Waterloo, ON: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/Corporation canadienne des sciences religieuses by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 61–91, at 90. A similar view is expressed, a propos of Crossan's Jesus, by John P. Galvin, "'I Believe.. in Jesus Christ, His Only Son, Our Lord': The Earthly Jesus and the Christ of Faith," *Int* 50, no. 4 (1996): 373–82.

[124] Probably wrongly: see F. Gerald Downing, "Cosmic Eschatology in the First Century – 'Pagan,' Jewish and Christian," *L'Antiquité classique* 64 (1995): 99–109; Koester, "Jesus the Victim".

partially imminent, partly realized, but wholly definitive intervention by God.[125]

Again, I wish to be clear that my interest here is not to propose a thesis about Q's eschatology, whether a cynic view is devoid of eschatology – in Downing's view it is not –, or whether other views of Q exclude eschatological features – in my view, it clearly does not. Rather my point is that the reaction to the cynic hypothesis seems as much moved by theological worries as by concerns for a defensible social-historical reconstruction. This confuses historical explanation and apologetics.

3. Degrees of Deviance

A final reason for reticence towards the cynic hypothesis has to do with the way it implicitly labels the Q people deviant. This portrayal represents in some respects only an extrapolation of earlier representations of Jesus as purveying sayings and practices that were "novel," "striking," "countercultural," "radical," "marginal," or "world-subverting" – depictions that are as ubiquitous and hackneyed as they are unexceptional in historical Jesus scholarship. [115]

The cynic hypothesis as enunciated by Vaage and Mack differs mainly from previous views not in thinking of the Q people as radical, but in its emphasis on the critical posture of the Q people and its reserve toward the ideas of corporate or local renewal. Rather than adopting the customary strategy of rooting the metaphor of the Reign of God in Israelite royal ideology and its later transformations, Vaage treats it largely as empty of positive content, functioning primarily as "a discursive instrument of ongoing socio-political destabilization."[126] In both the use of this metaphor and in the woes (11:39b–48, 52), Q

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[125] Galvin ("'I Believe'," 375) observes that the portraits of Jesus produced by John P. Meier and Joachim Gnilka, both of whom try to balance future and present aspects of Jesus' expectations, allow traditional christological affirmations to be seen "as a plausible, though not rationally compelling, interpretation of Jesus and of the events of his public ministry." See also idem, "From the Humanity of Christ to the Jesus of History: A Paradigm Shift in Catholic Christology," *TS* 55 (1994): 264–65. The use of eschatology in relation to "uniqueness" and christology is explicit in Pannenberg: "Religious Pluralism and Conflicting Truth Claims: The Problem of a Theology of the World Religions," in *Christian Uniqueness Reconsidered: The Myth of a Pluralistic Theology of Religions* (ed. Gavin D'Costa; Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1990), 100–101: "In fact, Jesus' emphasis on the anticipatory presence of God's kingdom in his own activity (Lk 11,20) involved his own person in a way that essentially implies what later on was explicated by incarnational language and by titles like Son of God. But then, the uniqueness attributed to Jesus by the incarnational theology of the church was already characteristic of his own eschatological message and activity.... The Christian claim to uniqueness is not based on any Christian experience. If this were so, it would be fair to argue that there are other experiences of uniqueness within world religions. But the claim to uniqueness concerning the person of Jesus is bound up with his own eschatological message, especially the eschatological finality of God's kingdom as becoming present in his activity."

[126] Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts*, 56.

does not offer a utopian alternative or a program of renewal, restoration or reform, but is satisfied with an attack on the self-evident character of the current order of things.

This depiction of Q is likely to appear unsatisfying to those who are more inclined to see Q as either advocating local renewal in the face of regional economic and political changes or as expecting imminent transformations on a much larger scale. In my view, there are sufficient elements in Q, in my view, to sustain the thesis that the Q people articulated model of local cooperation based on strategies of tension reduction, debt release, and forgiveness, appealing to an image of God as a generous patron and parent who could be depended upon for sustenance. This suggests that the "reign of God" is *not* "merely a discursive instrument of ongoing socio-political destabilization," but offered a real, though spare, alternative in the present and by Q^2 expected substantially more in the near future (Q 13:28–29; 22:28–30). At the same time, the scribes responsible for Q resisted any efforts to impose a southern, hierocratically defined vision of Israel in which human affairs are centered on a central sanctuary, its priestly officers and their retainers.

Nevertheless, what the cynic hypothesis underscores – in a way analogous to what Schweitzer's apocalyptic Jesus did – is the possibility that, at the earliest layer of Q, the early Jesus movement adopted postures that were significantly "deviant" and socially experimental. This conflicts perhaps – and perhaps should be allowed to conflict – with the ways in which other early Christian authors, notably Luke, 1 Peter, and certainly the later apologists, wished to portray the Jesus movement as non-deviant as far as the political culture of the empire was concerned. The main redaction of Q seems to have felt obliged to defend the novelty of Q^1 by consciously aligning Jesus, John and the Q people with eminent, though similarly uncooperative persons of Israel's past – the prophets. It is [**116**] when the prophets are re-read through a pious and biblicizing lens that their deviance is effaced and the possible deviance of Q^1 implied by the cynic hypothesis begins to look atypical and disruptive of a more general "Christian" ethos. But this too is more apologetics than it is defensible social history.

Conclusion

In the assessment of many historical arguments, judgments in regard to the antecedent probability of an hypothesis plays a significant role in the standards of proof that are required. A lower burden of proof is required of hypotheses that are judged to have higher antecedent probability than those that are judged to have a lower probability. It is often quite difficult to identify, however, the

basis upon which a given hypothesis is judged to be antecedently probable or improbable.

In this paper I have suggested that judgments of antecedent probability have influenced the ways in which the cynic hypothesis has been evaluated and that these judgment have to do, largely if not exclusively, with theological concerns rather than historiographic ones. If I may borrow and adapt a term from feminist historiography, they have to do with the reconstruction of a "theologically usable history" – a construal of historical data that is maximally cooperative with theological concerns. These include a synthesis of historical data that implies coherence and continuity within "biblical" history and the mitigation of "influences" that appear to represent disruptions, ruptures, or fissures in that supposed history. Characteristically, this embodiment of the biblical theology movement takes narrative as its paradigm for theological historiography, and consequently resists any historical data or constructions that do not appear to fit the narrative syntax of the particular "story" that it wishes to tell. Christological concerns likewise play a key role in determining the antecedent probability of historical hypotheses such that those which appear to be compatible with christological transformations are deemed to be "more likely" than those which appear less amenable to such transformations.

I do not wish to imply that I think that "neutral" historiography is possible or desirable. On the contrary. A similar analysis of many of the historiographic endeavors in the field of Christian origins will show, I think, that ideological (theological as well as anti-theological) subtexts lurk beneath the often pretended objectivity of criticism. That is not a defect of criticism: it is what makes historical criticism of interest in the [117] first place. On the other hand, however, it is important not to confuse the subtext with historical method, and to allow spurious historical arguments their place merely because they seem to cooperate with those subtexts. Theological (and anti-theological) commitments cannot be allowed to manufacture evidence or to obfuscate data that needs to be taken into account. If theological cases are to be made, they must stand on their own feet.

The cynic hypothesis , whether or not it is ultimately judged to be an adequate *historical* hypothesis, is of intellectual interest precisely because it has helped to expose the interface between historiography and theology, and to clarify what might be at stake and what is not at stake in the comparison. To suggest, for example, that the Q people might meaningfully be compared (*not* equated) with Cynics is *not* to deny their Israelite identity. The fact that later Christian writers, in particular Matthew but arguably Q^2 as well, would look back on earlier stages of the tradition and propose a synthetic model in which Jesus and the Jesus movement was viewed though the biblicizing optics of salvation history, and the continuing legacy of Israelite prophets, and the fact

that later theologians would endorse against Marcion the fundamental unities of the testaments, should not obscure the real, though disturbing, possibility that the early Jesus movement represented by Q – and maybe, God forbid, Jesus himself – were not in all regards "man's best friend" but at least occasionally barked and bit.

Addendum

For further discussion of the cynic hypothesis, see F. Gerald Downing, "The Jewish Cynic Jesus," in *Jesus, Mark and Q: The Teaching of Jesus and Its Earliest Records* (ed. Michael Labahn and Andreas Schmidt; JSNTSup 214; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 184– 214. John Moles ("Cynic Influence Upon First-Century Judaism and Early Christianity?" in *The Limits of Ancient Biography* [ed. Brian C. McGing and Judith Mossman; Swansea, Wales: The Classical Press of Wales, 2006], 89–116) offered a critical assessment of Downing's view, to which Downing responded in "Dissident Jesus," in *Order and (Dis)Order in the First Christian Century: A General Survey of Attitudes* (NovTSup 151; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2013), 283–311. See also Bernhard Lang, *Jesus der Hund: Leben und Lehre eines jüdischen Kynikers* (Beck'sche Reihe 1957; München: C.H. Beck, 2010) and Arthur J. Droge, "Cynics or Luddites? Excavating Q Studies," *Studies in Religion* 37 (2008): 249–269.

On Cynics in general: Georg Luck, *Die Weisheit der Hunde. Texte der antiken Kyniker in deutscher Übersetzung mit Erläuterungen* (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1997); William D. Desmond, *The Greek Praise of Poverty. Origins of Ancient Cynicism* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006); Aldo Brancacci (ed.), *Antichi e moderni nella filosofia di età imperiale* (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 2001).

One Cynics in the early imperial period see also Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé, "Kynismus," *RAC* 22 (2008): 631–687; eadem, "Les cyniques dans l'Antiquité, des intellectuels marginaux?" *Museum Helveticum* 67, no. 2 (2010): 100–113; Menahem Luz ("The Cynics of the Decapolis in Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic Period," *Jews and Gentiles in the Holy Land in the Days of the Second Temple, the Mishna and the Talmud* [ed. Menachem Mor, Aharon Oppenheimer, Jack Pastor, Daniel R. Schwartz; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi Press, 2003], 97–107) raises the question of why so many Cynics are said to have come from Gadara.

The approach taken in the last section of this paper of suggesting what might be at stake in the visceral rejection of the cynic hypothesis is not intended as psychological speculations about those who reject that hypothesis. In most cases, I have no idea of the personal reasons they might have for rejecting it and it would be fatuous for me to speculate or to engage in *ad hominem* attacks. Rather, the point, perhaps fumblingly made, concerns the larger conceptual frameworks within which Jesus- and Q-scholarship are performed and the ways in which those frameworks serve both to commend certain views as "probably correct" or "obviously true" and others as "heterodox, bizzare, poorly defended, etc." when in fact these latter are often mounted using the same kinds of evidentiary and argumentative appeals. I have worked out this distinc-

tion between psychological and conceptual analyses with somewhat greater clarity in "As One Unknown, Without a Name: Co-Opting the Apocalyptic Jesus." in *Apocalypticism, Antisemitism, and the Historical Jesus: Subtexts in Criticism* (edited by John S. Kloppenborg in collaboration with John W. Marshall; Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus, Supplement Series = JSNTSup 275; London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2005), 1–23.

Chapter 13

Discursive Practices in the Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest for the Historical Jesus[1]

"The will to believe or not to believe is not an argument."
Moses I. Finley[2]

In the past quarter century, two complex and technical discussions have run parallel to each other but up to now have seldom intersected. The first is the renewed quest of the historical Jesus, restarted during the 1970s[3] after a period of relative inactivity in the two previous decades.[4] The bibliography has now

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[1] First published as "Discursive Practices in the Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest of the Historical Jesus." Pages 149–90 in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus*. Edited by Andreas Lindemann. BETL 158. Leuven: Peeters, 2001. ©Uitgeverij Peeters. Reprinted with permission. I would like to thank Marianne Sawicki and Ron Cameron for helpful comments on an earlier draft of the paper.

[2] Moses I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus* (2nd rev. ed.; New York and London: Viking Press and Chatto & Windus, 1978), 144.

[3] Especially prominent are Géza Vermès, *Jesus the Jew: A Historian's Reading of the Gospels* (London: Collins, 1973 [2nd ed. London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983]); Morton Smith, *Jesus the Magician* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978); Karl Kertelge, ed., *Rückfrage nach Jesus: zur Methodik und Bedeutung der Frage nach dem historischen Jesus* (QD 63; Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel and Wien: Herder, 1974); Luise Schottroff and Wolfgang Stegemann, *Jesus von Nazareth: Hoffnung der Armen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978); ET: *Jesus and the Hope of the Poor* (trans. Matthew J. O'Connell; Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1986).

[4] During the 1950s and 1960s the most prominent books on Jesus are those of Günther Bornkamm, *Jesus von Nazareth* ([3]1959; repr., Urban-Bücher.19; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1956), ET *Jesus of Nazareth* (trans. Irene McLuskey and Fraser McLuskey, with a preface by James M. Robinson; 1956; repr., New York: Harper & Row, 1960); Ethelbert Stauffer, *Jesus: Gestalt und Geschichte* (Bern: Francke, 1957), ET *Jesus and His Story* (trans. Richard Winston and Clara Winston; London: SCM Press; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960); Morton Enslin, *The Prophet from Nazareth* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961); C. K. Barrett, *Jesus and the Gospel Tradition* (London: SPCK, 1967); S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots: A Study of the Political Factor in Primitive Christianity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967); Norman Perrin, *Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967); Herbert Braun, *Jesus – der Mann aus Nazareth und seine Zeit* (Stuttgart: Kreuz, 1969), ET *Jesus of Nazareth: The Man and His Time* (1969; repr., Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979). See the survey by Werner Georg Kümmel, *Dreißig Jahre Jesusforschung (1950–1980)* (BBB 60; Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1985).

become so massive that it can scarcely be controlled by any single scholar. But there is a more serious problem. There is some measure of consensus on the so-called criteria of authenticity, even though scholars differ on which is the most important of the criteria and on how rigorously they ought to be applied. Some consensus has been achieved with respect to the authenticity of sayings such as Q 6:20b or reports such as the baptism of Jesus. But wildly divergent representations of Jesus can be constructed from the same general fund of [**150**] sayings and stories. Part of the cacophony of divergent voices is simply a function of the sheer number of scholars at work on the problem of the historical Jesus: as in most fields of humanistic scholarship, the output of scholarly literature has increased exponentially since the 1960s, with the almost inevitable result that they variety of basic positions has also increased. But it is also clear that, as John Dominic Crossan has observed, historical Jesus research has served as a convenient place to do theology and to confuse theological convictions with historiographic considerations. The result is that the quest of the historical Jesus has become a scholarly bad joke.[5]

The second discussion, running parallel to the first, is the investigation of the Sayings Source or Sayings Gospel Q, begun in earnest in the late 1960s with the studies of Athanasius Polag, Paul Hoffmann, Richard Edwards, Dieter Lührmann, and Siegfried Schulz.[6] Since Q is comprised almost exclusively of sayings of Jesus, one might have expected its investigation to have had a symbiotic relationship with the near-contemporaneous quest of the historical Jesus. But the study of Q was much more an extension of redaction criticism than it was part of the quest of the historical Jesus. It was after all initiated by students of Bornkamm, Schmid, and Perrin, who had in various ways pioneered the redaction criticism of the Synoptics. Accordingly, Q studies in the 1960s and early 1970s were more interested in Q's redactional profile than in what it disclosed about its putative speaker. Q was studied as document of the early Jesus movement, composed at roughly the same time as the activities

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[5] John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1991), xxvii.

[6] Athanasius Polag, "Der Umfang der Logienquelle," Lizentiatsarbeit, University of Trier (1966); idem, *Die Christologie der Logienquelle* (Dr. Theol. diss., Trier (1969); WMANT 45; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977) (based on a 1969 Dr. Theol. dissertation); Paul Hoffmann, "Die Anfänge der Theologie in der Logienquelle," in *Gestalt und Anspruch des Neuen Testaments* (ed. Josef Schreiner; Würzburg: Echter, 1969), 134–52; idem, "Lk 10,5–11 in der Instruktionsreden der Logienquelle," in *Evangelisch-Katholisches Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, Vorarbeiten 3* (Zürich; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Benziger; Neukirchener Verlag, 1971), 37–53; idem, *Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* (NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972 [2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980]); Richard A. Edwards, "The Sign of Jonah in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q," Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago, 1968) = *The Sign of Jonah in the Theology of the Evangelists and Q* (SBT 2/18; London: SCM Press, 1971); Dieter Lührmann, *Die Redaktion der Logienquelle* (WMANT 33; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969); Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972).

of Paul, and illustrating the particular forms of belief characteristic of the Palestinian or Syrian Jesus movement during the 50s and 60s of [**151**] the Common Era. Under these conditions. Q studies contributed only incidentally, if at all, to the parallel quest of the historical Jesus.

It is perhaps inevitable that these two lines would eventually cross and raise the question, "What does Q tell us about the historical Jesus?" or, to put it more precisely, "What (if anything) do recent Q studies contribute to the renewed quest of the historical Jesus?" Surprisingly perhaps, the issue has been discussed systematically in only a handful of recent studies,[7] and few of those engaged in the "Renewed Quest" have engaged recent studies on Q beyond making a few broad generalizations. Conspicuous exceptions are John Dominic Crossan, Seán Freyne, Martin Ebner, Gerd Theissen, and Stephen J. Patterson.[8]

That Q should now become an important focus of Jesus research is the result of several factors. First, the sheer volume of Synoptic Problem research that has gone on since the publication of Farmer's *The Synoptic Problem* in 1964[9] has made it difficult to ignore the consequences of the Synoptic Problem for Jesus-studies.[10] Although the Two Document has faced significant challenges,

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[7] Daniel Kosch, "Q und Jesus," *BZ* 36 <neue Folge> (1992): 30–58; Dieter Lührmann, "Die Logienquelle und die Leben-Jesu-Forschung," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense XLIX; ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 191–206; Richard A. Horsley, "Q and Jesus: Assumptions, Approaches, and Analyses," in *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage; Semeia 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 175–209; John S. Kloppenborg, "The Sayings Gospel Q and the Quest of the Historical Jesus," *HTR* 89, no. 4 (1996): 307–44; Burton L. Mack, "Q and a Cynic-Like Jesus," in *Whose Historical Jesus?* (ed. William E. Arnal and Michel Desjardins; ESCJ 7; Waterloo, ON: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/Corporation canadienne des sciences religieuses by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 25–36; Jens Schröter, "Markus, Q und der historische Jesus: Methodologische und exegetische Erwägungen zu den Anfängen der Rezeption der Verkündigung Jesu," *ZNW* 89 (1998): 173–200.

[8] Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, passim; Seán Freyne, "Jesus and the Urban Culture of Galilee," in *Texts and Contexts: Biblical Texts in Their Textual and Situational Contexts. Essays in Honor of Lars Hartman* (ed. Tord Fornberg and David Hellholm; Oslo, Copenhagen, Stockholm and Boston: Scandanavian University Press, 1995), 597–622; Martin Ebner, *Jesus – ein Weisheitslehrer? Synoptische Weisheitslogien im Traditionsprozess* (Herders Biblische Studien 15; Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Wien and New York: Herder, 1998); Gerd Theissen and Annette Merz, *Der historische Jesus: Ein Lehrbuch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), ET *The Historical Jesus: A Comprehensive Guide* (trans. John Bowden; London: SCM Press; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998); Stephen J. Patterson, *The God of Jesus: The Historical Jesus and the Search for Meaning* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1998).

[9] William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1964).

[10] [Ed. note: For an analysis of how the choice of a solution to the Synoptic Problem affects portraits of the historical Jesus, see now William E. Arnal, "The Synoptic Problem

notably from the Two Gospel hypothesis in North America, the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis in Britain, and complex adaptations of the 2DH in Germany and France, the basic outlines of the hypothesis appear to have withstood most challenges. Second, given the 2DH, the nature of the Synoptic data makes almost unavoidable the conclusion that Q was neither Dibelius's *Schicht* [**152**] or Jeremias' body of oral tradition, but a document, composed with a particular editorial perspective.[11] This document, moreover, seems to be at least as old as Mark, and unlike Mark, derives from a Palestinian, probably Galilean environment. Another factor is the increased availability of reconstructions of Q,[12] the result being that "Q" is no longer located just beyond the event horizon of the gospel tradition, but is a fixed documentary point on the map of early Christian literature, however hypothetical that map may be.[13]

Of the several documentary sources concerning Jesus from before ca. 150 CE, Q is, if not *the* most important, then at least one of the two or three most important. No critic today would base a discussion of the historical Jesus on the Fourth Gospel, in spite of the fact that, as Dodd argued,[14] John has preserved a few historical details that merit consideration.[15] Paul is of little help, beyond the few sayings of "the Lord" he reports.

Forty years of redactional analysis have shown that Matthew and Luke have significantly reworked their two written sources, Mark and Q. It is *a priori* likely that they have done similarly with M and L materials. Of course, M and

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and the Historical Jesus," in *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem: Oxford Conference, April 2008. Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett* (ed. Paul Foster, et al.; BETL 239; Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 371–432.]

[11] Thomas Bergemann, *Q auf dem Prüfstand: Die Zuordnung des Mt/Lk-Stoffes zu Q am Beispiel der Bergpredigt* (FRLANT 158; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993) challenged the notion of a single, documentary source by positing the existence of another source behind the Sermon on the Mount. His arguments, however, are less than convincing. See my review in *JBL* 114 (1995) 325–27, and Adelbert Denaux, "Criteria for Identifying Q-Passages: A Critical Review of a Recent Work by T. Bergemann," *NovT* 37 (1995): 105–29.

[12] Athanasius Polag, *Fragmenta Q: Textheft zur Logienquelle* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979); Wolfgang Schenk, *Die Sprache des Matthäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987); John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988); Frans Neirynck, *Q-Synopsis: The Double Tradition Passages in Greek* (Revised edition, with an Appendix; Studiorum Novi Testamenti Auxilia 13; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1995), and above all, James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

[13] See my *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), chaps. 2 and 7.

[14] C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

[15] E.g., the chronology of the trial of Jesus, and the overlapping of the activities of the Baptist and Jesus.

L may have preserved some authentic traditions. But awareness of the methodological implications of the 2DH have made increasingly problematic any approach to the historical Jesus that allows the special elements of Matthew or Luke a determinative role. One may wonder, however, whether these implications have been grasped sufficiently. A few [**153**] years ago Dieter Lührmann observed of the Jesus literature of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s[16]:

> A critical examination of Jesus-literature, even the most recent, certainly arouses the suspicion that the methodological implications of the Two Source Hypothesis have not been taken seriously enough. Generally speaking, it is rather Matthew's portrait of Jesus that has left its impression. It is only on this basis that one can account for the fact that the issue of Jesus' understanding of the Law is a seemingly unavoidable question for Jesus-scholarship. But the word νόμος does not even appear in Mark, and in Q only in texts that are probably late (Q 16:16–17). It was Matthew who first seriously raised this issue in the tradition of Jesus' sayings....

This leaves Mark, Q, and possibly, the *Gospel of Thomas*. Theissen's assessment of Mark reflects the *opinio communis*: Mark contains some old and probably authentic traditions about Jesus, but his "chronological and geographical outline ... is secondary to the individual traditions; its form is determined by the author's theological premises and [is] therefore historically worthless." Q, Theissen continues, is "certainly the most important source for reconstructing the teachings of Jesus."[17]

It is only about the *Gospel of Thomas* that there remains considerable debate. This is hardly the place to engage this debate in any detail, but it seems to be reasonable conclusion that scholarship on Thomas should have moved beyond the stage of sweeping generalizations, either of Thomas' secondary, late, and gnostic character, or of Thomas' total independence of the Synoptics and early date.[18] There is at least evidence in the Coptic version, and *perhaps* in the Oxyrhynchus fragments, of some elements that agree with redactional elements in the Synoptics.[19] [**154**] On the other hand, there are sayings that lack

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[16] Dieter Lührmann, "Die Logienquelle und die Frage nach dem historischen Jesus," (Paper presented at the 1991 meeting of the Westar Instiute), 1991, p. 5. [Ed. note: It is now published as Lührmann, "Die Leben-Jesu-Forschung," 191–206 (196) (n. 7).]

[17] Theissen and Merz, *Historical Jesus*, 27, 29.

[18] [Ed. note: see the recent discussions of the *Gospel of Thomas* by Simon Gathercole, *The Composition of the Gospel of Thomas: Original Language and Influences* (SNTSMS 151; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012) and Mark S. Goodacre, *Thomas and the Gospels: The Case for Thomas's Familiarity with the Synoptics* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2012) and the responses by John S. Kloppenborg, "A New Synoptic Problem: Goodacre and Gathercole on Thomas," *JSNT* 36, no. 3 (2014): 199–239; Nicola Denzey Lewis, "A New Gnosticism: Why Simon Gathercole and Mark Goodacre on the Gospel of Thomas Change the Field," *JSNT* 36, no. 3 (2014): 240–50 and Stephen J. Patterson, "Twice More – Thomas and the Synoptics: A Reply to Simon Gathercole, The Composition of the Gospel of Thomas, and Mark Goodacre, Thomas and the Gospels," *JSNT* 36, no. 3 (2014): 251–61]

[19] Christopher M. Tuckett, "Thomas and the Synoptics," *NovT* 30, no. 2 (1988): 132–57.

the features that are due to the redaction of the Synoptics, which renders reasonable the conclusion that at least some of Thomas' tradition is relatively early.[20] There is, moreover, some reason to believe that in at least one instance – *P.Oxy.* 655 i.9–10 – Thomas preserves a pre-Synoptic, indeed, pre-Q version of the saying found in Matt 6:28.[21] Finally, as Risto Uro has recently argued, it might be possible to account for some of Thomas' sayings on the basis of "secondary orality" – the *indirect* citation of Q or Matthew mediated by oral tradition.[22] These features of Thomas oblige us, I believe, to agree with J.-D. Kaestli in eschewing blanket generalizations, examining Thomas' sayings in-

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Tuckett has several important observations: (1) κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φανε[ρόν in *P.Oxy.* 654.30 (*Gos. Thom.* 5) agrees with Luke's κρυπτὸν ὃ οὐ φανερόν (8:17) against Mark's ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ (4:22); (2) in *Gos. Thom.* 16, Thomas' ⲡⲱⲣⲥ (division) appears to reflect Luke's διαμερισμός, probably a redactional adaptation of Q's μάχαιρα. (Thomas, however, also has sword, which might be a conflation of Matthew and Luke). Moreover, Thomas' saying agrees with Luke's formulation (three against two, two against three), against Matthew (=Q's) version, which lacks numbers; (3) the discipleship sayings in *Gos. Thom.* 55 agree alternately with Luke 14:26–27 (οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής) and Matthew 10:37–38 (οὐκ ἔστιν μου ἄξιος) and so seem to have conflated the two; (4) *Gos. Thom.* 20 agrees with elements that *may* be due to Markan redaction (μικρότερον ὂν πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων, and perhaps the use of "great plant" [Mark: γίνεται μεῖζον πάντων τῶν λαχάνων καὶ ποιεῖ κλάδους μεγάλους] rather than Q's δένδρον); and (5) *Gos. Thom.* 9 has "root," which might reflect Markan redaction.

[20] I have argued that *Gos. Thom.* 65 not only lacks the obvious elements of Markan redaction, but presents an economically and legally coherent scenario where the Markan version is incoherent: John S. Kloppenborg, "Isaiah 5:1–7, the Parable of the Tenants, and Vineyard Leases on Papyrus," in *Text and Artifact: Religions in Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson* (ed. Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins; Studies in Christianity and Judaism / Études sur le Christianisme et le Judaïsme.9; Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 111–34. [Now, more extensively, in John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine* (WUNT 195; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), chap. 8.]

[21] James M. Robinson and Christoph Heil, "Zeugnisse eines griechischen, schriftlichen vorkanonischen Textes: Mt 6,28b ℵ*, P.Oxy. 655 I,1–17 (EvTh 36) und Q 12,27," *ZNW* 89 (1998): 30–40; James M. Robinson, "The Pre-Q Text of the (Ravens and) Lilies: Q 12:22–31 and P.Oxy. 655 (*Gos. Thom.* 36)," in *Text und Geschichte: Facetten theologischen Arbeitens aus dem Freundes- und Schülerkreis. Dieter Lührmann zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. Stefan Maser and Egbert Schlarb; Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 1999), 143–80, idem, "A Written Greek Sayings Cluster Older Than Q: A Vestige," *HTR* 92, no. 1 (1999): 61–77. [Ed. note: See the critical assessments by Robert H. Gundry, "Spinning the Lilies and Unravelling the Ravens: An Alternate Reading of Q 12.22b–31 and P.Oxy. 655," *NTS* 48 (2002): 159–80 and Jens Schröter, "Vorsynoptische Überlieferung auf P.Oxy. 655?" *ZNW* 90, no. 3/4 (1999): 265–72; "Verschreiben? Klärende Bemerkungen zu einem vermeintlichen Schreibfehler in Q und tatsächlichen Irrtümern," *ZNW* 92, no. 3–4 (2001): 283–89.]

[22] Risto Uro, "Thomas and Oral Gospel Tradition," in *Thomas at the Crossroads: Essays on the* Gospel of Thomas (ed. Risto Uro; Studies of the New Testament and Its World; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1998), 8–32.

dividually, and assuming that Thomas (like the Synoptic gospels) is the product of a complex editing and transmissional process that can in principle have compassed both primitive and secondary formulations.[23] [155]

This brings us back to Q. How should Q be employed in the Quest of the historical Jesus? Should it be used, as Harnack did and as John P. Meier appears to do, as an unmixed source of sayings of the historical Jesus? It seems, on the contrary, that Q should be used as a documentary source much in the same way that the three Synoptics have been used up to now, as a combination of traditional materials and redaction that requires careful analysis and sorting. Thus our 'canon' of documents now expands to include Q, Mark, Matthew, Luke and Thomas, with Q, Mark, and Thomas occupying positions of privilege. Of course, not *all* of Q, Mark, and Thomas, but those portions which are not obviously the product of redaction and, in the case of Thomas, which are apparently independent of the Synoptics. We quickly encounter the issue of criteriology: whether the criterion of dissimilarity is to be a primary means for identifying authentic materials, or whether multiple attestation is the better criterion. If the latter, shall we agree with Benedict Viviano that the Mark-Q overlaps (or even Mark-Q-Thomas overlaps) should be privileged,[24] or look to Stephen Patterson for common ground between Mark, Q, and Thomas,[25] or adopted Crossan's more complex version of multiple attestation, which uses both a vertical register (stratigraphy) and a horizontal one (attestation in independent sources) as primary indices of early and potentially authentic material?

In addressing the colloquium's topic of "The Saying Source Q and the Historical Jesus," I would like to discuss three broad problems. The first concerns not the positive contribution that Q studies make to the Renewed Quest, but the *constraints* that the study of Q places on that Quest. It is now

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[23] Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "L'utilisation de l'Evangile selon Thomas dans la recherches actuelle sur les paroles de Jésus," in *Jésus de Nazareth: Nouvelles approches d'une énigme* (ed. Daniel Marguerat, Enrico Norelli, and Jean-Michel Poffet; Le Monde de la Bible; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1998), 373–95 offers important cautions and criticisms of both blanket rejections or acceptance of sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas*. A nuanced use of Thomas should (1) avoid global judgments – each saying must be studied on its own – ; (2) avoid dismissing the gospel as "gnostic"; (3) assume as a working hypothesis that Thomas is the product of a long process of composition rather than a single redaction; (4) employ compositional observations; and (5) recognize the importance of extracanoncal sayings transmitted by Thomas.

[24] Benedict T. Viviano, "The Historical Jesus in the Doubly Attested Sayings: An Experiment," *RB* 103, no. 3 (1996): 367–410. Viviano does not treat the Q-Thomas or Mark-Thomas overlaps, but restricts himself to Mark and Q.

[25] Stephen J. Patterson, *The Gospel of Thomas and Jesus: Thomas Christianity, Social Radicalism, and the Quest of the Historical Jesus* (Foundations & Facets: Reference Series; Sonoma: Polebridge Press, 1993), 217–41 (231): "To isolate the common ground of material is an essential step towards understanding the preaching of Jesus, for it is this common ground which stands the best chance of holding a more or less direct connection to the preaching of Jesus himself."

commonplace that Mark's geographical framework and his devices of the secrecy commands, irony, and misunderstanding cannot be projected naively back to the historical Jesus. Now, with substantial efforts expended on discerning the redactional profile of the Sayings Gospel, an analogous stricture must be observed. One cannot treat Q naively, as if it were an unmixed deposit of sayings of the historical Jesus. The fact of Q's inscription as a literary document, compiled or composed for a particular sector of the Jesus movement and for particular rhetorical purposes, must be considered prior to drawing conclusions about the historical Jesus. [**156**]

The second issue also concerns Q's inscription of the Jesus tradition, but has to do with the relationship between the *document Q* and the bits of tradition from which it was compiled. In this context, I would like to engage Jens Schröter's interesting observations concerning the impossibility of recovering anything earlier than the first two written documents, Mark and Q. Like Schröter, I do not have any confidence in recovering *ipsissima verba* or "original meanings," but I am more sanguine about being able to say something about the shape of various sectors of the Jesus tradition prior to their literary inscription in Mark, Q and Thomas.

The third issue has to do both with the method usually employed in historical Jesus research, and the positive contribution that Q studies might make to the Renewed Quest. The method generally employed in the quest of the historical Jesus could be described as eclectic, atomizing and reconstructive: eclectic, because it constructs a portrait of Jesus from multiple sources; atomizing, because it typically lifts those traditions from their present literary contexts; and reconstructive, because it rearranges those traditions against a reconstructed "background" of defining issues in Jewish Palestine.

To caricature things a bit, the method, variously employed by such diverse authors as Norman Perrin, E. P. Sanders, Joachim Gnilka, John P. Meier, Jon Dominic Crossan, and Robert W. Funk, typically involves several operations[26]: it begins by selecting documentary sources deemed most likely to embody

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[26] Norman Perrin, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus* (repr. 1975; repr., The New Testament Library; London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963); idem, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom: Symbol and Metaphor in New Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976); E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1985); idem, *The Historical Figure of Jesus* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1993); Joachim Gnilka, *Jesus von Nazaret: Botschaft und Geschichte* (HTKNT Supplementband 3; Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel and Wien: Herder, 1990), ET: *Jesus of Nazareth: Message and History* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997); John P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume I: The Roots of the Problem and the Person* (Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York, London and Toronto: Doubleday, 1991); idem, *A Marginal Jew: Rethinking the Historical Jesus. Volume II: Mentor, Message, and Miracles* (Anchor Bible Reference Library; New York, London and Toronto: Doubleday, 1994); Crossan, *Historical Jesus*; Robert W. Funk, *Honest to Jesus: Jesus for a New Millennium* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996).

authentic Jesus tradition. Minimally, this 'canon' includes Mark and Q, but more usually it is extended to M and L materials, occasionally selected Pauline and Johannine texts and/or *agrapha*, sometimes the *Gospel of Thomas*, and more rarely, other extracanonical materials. The selection of a starting point is normally the next step, the principles of this selection normally being the subject of careful discussion. In some cases the starting point is a set of sayings of Jesus, selected because they are [157] supposed to be exemplary of what Jesus was about. The kingdom sayings and the parables are normally prime candidates here.[27] In the case of E. P. Sander's *Jesus and Judaism*, the starting point is a set of "facts" or stories whose historicity is beyond dispute, such as Jesus' baptism by John or the disruption of the Temple. For other scholars, the starting point includes both sayings and stories. The next step strips away redactional elements of these stories and sayings to leave "traditions" that can be passed through the acid baths of dissimilarity, multiple attestation, and coherence in order to yield a deposit of authentic items. These resulting "traditions" are then interpreted against some reconstruction of the context, whether that context is determined by apocalypticism in second Temple Judaism, wisdom traditions, scribalism and debates about the Torah, the political and economic culture of the Galilee, or the dynamics of peasant village life under Roman domination, or Levantine social dynamics of honour and shame, patronage, purity, and city-countryside relations, or some combination of these.

As incorrigible as this procedure might seem, it should be noticed just how quickly individual sayings and stories are separated from the discursive contexts in which they appear in their respective sources. This means on the one hand, that the particular rhetorical deployment of the saying or story in, say Q or Mark, quickly passes from view, despite the fact that this deployment is usually the earliest and most concrete index of meaning that we possess.[28] On the other hand, the critic is left to reconstruct – that is, to imagine – a context in which the sayings and stories that have survived the tests of authenticity might function meaningfully. This context often functions as a foil, to set in high relief the "central" or "key" aspects of Jesus' activities and preaching.[29] But as

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[27] For example, Funk (*Honest to Jesus*, 165–96) begins with a selection of parables and then sayings that concern some of the topics raised by the parables (kingship; purity codes; sacred time; anxiety about subsistence; rewards and punishments; public piety; and death). Gnilka (*Jesus of Nazareth*, 80–159) begins with the "Message of the Reign of God."

[28] Jens Schröter ("The Historical Jesus and the Sayings Tradition: Comments on Current Research," *Neot* 30, no. 1 [1996]: 151–68 [152]) has pointed to this problem: "[E]ven if it were likely that one or another saying stemmed from Jesus himself, that still does not answer the question on [sic] how to interpret this piece of tradition in isolation from its context in the Gospels. It is, thus, questionable whether one can depict a portrait of Jesus on the basis of some probably old or at best 'original' sayings."

[29] The importance of establishing the context is illustrated by Seán Freyne's wry comment that "the quest of the historical Jesus is rapidly becoming the quest of the historical Galilee" ("The Geography, Politics, and Economics of Galilee and the Quest for the Historical Jesus,"

Crossan's quip makes abundantly clear, there is not one, but several [**158**] ways of reconstructing that historical context and several ways of configuring the Jesus tradition so that it functions within that context.[30]

In this paper I will argue three theses: first, that recent study of Q, no doubt to the chagrin of some engaged in the renewed quest of the historical Jesus, imposes some important constraints on that quest; second, that in spite of the evidence of Q's tendentious editing of the traditions it selects, its depiction of Jesus is unlikely to have represented a substantial deformation of earlier depictions, either in its scope or its interpretation. And third, attention to the framing of the Jesus tradition in Q serves as a useful control on the exegetical imagination of those who wish to construct definitive portraits of the historical Jesus.

The Redaction of Q as Historical Constraint

The epigram quoted at the beginning of this paper was occasioned by a jibe directed at Sir Moses Finley's *The World of Odysseus* and its compelling description of the social world presupposed by the Homeric epics. The author of the jibe had complained of Finley's lack of interest in the "pure art" and humanity of the *Odyssey*, of his avoidance of traditional philological efforts to connect the Homeric poems with the destruction of Troy VIIa, and of his neglect of the issue of the historicity of the figure of Odysseus and the suitors of Ithaca.

Finley replied that as a historian, he needed no special justification for using the Homeric epics as tools for the study of Bronze Age, Dark Age, and archaic Greek history. To employ these poems to construct a social world of Dark Age Greece by no means excluded other uses. He had no intention of suggesting that his use of the poems for social-historical purposes had any priority over other forms of study. To be sure, the recognition in the poems of the social world of Greece of the Dark Ages (X–IX BCE), with its thirst for archaisms, certainly made more complex the task of extracting traditions belonging to the earlier Mycenaean period. But it did not render that task impossible. To the complaint that [**159**] he engaged in a comparative study of genre of epic poetry

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in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* [ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; NTTS 19; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994], 75–121 [76].)

[30] This is one of the points at which the ideology of historical Jesus research becomes visible. See John S. Kloppenborg, "The Life and Sayings of Jesus," in *The New Testament Today* (ed. Mark A. Powell; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1999), 10–30. W. R. Telford ("Major Trends and Interpretive Issues in the Study of Jesus," in *Studying the Historical Jesus: Evaluations of the State of Current Research* [ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; NTTS 19; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994], 33–74, esp. 68–73) discusses this as a matter of determining the appropriate "background" against which to view the Jesus tradition.

and in doing so had compared the Homeric epics with a variety of "inferior" poets, Finley observed that no one would refuse to study Tudor drama merely because Shakespeare was so much better than most other compositions in the genre, or baroque canatas because of Bach's towering genius. Finally, to the assertion of another critic that he could not "believe" that the Greeks ever behaved as the Homeric epics depict their heroes – and therefore heroic behaviour, for example, in gift giving could not be used as an index to Dark Age values –, Finley replied with the epigram above.[31]

The example of Finley's study of the Homeric poems is partially apposite to the issue of the Sayings Gospel Q and the historical Jesus. Like Finley's study, which was *not* about Odysseus but about Dark Age Greece, most of the recent study of Q has not been about Jesus but about a document of the Jesus movement and its audience, composed 30–40 years after Jesus' death.

It is true that some have referred to the results of Q research, notably my stratigraphic analysis of Q, in their constructions of the historical Jesus. In particular, Burton Mack and John Dominic Crossan have cited the stratification model of the composition of Q in the context of their thesis that the historical Jesus not an apocalypticist. This use of a *literary* analysis of Q for historical purposes would appear to violate the cautions that I had offered against converting literary history into tradition history.[32]

It is an error, however, to suppose that the stratification theory of Q is the logical basis of either Burton Mack's or John Dominic Crossan's proposals. Mack's thesis of Jesus as a cynic-like aphorist, first articulated in *A Myth of* [**160**] *Innocence* (1988), depended in part on a stratified Q.[33] But this was

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[31] Finley, *World of Odysseus*, 143–45.

[32] See John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 244–45: "To say that the wisdom components were formative for Q and that the prophetic judgment oracles and apophthegms describing Jesus' conflict with 'this generation' are secondary is *not* to imply anything about the ultimate tradition-historical provenance of any of the sayings. It is possible, indeed probable, that some of the materials from the secondary compositional phrase are dominical or at least very old, and that some of the formative element are, from the standpoint of authenticity or tradition history, relatively young" (emphasis original). Similarly, Helmut Koester, "Jesus the Victim," *JBL* 111, no. 1 (1992): 3–15 (7): "The tendency in recent scholarship toward a noneschatological Jesus is, of course, closely related to the discovery of the *Gospel of Thomas* and to the hypothesis of an earlier stage of the Synoptic Sayings Source (Q), in which the apocalyptic expectation of the coming Son of Man was still absent – a hypothesis that I myself have supported. It is questionable, however, whether this early stage of Q can really be defined as noneschatological, even more doubtful whether one can draw from such observations the conclusion that the preaching of the historical Jesus had no relation to eschatology." See also Kosch, "Q und Jesus," 30–58 (37).

[33] Burton L. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 59: "The layers [of Q] appear to break along the lines of aphoristic

hardly the only basis. Mack drew on Crossan's work on aphorisms,[34] scholarship on the parables, Son of Man sayings, and his own studies of kingdom sayings and chreia-elaborations *in Mark*, Cynicism, and the culture of the Galilee.[35] Even less is Crossan dependent on a stratified Q. Indeed, Crossan accepts a stratification model for Q, but his division of the Jesus tradition into four strata places Q^1 and Q^2 in the *same* stratum (Stratum I: 30–60 CE).[36] Much more determinative for Crossan is the criterion of multiple attestation and in this criterion, Q (whether stratified or not) counts as only one vote.[37] Moreover, while it is true that a stratification theory of Q *could* be (mis)construed as sanctioning a [**161**] non-eschatological view of the historical Jesus, such scholars as Marcus Borg have arrived at this view without accepting a stratified Q at all. In

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wisdom on the one side and apocalyptic prediction and pronouncement of doom on the other. Aphoristic wisdom is characteristic for the earlier layer. This turns the table on older views of Jesus as an apocalyptic preacher and brings the message of Jesus around to another style of speech altogether"; p. 608: "A Cynic Jesus does appear to fit the Hellenistic cast to Galilean culture much better than the apocalyptic Jesus."

[34] John Dominic Crossan, *In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983).

[35] Burton L. Mack, "The Kingdom Sayings in Mark," *Forum* 3, no. 1 (1987): 3–47; idem, *Anecdotes and Arguments: The Chreia in Antiquity and Early Christianity* (Institute for Antiquity and Christianity: Occasional Papers; Claremont, Calif.: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 1987), 48 pp.; idem, "Elaboration of the Chreia in the Hellenistic School," in *Patterns of Persuasion in the Gospels* (by Burton L. Mack and Vernon K. Robbins; Foundations & Facets: Literary Facets; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1989), 31–67. See Mack's reply to his critics in "A Myth of Innocence at Sea," *Continuum* 1, no. 2 (1991): 140–57 and the account of his thinking about a Cynic Jesus in "Q and a Cynic-Like Jesus" [n. 7].

[36] Crossan, *The Historical Jesus* [n. 5], 429. Moreover, Crossan (ibid., 229–30) expressly quotes my stricture on the confusion of literary and tradition historical analysis (above. n. 32).

[37] Crossan's development of multiple attestation as a criterion is seen both in his *Sayings Parallels: A Workbook for the Jesus Tradition* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), and in his response to *Formation of Q* in a paper entitled "Tradition in the Formation of Q," paper presented at the one hundred twenty-third annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Q Seminar), Boston, MA (1987). There Crossan acknowledges the distinction between literary history and tradition history and the *illegitimacy* of direct inferences from one to the other. What Crossan set out to do was to test my stratigraphic proposal and to ask whether there were any quantifiable differences between the sayings of the so-called "sapiential" (Q^1) level and those of the main redaction (Q^2) in terms of their respective distribution in other documents of the Jesus movement. What he found was that sayings from Q^1 were more broadly attested in other early sources – and hence, he assumed, earlier – than those of Q^2, despite the fact that there were approximately the same number of sayings in each stratum (59 *versus* 52). Of 59 sayings in Q^1, 18 are singly attested and 41 multiply attested; of the 52 Q^2 sayings, 27 are singly attested, and 25 multiply attested. He concluded: "The sapiential layer of Q is older than its apocalyptic later, not only in terms of [the] specific history of this document ..., but it is also older in terms of general history of tradition" (p. 20).

other words, the stratigraphy of Q is neither a necessary nor sufficient basis for a non-eschatological view of the historical Jesus.[38]

It is equally erroneous either to suggest that Q studies are somehow really about the historical Jesus[39] or to object to certain conclusions about Q on the grounds that they conflict with what is (supposedly) known of Jesus. The main preoccupation of Q scholarship since the 1960s has been to identify Q's "redactional" characteristics and the social formations reflected by the document, *not* to offer a characterization of the historical Jesus.[40] This effort began when Polag, Hoffmann, Edwards and Lührmann published studies that described redaction and composition in Q and it has continued with vigor in the last three decades[41] with at least some consensus points emerging.[42] Indeed *none* of the nearly twenty comprehensive studies of Q since the 1960s attempts, either explicitly or implicitly, to provide a characterization of the *historical* Jesus.[43]

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[38] The same cannot be said of Stephen J. Patterson ("The End of Apocalypse," *Theology Today* 52 [1995]: 29–58) who relies heavily on the stratification of Q and overlaps between Q^1 and the *Gos. Thom.* in his rejection of apocalyptic eschatology in Jesus.

[39] There is a palpable irony when William Klassen's review of Vaage's *Galilean Upstarts* begins with the sentence, "Of the hundreds of books now being published about Jesus, *Galilean Upstarts* ... is clearly one of the most important" (*RB* 102 [1995]: 425–28) or when a recent survey of biblical scholarship complains that Q studies have "reduced" Jesus to a wisdom teacher or popular sage (Reginald H. Fuller, "Biblical Studies, 1955–1990," *ATR* 76 [1994]: 160–70, esp. 165).

[40] See John S. Kloppenborg, "Q and the Quest of the Historical Jesus" [n. 7].

[41] See the bibliography of Q studies by D. M. Scholer, "Q Bibliography 1981–1989," in D. J. Lull, *et al.* (eds.), *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* (SBLSP, 28) Atlanta, Ga., 1989, pp. 23–56; with yearly supplements thereafter: Supplement I (SBLSP, 29), 1990, pp. 11–13; Supplement II (SBLSP, 30), 1991, pp. 1–7; Supplement III, (SBLSP, 31), 1992, pp. 1–4; Supplement IV, (SBLSP, 32), 1993, pp. 1–5; Supplement V, (SBLSP, 33), 1994, pp. 1–8; Supplement VI, (SBLSP, 34), 1995, pp. 1–5; Supplement VII, (SBLSP, 35), 1996, pp. 1–7; Supplement VIII, (SBLSP, 36), 1997, pp. 750–756; Supplement IX, (SBLSP, 37), 1998, pp. 1005–1012. See also, now Frans Neirynck, Joseph Verheyden, and R. Corstjens, *The Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel Source Q: A Cumulative Bibliography 1950–1995* (BETL 140A-B; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1998).

[42] For a survey, see John S. Kloppenborg, "The Sayings Gospel Q: Literary and Stratigraphic Problems," in *Symbols and Strata: Essays on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. Risto Uro; Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 1–66 [chap. 11 in this volume].

[43] Lührmann, *Redaktion* [n. 6]; Hoffmann, *Studien* [n. 6]; Schulz, *Spruchquelle* [n. 6]; Richard A. Edwards, *A Theology of Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976); Polag, *Christologie* [n. 6]; Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978); idem, *The First Gospel: An Introduction to Q* (Foundations and Facets: Reference Series; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1992); John S. Kloppenborg, *Formation*; Migaku Sato, *Q und Prophetie: Studien zur Gattungs- und Traditionsgeschichte der Quelle Q* (WUNT 2. Reihe 29; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1988); Daniel Kosch, *Die eschatologische Tora des Menschensohnes: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Stellung Jesu zur Tora in Q* (NTOA 12; Freiburg Sw.:

The "Jesus" of Q has the same status as the [**162**] "Jesus" of Mark; he is a *literary* character, constructed from a network of sayings, stories, and editorial comments, and he belongs to the social world of the Galilean Jesus movement. In this sense, Q studies since 1969 are involved in a very different sort of inquiry than those of V. H. Stanton, F. C. Burkitt, A. von Harnack, or T. W. Manson, who used Q to get to the historical Jesus.[44]

Of course, the fact that Q has been used to describe the Galilean Jesus movement in the 60s hardly implies that it cannot be used for other purposes or that social-historical exegesis has some special priority. But the literary and social-historical studies of Q have complicated matters. The discovery that Q, no less than Mark, has a definite editorial perspective, [**163**] that there are redactional formulations, and that its selection and arrangement likely reflects the situation of its framers (in the late 50s or 60s or even 70s) rather than Jesus in the 30s, implies that Q cannot be used merely as a catalogue of authentic sayings.

The last thirty years of Q studies have taken seriously the act of inscription and at least three major consequences of inscription. First, inscription is selective. From a larger body of what is known, the act of inscription "foregrounds" certain data (as having special rhetorical significance) and "backgrounds"

Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Ronald A. Piper, *Wisdom in the Q-Tradition: The Aphoristic Teaching of Jesus* (SNTSMS 61; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Burton L. Mack, *The Lost Gospel: The Book of Q & Christian Origins* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993); Elisabeth Sevenich-Bax, *Israels Konfrontation mit den letzten Boten der Weisheit: Form, Funktion und Interdependenz der Weisheitselemente in der Logienquelle* (Münsteraner Theologische Abhandlungen 21; Altenberge: Oros, 1993); Leif E. Vaage, *Galilean Upstarts: Jesus' First Followers According to Q* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994); Christopher M. Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity: Studies on Q* (Edinburgh; Peabody, Mass.: T. & T. Clark; Hendrickson Publishers, 1996); Dale C. Allison, *The Jesus Tradition in Q* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997); Alan Kirk, *The Composition of the Sayings Source: Genre, Synchrony, & Wisdom Redaction in Q* (NovTSup 91; Leiden and New York: E.J. Brill, 1998); Richard A. Horsley and Jonathan A. Draper, *Whoever Hears You Hears Me: Prophets, Performance, and Tradition in Q* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1999); Michael L. Humphries, *Christian Origins and the Language of the Kingdom of God* (with a preface by Burton L. Mack; Carbondale, Il.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999); Petros Vassiliadis, *ΛΟΓΟΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ: Studies in Q* (University of South Florida International Studies in Formative Christianity and Judaism 8; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999); John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q* [n. 13].

[44] Vincent H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903–20), esp. vol. 2; F. Crawford Burkitt, *The Gospel History and Its Transmission* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906); Adolf von Harnack, *Sprüche und Reden Jesu: Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas* (Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament 2; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1907); ET: *The Sayings of Jesus: The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke* (trans. John Richard Wilkinson; New Testament Studies 2; London:: Williams & Norgate; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908); T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1949 [repr. 1971]).

others (as self-evident, or common knowledge, or unimportant, or irrelevant). Second, it is perspectival: editors necessarily order and rank data, both according to certain generic considerations and in accord with the grammar of specific arguments. Finally, it is interpretive: the process of composition inevitably juxtaposes discrete data, whether on the basis of grammatical characteristics, oral/aural aspects (e.g., assonance), rhetorical features (e.g., anaphora, synkrisis), or material considerations; it creates for these items discursive settings, and furnishes them with a compositional syntax – stating or implying causal connections between component parts; and it might even have created phrases or whole sayings more or less *ex nihilo*. It is the act of inscription and its social location that has, for the most part, preoccupied recent Q studies. That Q is of potential relevance for the quest of the historical Jesus may be granted, but it ought to be clear that one should not confuse Q's "Jesus" with the historical Jesus any more than one would confuse Mark's "Jesus" with the historical Jesus.

For this reason, I must reject the several statements of John P. Meier to the effect that Q is a "theological grab-bag."[45] This seems little more than a way to side-step the *necessity* of coming to terms with the framing of Q – both the nature of that framing and its purpose. In effect, it is an attempt to turn back the clock to the time of Harnack, when Q could be declared to be[46]

> a compilation of discourses and sayings of our Lord, the arrangement of which has no reference to the Passion, with an horizon which is as good as [**164**] absolutely bounded by Galilee, without any clearly discernible bias, whether apologetic, didactic, ecclesiastical, national or anti-national.

One may disagree with one or other literary analysis of Q, finding my stratigraphical analysis unconvincing, or rejecting other compositional theories such as those of Arland Jacobson or Migaku Sato or Dale Allison. But it is no longer adequate simply to declare that one does not agree or "believe" that the compositional history of Q can be ascertained, and then proceed as if the last thirty years of Q scholarship did not exist.[47] The will to believe or disbelieve is

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[45] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 181 [n. 26]; repeated in "Dividing Lines in Jesus Research Today: Through Dialectical Negation to a Positive Sketch," *Int* 50, no. 4 (1996): 355–72 (358). Meier (*Marginal Jew II*, 179–80) tries to justify this view by exaggerating the disparities within Q, in contrast to much recent Q research. See Arland D. Jacobson, "The Literary Unity of Q," *JBL* 101, no. 3 (1982): 365–89 (repr. in John S. Kloppenborg, ed., *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994], 98–115), who observes that Q displays a clear form-critical profile when compared with Mark and is unified by a pervasive appeal to Deuteronomistic motifs. On unifying structural features in Q, see Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q* [n. 43], chap. 3; Sevenich-Bax, *Israels Konfrontation mit den letzten Boten der Weisheit* [n. 43]; Kirk, *Composition* [n. 43].

[46] Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, 171.

[47] This is the strategy of N. T. Wright, *Christian Origins and the Question of God. Volume 1: Jesus and the Victory of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; London: SPCK, 1996), 41–44, who thinks that he can dismiss various "North American" compositional argu-

neither data nor argument. At this point in the debate, there is a price of admission: one must either give an account of the composition of Q that is more cogent that those proffered hitherto, or explain clearly such an account does not matter.

1. The Constraints of Q's Redaction

If we take seriously Q's inscription of the Jesus tradition, certain consequences follow. A particularly interesting issue is the extent to which Jesus can be describes as holding and announcing the *imminent* transformation of the cosmos. As is well known, many scholars since Schweitzer have argued or assumed that Jesus did. E. P. Sanders, for example, argues (a) that John warned that judgment was imminent (Matt 3:7–10),[48] (b) that Jesus was baptized by John and (c) that Jesus held John in highest regard (Matt 11:11); and (d) that therefore he can be assumed to have embraced [**165**] John's imminentist view of the judgment.[49] A similar view can be derived from Mark (9:1; 13:30) and special Matthaean sayings (Matt 10:23), as Dale Allison has shown.[50]

What light may Q shed on this problem? Q clearly invokes the symbol of God's kingship as decisive and transformative, both in the present (Q 10:9;

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ments merely by noting that "Continental and British Q scholars" do not accept them, as if the assembling of scholarly disagreements has some evidentiary force. Nowhere does Wright engage the substance of the arguments of *any* of the various compositional hypotheses. Wright's earlier excursion into Q studies (*The New Testament and the People of God* [vol. 1 of *Christian Origins and the Question of God*; Minneapolis: Fortress Press; London: SPCK, 1992], 435–43) carelessly conflates distinct views and confidently assures the reader that the "majority of recent Q scholarship" promotes a Jesus who was "a teacher of aphoristic, quasi-Gnostic, quasi-Cynic wisdom" (437).

[48] Sanders rejects the Two Document hypothesis in favour of a version of the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis, but apparently does not accept Goulder's view (*Midrash and Lection in Matthew* [London: SPCK, 1974] that Matthew *created* 3:7–10 from a lexicon of his own favourite vocabulary, Paul's doctrines of the coming wrath and the contrast of the children of Abraham in flesh and in spirit, and various bits of the Tanak (Mal 3:2; 4:1). Presumably, Sanders assumes that Matthew had independent access to a Baptist oracle.

[49] Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 91–95, 152–56; idem, *Historical Figure*, 93–96. A similar equation is expressed by Jürgen Becker, *Jesus von Nazareth* (De Gruyter Lehrbuch; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995); *Jesus of Nazareth* (trans. James. E. Crouch; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 49–53.

[50] Dale C. Allison, "A Plea for Thoroughgoing Eschatology," *JBL* 113, no. 4 (1994): 651–68. Allison is cautious about claiming authenticity for these sayings, but concludes nonetheless: "if only one of these sayings cited was uttered by Jesus, then Schweitzer was probably in truth's vicinity" (p. 657). See Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 336–48; [n. 26], for a discussion of the authenticity of these sayings. Meier thinks that Jesus expected an imminent End, but rejects the authenticity of all three: "the three sayings that are the most promising candidates for logia in which Jesus sets a time limit for the kingdom's arrival (Matt 10:23; Mark 9:1 parr.; Mark 13:30 parr.) all appear, on closer examination, to be creations of the early church" (p. 347).

11:20; 13:28; 17:20–21[51]) and in the imminent future (Q 6:20; 11:2). It is impossible, however, to deduce from Q a coherent temporal scenario of imminent cosmic transformation, as can be done, for example, in the case with Mark 13.[52] There are, to be sure, statements which speak of judgment or which imply a catastrophic intervention by God (Q 6:37–38; 6:47–49; 10:12, 13–15; 11:19, 31–32, 50, 51b; 12:8–9, 39–40, 42–46, 49, 58–59; 13:28–29; 17:28–29, 34–35). At least some of are doubtless authentic. Most, however, give no indication of how near such a judgment might be. There is no temporal horizon for Q 6:37–38 and 6:47–49. The first only indicates that judgment will occur, and the second, that non-adherence to Jesus' words will lead to disaster. Q 10:13–15 and 11:31–32 refer the judgment but offer no temporal framework. It is even unclear whether the point of such sayings is to disclose information about the state of affairs that will obtain ἐν τῇ κρίσει, or – which is more likely – to comment on current affairs *sub specie aeternitatis*. Similarly, Q 11:19 and 12:8–9 refer to a judgment, indicating that [**166**] it is certain; but the focus of attention is not on its imminence or its cosmic scope. Other Q sayings such as 12:39–40 and 17:26–27, 34–35 suggest that the judgment is quite unpredictable and its advent cannot be anticipated. Such sayings seem, if anything, to be formulated *against* the expectations conjured up by Mark 13.[53]

The petition ἐλθάτο ἡ βασιλεία σου in Q 11:2 indeed makes sense only if the advent of the kingdom is supposed to be imminent. But, as I shall argue below, what is crucial here is the *characterization* of this βασιλεία, which lacks any catastrophic overtones. The same is true of Q 10:9, which associates the advent of the βασιλεία with healings rather than more dramatic occurrences. Similarly, Q 7:18–23, a text that bears remarkable similarities to the so-called

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[51] Q 17:20–21 has been included in Q with a {C} rating: see Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 494–97.

[52] See John S. Kloppenborg, "Symbolic Eschatology and the Apocalypticism of Q," *HTR* 80, no. 3 (1987): 287–306 [chap. 6 in this volume]. I do not mean to imply that Mark 13 provides a scenario as explicit as that of Daniel or 4 Ezra, since at a crucial point Mark (13:32) has Jesus take an agnostic attitude on the fine details of timing. Nevertheless, Mark 13 does offer a reasonably clear scenario predicated on empirically observable facts (13:14–29), and involving civil unrest, persecution and betrayal, the desecration of the Temple, a tribulation, deceivers, and astral phenomena. Luke makes this sequence far less definite by inserting Luke 21:24.

[53] Dale Allison (*per litt.* 30.07.2000) comments that those who speak repeatedly about the judgment normally suppose it to be imminent, whether or not they make this claim explicit, and that Q, regardless of its stratigraphy, has sayings that assume a judgment throughout. I am happy to grant this point, and to add further that discourse about a kingdom of God in which social and economic realities are drastically inverted is much more likely to be a discourse about the present or impending future than about the remote or abstract future. Yet any assessment of Q needs to take into account sayings such as 11:29–32 and 17:24, 26–30 which subvert confidence in looking for signs.

messianic apocalypse of 4Q521,[54] associates Jesus' activities with the expectations of Isaiah 61 and Elijianic motifs, surely implying that some sort of fulfillment is imminent. But the logic of 7:18–23 bears scrutiny. John's question, whether Jesus is ὁ ἐρχόμενος, is hardly an obvious one given the description of the Coming One given in Q 3:16–17, and the characterization of Jesus in Q. Jesus' rather elliptical response is evidently designed to be affirmative, but also amounts to a dramatic recasting of triumphalistic and nationalistic expectations associated with the kingdom. The kingdom of God is indeed imminent, but what is at stake is not its imminence but its *character*.[55]

What confers the impression of imminence in Q is the *literary* and redactional juxtaposition of these judgment sayings with the *Baptist* oracle (Q 3:7–9, 16–17) and with certain other editorial connections.

The Baptist oracle in 3:7–9, 16–17 clearly conveys the notion of imminent catastrophic judgment. The oracle cast a long shadow over other judgment sayings in Q, helping to construe them also as imminentist and to colour the βασιλεία sayings with the shades of apocalyptic judgment. But it must be kept in mind both that this oracle do not claim to be from Jesus, and that its presence in Q is the result of redaction. The [**167**] choice to use 3:7–9, 16–17 and, as I have argued, motifs from the Lot cycle,[56] to frame Q lend to other judgment sayings in Q the elements of imminence and finality. But there is nothing inevitable about this editorial choice, and it does not necessarily tell us anything about Jesus.

The sequence in Q 10:9–15 similarly suggests that judgment looms up quickly. Q's workers announce to friendly towns that the βασιλεία has come near (10:9). In the case of unreceptive towns, a symbolic gesture is prescribed, which Q 10:12 interprets as marking them for judgment ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ. Q 10:12 in fact evokes the spectre of Sodom, destroyed for its lack of hospitality to strangers as soon as Abraham, Lot, and Lot's kin had left. But it should be recognized that Q's algebra, which connects the foot-shaking exit ritual of the workers with the judgment that is threatened "in that day" is the result of Q's editing. Q 10:12 is almost certainly Q redaction, used to join together the mission speech with the oracles against the Galilean towns.[57] Again, the impression of imminence is a function of Q redaction, not the antecedent tradition from which Q was constructed.

The Sophia oracle against "this generation" (11:49–51), which thirty years ago Lührmann recognized as an insertion into Q's woes, implies a scenario of

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[54] See Émile Puech, "Une apocalypse messianique (*4Q521*)," *RevQ* 15, no. 60 (1992): 475–522 + plates.

[55] A similar revisionist view of the βασιλεία is implies by Q ⟦17:20–21⟧ (it this was in Q.)

[56] John S. Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland: Narrative World and the Beginning of the Sayings Gospel (Q)," *Semeia* 52 (1990): 145–60 [chap. 9 in this volume].

[57] For a survey of opinion, see Kloppenborg, "Literary and Stratigraphic Problems" (above, n. 42) and chap. 11 in this volume.

imminent judgment, not unlike that expressed in Mark 13:30. Q's phrase ναί, λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐκζητηθήσεται ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης (11:51b) indicates that the retribution for all of the blood shed from Abel to Zechariah ben Jehoiada (2 Chr 24:20–22) will descend on "this generation," this despite the fact that Zechariah had been killed over nine centuries before (during the time of Joash).[58] Moreover, Q's embedding of the Sophia oracle in the woes against the Pharisees and lawyers seems to implicate these opponents of Jesus as especially deserving of judgment, despite the fact that they had no obvious connection with those who killed Zechariah or anyone else for that matter. But not only is the Sophia oracle an apparent insertion into a string of woes; Q 11:51b – the part of the oracle that most clearly expresses [**168**] temporal imminence – is usually considered to be Q redaction.[59] Thus the impression of imminence that it conveys is a function of Q's framing.

A few other Q sayings of Jesus, like the Baptist oracle, Q 10:12, and Q 11:51b, also imply an imminent end; but none is likely to be authentic tradition. Q 12:49 is so much in the idiom of the opening Baptist oracles that März has plausibly argued that this saying is a creation of Q-redaction.[60] Likewise Q 12:42–46, which suggests that a time of reckoning is unpredictable but nonetheless threatening, is almost certainly a secondary creation. The phrase μακάριος ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἐλθὼν ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ εὑρήσει οὕτως ποιοῦντα (12:43), the servant's musings in 12:45a, and the statement about return of the master in 12:46, all presuppose the Son of Man saying in 12:40 rather than any narrative element in the parable itself. This implies that the parable is created as an interpretation of the Son of Man saying and hence should not be ascribed to the historical Jesus.[61]

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[58] The death of Zechariah ben Jehoiada was not only important for Q but, since his was the last murder to be reported in the Hebrew canon, assumed considerable importance in Rabbinic literature. On this, see Sheldon H. Blank, "The Death of Zechariah in Rabbinic Literature," *HUCA* 12–13 (1937–38): 327–46.

[59] Frans Neirynck, "Recent Developments in the Study of Q," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 29–75, pp. 66–67; Kloppenborg, "Literary and Stratigraphic Problems," 19–21 [n. 42; above, pp. 283–284.]

[60] Claus-Peter März, "'Feuer auf die Erde zu werfen bin ich gekommen': Zum Verständnis und zur Entstehung von Lk 12,49," in *A cause de l'évangile: études sur les Synoptiques et les Actes: offertes au P. Jacques Dupont, O.S.B. à l'occasion de son 70^e anniversaire* (Lectio Divina 123; Paris: Publications de Saint-André; Editions du Cerf, 1985), 479–511.

[61] Arthur J. Dewey, "A Prophetic Pronouncement: Q 12:42–46," *Forum* 5, no. 2 (1989): 99–108; John S. Kloppenborg, "Jesus and the Parables of Jesus in Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 275–319. Contrast Alfons Weiser, *Die Knechtsgleichnisse der synoptischen Evangelien* (SANT 29; Munich: Kösel, 1971), 204–14, who thinks that the core of the parable at least goes back to the historical Jesus.

A clearer instance of a traditional saying that may imply imminent expectation is provided by Q 13:28–29, which invokes the image of a pilgrimage of Gentiles and a banquet with the patriarchs ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, and threatens the addressees with exclusion from the kingdom. The second person plural address (IQP: ὑμ‹εῖ›ς) could well be construed as an indication of imminent expectation.[62] But [**169**] the centre of gravity of this saying is not with the temporal aspect but rather with the inversion of social roles. In the Q context, it follows a saying that contrasts those claiming privilege on the basis of kinship or acquaintance (13:26–27) with those who enter the "narrow door," and precedes two other sayings, one that contrasts those who exalt themselves with those who humble themselves (14:11), and a parable which concerns the failure of elite patterns of sociability and their replacement by an alternate pattern (14:16–24).[63] Doubtless in Q taken as a whole (i.e., with its final redactional framing), this inversion would be taken to be imminent; but in the more immediate compositional context, the saying is much more a critique of the present, based on the assumption of certain eschatological verities.

The point I am making should be sufficiently clear. Q indeed implies an imminent judgment and an imminent intervention by God. But these features are conveyed mainly by *redactional elements*, employed on the framing of the collection, in particular the oracle of the Baptist and the redactional clauses in 10:12 and 11:51b –, and elements that seem to have played a part in the framing of the collection as a whole. Hence, however one configures the redaction history of Q, these are likely to be located towards the final stages of Q's redaction. It would be most unwise to base a conclusion that Jesus embraced an imminent judgment on elements in Q that are either non-dominical or redactional.

The Inscription of Q as Performance

Jens Schröter has argued forcefully that the *literary* creations of Mark and Q represent the earliest "recollections" (*Erinnerungen*) of Jesus, created independently on the basis of oral traditions.[64] Insisting on a rather sharp distinction

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[62] See Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987 [repr. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993]), 174: "From its frequent occurrence in the gospel tradition and from the form of the saying in Matt 8:11, which was apparently originally a prophetic warning, it is clear that Jesus presupposed the banquet as a standard symbol of deliverance and was confident of, indeed more or less assumed, such imminent future fulfillment." Similarly, Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 316 (n. 26).

[63] This is explicated brilliantly by Willi Braun, *Feasting and Social Rhetoric in Luke 14* (SNTSMS 85; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[64] Jens Schröter, *Erinnerung an Jesu Worte: Studien zur Rezeption der Logienüberlieferung in Markus, Q und Thomas* (WMANT 75; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1997).

between oral and written stages of the Jesus tradition, Schröter argues that it is a dubious procedure to attempt to move behind the various literary contextualizations to some putative original, oral context.[65] **[170]**

> The difference between orality and literacy not only rules out the possibility of recovering *ipsissima verba* but also calls into question the idea of original setting of isolated fragments. What is left, therefore, are different versions in several literary contexts which are to be understood as interpretations of a historical phenomenon.

This view seems to foreclose speculation about the shape of the Jesus tradition prior to its inscription by Mark, Q and Thomas.[66] Schröter's views are much in sympathy with those of Werner Kelber, who stresses a great divide between oral and written phases of tradition and the significant realignment and resignification of tradition when it was put to papyrus or parchment.[67] His views, and Schröter's, serve as important correctives to the evolutionary models of earlier form criticism, which imagined a developmental regularity in the Synoptic tradition that would permit simple inferences from written formulations to oral ones.[68]

Despite the appropriateness of Schröter's criticism of an evolutionary model of the Jesus tradition, it is, in my view, important not to lose sight of the fundamental conservatism of the compositional process. Several authors have stressed the interaction between an author and the audience,[69] which created a dynamic in which the author was significantly obliged to satisfy certain expectations of the audience. A propos of the Homeric epics, Finley observes that[70]

> one rule of oral composition before an audience is that the poem must satisfy the requirement of verisimilitude – I do not say truth – over which the audience exercises extensive control. **[171]**

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[65] Schröter, "Historical Jesus," 151–68 (158).

[66] Although Schröter rejects attempts to isolate written collections lying behind Mark (e.g., Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Ältere Sammlungen im Markusevangelium* [SUNT 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971]) or Q (Kloppenborg, *Formation of Q*), from a logical point of view his methodological stricture, if valid, would apply equally to those earlier collections. All that it would do is to push back the "event horizon" to a slightly earlier written stage, just has the positing of Q has pushed the event horizon of the sayings tradition from Matthew and Luke back some twenty or thirty years, to Q.

[67] Werner H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); Schröter, *Erinnerung an Jesu Worte*, 43–57.

[68] Although Schröter is (in my view right) critical of some of Kelber's views, in particular his treatment of Q as an "oral genre" (*Erinnerung*, 56–57), Schröter is in basic agreement with Kelber's insistence on a basic discontinuity between oral and written phrases of tradition (ibid., 59–60).

[69] See in general, Loveday Alexander, "Ancient Book Production and the Circulation of the Gospels," in *The Gospels for All Christians: Rethinking the Gospel Audiences* (ed. Richard J. Bauckham; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1998), 71–111.

[70] Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, 145.

Q is not oral poetry, of course. But it is also true that in the dynamics of ancient composition the audience was never far away. An audience's reaction had to be anticipated in the act of composition; composition itself might involve preliminary performances before select audiences and revisions made accordingly; and reading itself, insofar as it entailed vocalization, was a rhetorical act. F. Gerald Downing aptly describes ancient composition as "consistently oral *and collaborative*."[71] As a social rather than a purely private act, literary composition existed in the context of presumed truths, habitual construals, and interpretive inertia that the authors variously presupposed, invoked, and attempted to reshape.

Given the relatively early date for Q's inscription, the likelihood that Q was framed somewhere in the Galilee,[72] and the likelihood of some socio-rhetorical continuities between Jesus and the Q people,[73] it is doubtful that the framers of Q could have offered a construal that was either so negligent of the breadth of what might be "sayable" about Jesus, or so tendentious in its presentation, that the resultant depiction would not be recognizable to Galilean Jesus people, or even other sectors of the Jesus movement, whether or not they would agree in particulars or emphases. This does not imply that divergent assessments of Jesus were not already available at an early date. They were, and simple comparison of parallel traditions in Mark, Q, John, Paul, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and the *Didache* demonstrates not only the possibility, but also the reality, of strikingly divergent rhetorical deployments of the same sayings. The framers of our documents were presumably aware of some of these divergences and had to negotiate those differences. The diametrically opposed uses of the triply attested "For and Against" aphorism (Q 11:23; Mark 9:40; *P. Oxy* 1224 frag. 2),[74] twice used in the context [172] of exorcistic activities, underscore the decisions taken by editors to use a saying in one way and not another.

The fact of "audience control" also does not imply that editors were unable to introduce new ideas or emphases or that an original fund of shared tradition would automatically be rehearsed without substantial alteration. Finley notes that in the Homeric poems, audiences might not only permit, but even expect, archaizing additions and the poet was happy to oblige. We should expect no

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[71] See F. Gerald Downing, "Word-Processing in the Ancient World: The Social Production and Performance of Q," *JSNT* 64 (1996): 29–48 (emphasis original).

[72] I argue this case in detail in *Excavating Q*, chap. 4 . See also Jonathan L. Reed, "The Social Map of Q," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 17–36, and idem, *Archaeology and the Galilean Jesus: A Re-Examination of the Evidence* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 2000).

[73] By this I do not suggest that any of Jesus' immediate followers belonged to the Q group (although I would not exclude that possibility either) but that the Q group is not likely to have been discontinuous with the social catchment of Jesus and his followers.

[74] *P.Oxy*. 1224 frag. 2r i: κ]αὶ π[ρ]οσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ [τῶν ἐχθ]ρῶν ὑμῶν· ὁ γὰρ μὴ ὢν [κατὰ ὑμ]ῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐστιν. [ὁ σήμερον ὢ]ν μακρὰν αὔριον [ἔγγυς ὑμῶν γ]ενήσεται.

different with the Jesus tradition. And out authors may have been expected to fill in gaps and to answer questions left unanswered by the tradition itself. Thus what interposes itself between the historical Jesus and our documents, even the early documents, is the rhetorical practice and social formation of the Jesus movement(s). These include both the habitual construals and interpretations of materials among the author's audience, and the particular historical exigencies faced by the author and his audience. In the case of later gospels, the effect that those practices and formations had on the configuration of the Jesus tradition is dramatic. Matthew's audience evidently was prepared to accept a gospel composed in a biblicizing style, and a "Jesus" who could use *qal weḥomer* arguments and engage in halakic debates with opponents. John's audience was willing to imagine a Jesus who regularly employed double entendre and intentional ambiguities, and whose speech is anything but open debate.

There is then an obvious methodological dilemma. The various portraits of Jesus found in, say, Mark, Q and the *Gospel of Thomas*, are the product of two seemingly opposed moments, one "conservative" – conservative not in relation to societal values as a whole, but in relation to the values of the specific audiences in view – and the other persuasive, which selects and deploys the tradition in the interests of particular argumentative goals. This means that the task of reconstructing the Jesus tradition must be seen differently from the way it used to be imagined,

Given the dynamics of social composition, we should not any longer reckon with a simple linear development of individual "traditions," as form criticism did, or with a simple linear relationship between (possibly historical) "tradition" and "redaction," but instead with several "domains" of tradition, each functioning in a particular sector of the Jesus movement, and each shaped in accordance with a particular rhetorical practice and social formation, and with a particular scribal and rhetorical configuration of these traditions for argumentative goals.

Seen in this way, it is not a simple matter to "get back" to the historical Jesus; it is far easier a task – and a more obvious one – to describe [**173**] the discursive practices of the earliest domains, Q, Mark and Thomas.[75] This will

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[75] On Thomas, see Stephen J. Patterson, "The Gospel of Thomas and the Synoptic Tradition: A Forschungsbericht and Critique," *Forum* 8, no. 1–2 (1992): 45–97 and William E. Arnal, "The Rhetoric of Marginality: Apocalypticism, Gnosticism and Sayings Gospels," *HTR* 88, no. 4 (1995): 471–94. Insofar as James represents (in my view) an early document of the Palestinian Jesus movement that uses sayings of Jesus, I would employ James as another instance of rhetorical deployment of the Jesus tradition. For an important study of the one set of Jesus traditions in James, see Wesley Hiram Wachob, "The Rich in Faith and the Poor in Spirit: The Socio-Rhetorical Function of a Saying of Jesus in the Epistle of James," Ph.D. diss. (Atlanta: Emory University, 1993), now published as *The Voice of Jesus in the Social Rhetoric of James* (SNTSMS 106; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For the relation of James to the Jesus tradition, see Patrick J. Hartin, *James and the "Q" Sayings of Jesus* (JSNTSup 47; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), and

involve both a map of the kinds of things that are said or implied of "Jesus" in each domain, and the specific emphases of each. The point of such a map would not be to employ a version of the criterion of multiple attestation in order to isolate a core of probably authentic texts that serve as a "lowest common denominator" that can be predicated of Jesus.[76] This is still too atomizing an approach. Rather it would be, first, to identify both the "canon" of what was sayable of Jesus – presumed truths and customary construals – [77], then to note what figured in such configurations and what did not,[78] and finally to attend carefully [174] to the ways in which each domain "performed" or

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Dean B. Deppe, "The Sayings of Jesus in the Epistle of James," D.Th. diss., Free University of Amsterdam (Chelsea, Mich.: Bookcrafters, 1989). [Ed. note: see now John S. Kloppenborg, "The Reception of the Jesus Tradition in James," in *The Catholic Epistles and the Tradition* (ed. Jacques Schlosser; BETL 176; Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 93–139; idem, "Emulation of the Jesus Tradition in James," in *Reading James with New Eyes* (ed. Robert L. Webb and John S. Kloppenborg; Library of New Testament Studies 342; London and New York: T. & T. Clark International, 2007), 121–50; idem, "James 1:2–15 and Hellenistic Psychagogy," *NovT* 52, no. 1 (2010): 37–71 and in general, Alicia Batten and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *James, 1 & 2 Peter and the Early Jesus Tradition* (LNTS; London and New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).]

[76] Benedict T. Viviano ("Doubly Attested Sayings," 367–410 [408]) suggests an approach to the historical Jesus by isolating and analyzing 31 Mark-Q overlap texts. Viviano makes several important observations, for example, that the substantial overlap between Mark and Q indicates that the "Jesus tradition was more carefully controlled than, say, the lives of Byzantine sayings" (where much more variation is attested between independent versions of a saint's life.

[77] Cf. Jonathan Z. Smith, "Sacred Persistence: Towards a Redescription of Canon," in *Imagining Religion: From Babylon to Jonestown* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 36–52, 141–43, who notes the interplay between the relatively limited number of items in "lists" (of books, divinatory objects, etc.) and the richly varied possibilities for configuring those objects to particular situations. Rather than viewing the historiographic issue of the historical Jesus on the analogy of the "persistence of the sacred," I suggest, following Smith, that it is rather a matter of "sacred persistence" – that "sacrality persists insofar as there are communities which are persistent in applying their limited body of tradition; that sacred persistence, in terms that are congruent with both Cicero and Freud, is primarily exegesis; that if there is anything that is anything that is distinctive about religion as a human activity, it is a matter of degree rather than kind, what might be descried as the extremity of its enterprise for exegetical totalization" (44). The early Jesus tradition provides an instance of the process of limitation – nothing is ever said, for example, of Jesus' physical appearance, dress, accent, education, etc. – and the overcoming of that limitation through exegetical ingenuity.

[78] Two recent articles have attempted the plot the discursive practices of Thomas and Q: Stephen J. Patterson, "Wisdom in Q and *Thomas*," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. Leo G. Perdue, Bernard Brandon Scott, and William J. Wiseman; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 187–221; John W. Marshall, "The *Gospel of Thomas* and the Cynic Jesus," in *Whose Historical Jesus?* (ed. William E. Arnal and Michel Desjardins; ESCJ 7; Waterloo, Ont.: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/Corporation canadienne des sciences religieuses by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997), 26–60.

interpreted its component elements. Silences and lacunae in these alternate configurations and textualizations of the Jesus tradition will be of potentially as great significance as what is expressly stated. And the ways in which these domains variously performed elements of the tradition will serve as a control on our imaginations of how individual elements of the tradition ought to be construed.

Q's Performance as Control

An adequate analysis of the discursive practice of Q would require at least a monographic treatment. For the purposes of this paper, I would like to focus on two limited problems that are key to several recent representations of the historical Jesus. I will ask how specific attention to Q's rhetorical performance might contribute to the debate. These are the partially competing representations of Jesus as a teacher of subversive wisdom or an apocalyptic prophet; and the common representation of Jesus as a repentance preacher. Both of these are massive topics, and hence only broad strokes of a possible solution can be sketched.

1. Jesus as Subversive Sage/Apocalyptic Prophet

The principal advocates of these two partially competing representations of Jesus are well known and part of the debate turns on an evaluation of the eschatology of earliest Jesus tradition. Marcus Borg, one of the clearest voices in favor of a "noneschatological" Jesus,[79] argues that the principal fault line for Jesus was between the politics of holiness, which replicated itself in a system of purity distinctions which Jesus criticized, and a call for compassion "as the alternate paradigm for the transformation of Israel's life."[80] This vision comes to expression in aphorisms and parables that subvert four loci of conventional wisdom: family, wealth, honor, and "religion" (by which Borg seems to mean pious practice).[81] Such a transformation was possible – and indeed occurred – within the framework of the Jesus movement. [175] Discourse about the kingdom of God referred not to some future reality, but to a transformation of the present. The warrant clauses that supply motivations in the Synoptic tradition, once shorn of the nonauthentic coming Son of man sayings, speak not of an

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[79] Marcus J. Borg, *Conflict, Holiness & Politics in the Teachings of Jesus* (Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 5; New York; Toronto: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984 [repr. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 1998]), 201–27; idem, "A Temperate Case for a Non-Eschatological Jesus," *Forum* 2, no. 3 (1986): 81–103.

[80] Marcus J. Borg, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship* (Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994), 26.

[81] Marcus J. Borg, *Jesus, A New Vision: Spirit, Culture, and the Life of Discipleship* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987), 97–124.

"imminent end of history" but the threat of a historical catastrophe towards which the politics of holiness were leading.[82]

It is difficult to imagine a more diametrically opposed view than that of John P. Meier. According to Meier, Jesus was an apocalyptic prophet, uninterested in political and social questions because he thought that the present world was at its end.[83] This case is not built upon the assumption of the authenticity of the coming Son of man sayings, although Meier thinks that Jesus may have used the expression of himself.[84] Rather, the case is founded on an eschatological reading of Q 11:2 (and the three "we" petitions, also read eschatologically), Mark 14:25, Q 13:28–29, and the Q beatitudes.[85] Meier's focus on the futurity of the act of God in bringing about the kingdom and the exclusivity of God's initiative treats humans as essentially passive and thus excludes any notion that Jesus also promoted a transformation of the present order of things[86]:

> It is God alone who acts in the end time to establish his kingdom of justice and love; humans can only wait for it (see, e.g., the parable of the seed growing by itself and probably the original sense of the parable of the sower). This emphasis on the gratuitous nature of God's eschatological saving action, this emphasis on the fact that God himself is the sole sufficient reason for his saving action, which humans need and can received but cannot deserve, demand, or force, jibes well with the core beatitudes. Unlike the M beatitudes, which focus on good people doing good things and receiving corresponding good from God, the core beatitudes of the Q Sermon focus on people who are not explicitly said to be good or virtuous, but simply in need: the poor, the mourners, and the hungry in Israel. God helps them not because they deserve his help but because they desperately need it and no one else can or will supply it.... The core beatitudes indeed [**176**] declare a revolution, but it is a revolution wrought by God alone and as this present world comes to an end.

Both Borg and Meier liberally quote Q texts in support of their respective reconstructions. Both, however, treat these sayings as isolated units of tradition, not asking whether Q's particular usage of these sayings provides any index of the discursive practice of earlier uses.

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[82] Borg, *Conflict, Holiness & Politics*, 204–27; idem, *Jesus, A New Vision*, 157 ; idem, *Jesus in Contemporary Scholarship*, 27, 86–90.

[83] John P. Meier, "Reflection on Jesus-of-History Research Today," in *Jesus' Jewishness: Exploring the Place of Jesus Within Early Judaism* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Philadelphia: The American Interfaith Institute; New York: Crossroad, 1991), 92: "Jesus seems to have had no interest in the great political and social questions of his day. He was not interested in the reform of the world because he was prophesying its end."

[84] John P. Meier, "Jesus," in *The New Jerome Biblical Commentary* (ed. Raymond E. Brown, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, and Roland E. Murphy; Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1990), 1325: "Jesus may have used the riddlelike son of Man for his own paradoxical situation: a lowly, increasingly rejected messenger at the present moment, yet with vindication assured in the near future."

[85] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 291–351 [n. 26].

[86] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 331 [n. 26].

a. Q 11:2–4

Meier presents a case for a thoroughly "eschatological" interpretation of the Lord's Prayer. He locates ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου on a trajectory that extends from Ezek 36:23 (the sanctification of God's name by an future restorative intervention), through Sir 36:1–4 (a call for deliverance from the nations), through 1QM 11:13–15 (God makes himself an "everlasting name" through judgment) to the Qaddish, where the sanctification of God's name and the kingdom are mentioned together.[87] The second petition, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, is read similarly as an invocation of God to come as king, thus allowing Meier to interpret the three "we petitions" in the context of, respectively, the eschatological banquet (11:3), the final judgment (11:4a) and a final cosmic conflict (i1:4b).[88]

Apart from the problems associated with the dating of the Qaddish,[89] the wording of the Lord's prayer does not cooperate entirely with Meier's reading. The phrase τὸν ἄρτον *ἡμῶν* τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς *ἡμῖν σήμερον* (Q 11:3) does not in any obvious way refer to the "eschatological banquet" or to eschatological hopes at all. Clearly, it deals [177] with daily subsistence. Similarly, the second "we petition," though it might refer to forgiveness of sins at the judgment, seems more likely to reflect the view, attested at Qumran, that a sabbatical or jubilee *debt release*, leads to a release from sins. This is expressed both in *1QDM* [*1Q22*] iii 5–7 (quoting Deut 15:1–3)[90]:

> [Every creditor] who [has] lent something [to] someone, or [who possesses something from his brother] will grant a re[lease (יש[מיט ידו) to his fell]ow, for [God], your [God has proclaimed the release (תקרא שמטה). You are to demand restitution] from the fore[igner, but from your

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[87] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 295–97 [n. 26]. Meier's eschatological interpretation of the petition may be doubted, even in isolation of the Q context. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–97), 1:603, incline to the view that ἁγιασθήτω is a divine passive, thus referring to God's action in sanctifying his name, but conclude nevertheless: "Thus the supplication has to do with eschatology – although he who prays it must of course even now act to bring about the realization of God's will within his own sphere of influence." They refer, moreover, to Isa 29:23, where the phrase יקדישו שמי applies clearly to a human response to God and thus to acts in history. Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 317–18 inclines even more strongly to an ethical view, observing that the majority of parallel texts concern human, not divine, acts, and argues accordingly that there is no basis for an exclusively eschatological reading of the petition.

[88] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 301 [n. 26].

[89] The first attestation of the Qaddish as a synagogue prayer is in the post-talmudic tractate *Soferim* (VI CE). Earlier references to the first line of the Qaddish are found in *b. Sota* 49a (a blessing said after a homiletic discourse) and in *b. Ber.* 3a (a blessing said upon entering a synagogue: שמיה הגדול מברוך). See Jakob J. Petuchowski, "The Liturgy of the Synagogue: History, Structure, and Contents," in *Approaches to Ancient Judaism. Volume IV* (ed. William Scott Green; BJS 27; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 1–64, esp. pp. 33–37.

[90] See Daniel R. Schwartz, "On Quirinius, John the Baptist, the Benedictus, Melchizedek, Qumran and Ephesus," *RevQ* 13, no. 49–52 (1988): 635–46 (641).

brother] you shall not demand restitution, for in that year [God will bless you, forgiving you your iniqu]ities (את עוון[ותיכם [לכפר לכם]).

Similarly, *11Q13* ii 1–6 (*11QMelch*):

In [this] year of jubilee, [you shall return, each one, to his respective property, concerning which he said: «Th]is is [the manner of the release]: every creditor shall release what he lent [to his neighbour. He shall not coerce his neighbour or his brother, for it has been proclaimed a release for G[od.» (Deut 15:2). Its interpretation] for the last days refers to the captives who [...] and whose teachers have been hidden and kept secret, and from the inheritance of Melchizedek, fo[r ...]...and they are the inherita[nce of Melchize]dek, who will make them return. And liberty will be proclaimed (וקרא דרור) for them, to free them from [the burden of all their iniquities" (לעזוב להמה [משא] כול עוונותיהמה).

This coordination between the willingness to engage in debt release and God's forgiveness of sins is just what is seen in Q 11:4. Although both Qumran and Q presuppose a sense of eschatological expectation, the point of both is to promote a social practice in the present, which is buttressed by the assurance of sin forgiveness.

Attention to Q's discursive practices in using the Lord's prayer casts even graver doubts on Meier's reading. The Lord's Prayer (Q 11:2–4) is attached in Q to a brief exhortation on prayer (11:9–13) by means of several catchwords: "father," "bread" and "give," even though these words are used with somewhat different connotations. But this association is far from accidental. By the juxtaposition of these units, Q creates a rhetorical construal that is related to other construals found in Q.[91] **[178]**

When attached to 11:2–4, Q 11:9–13 highlights and develops several points in the prayer. First, it underscores the centrality of the filial relationship that is implied in the vocative "father" of 11:2 but left aside in the remainder of the prayer. Second, the implied characterization of God in the prayer as a generous provider of the necessities of life is reinforced by the illustration of parent-child relationships in Q 11:11–12 and the *qal weḥomer* argument of 11:13. Third, the juxtaposition underscores the basis for confidence in such a God by means of the staccato assurances of 11:9–10. Finally, even though the other items of the prayer – the thematic "Reign of God," debt/sin forgiveness and preservation from testing – are not developed by 11:9–13, the characterization of God that 11:9–13 provides and its appeal to confidence create a rhetorical situation in

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[91] Ronald A. Piper demonstrated that 11:9–13 displays a four-part argumentative pattern, attested in a number of smaller collections in Q, characterized by (a) admonitions which are almost embarrassing in scope (11:9), followed by (b) supporting maxims (11:10), (c) rhetorical questions (11:12) and concluding with (d) a saying that applies the entire complex to a particular issue confronting the earliest Christians "in which persuasion would have been of critical important." See "Matthew 7,7–11 par. Lk 11,9–13: Evidence of Design and Argument in the Collection of Jesus' Sayings," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joël Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 411–18 (417). Piper's fuller elaboration of this argument is found in Piper, *Wisdom in the Q Tradition* [n. 43].

which these expectations become believable. If the divine Father provides more abundantly than human fathers, this God will surely also forgive debts and preserve his own, thus bringing about his Reign.

The "exegesis" that Q furnishes the prayer indicates that the prayer was read by Q, not as discourse about some yet-to-be-realized reality but as an exhortation to action in the present based on confidence in God's nature. The discourse in Q 11:2–4, 9–13 is of a piece rhetorically with Q 12:2–9 and 12:22–32, which likewise are exhortations to confidence based on God's activities in sustaining creation.

Even though debt/sin forgiveness and preservation from testing are left aside in the exegesis of 11:2–4 provided by the following pericope, there are intertextual connections with other parts of Q that do provide an exegesis. Debt forgiveness and sin forgiveness are treated in 6:30–35 and 17:4, where the context makes quite clear that Q envisages a program of debt forgiveness (Q 6:30) and enjoins behavior that aims precisely at the reduction of conflict within (and outside?) the Jesus group (17:4). Balanced reciprocity in group relationships is again underscored in Q 6:37–38, the saying on judging.[92] The reality of divine judgment is not in question. But Q undergirds its admonition to reciprocity by appealing to ordinary borrowing and repayment practices (6:38b),[93] rather than drawing specific attention to a final judgment. [179]

In other words, the actual way in which Q deploys the Lord's Prayer enjoins certain social practices – especially debt release – , and the intertextual relationships created by the construction of the collection are likewise designed to encourage a practice of debt-release, forgiveness, and local solidarity.[94] It is of course possible that the Lord's Prayer *might* have been heard in the way Meier suggests, as an expression of purely futuristic hopes; but Q gives us an *actual* instance of how it *was* embedded in the fabric of a piece of early Christian rhetoric. In Q's discursive practice, cosmic transformation was in full swing, in the ethos of the Jesus movement, not something to be awaited passively.

b. Q 6:20–23: The Poor and the Kingdom

The Q beatitudes provide another locus where it is possible to test possible interpretations of sayings of Jesus against (in this case) several early actual rhetorical deployments.

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[92] Q 6:37–38: καὶ μὴ κρίνετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ κριθῆτε· ⟦ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε, καὶ ἐν⟧ ᾧ γὰρ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.

[93] The aphorism in 6:38 reflects the practice of demanding that repayment of grain loans be made with the *same measure and scale* that was used in making the initial loan. See, e.g., *SB* 7341 (=*CPJ* 411; Philadelphia [Fayûm] 3 CE); *P.Columbia* 7.176 (Karanis, 325 CE), and many other loan documents.

[94] Similarly, Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, 294–94 [n. 5].

Meier's reading of the Q beatitudes focuses on their futuristic dimensions[95]:

> If the unhappy are paradoxically happy, it is precisely because of the imminence of the kingdom of God, because God is about to seize his rightful rule over his rebellious creation and people and set things right. The beatitudes make no sense without, indeed demand as their proper context, Jesus' proclamation of the imminent coming of the kingdom of God.

Meier is equally adamant that the beatitudes do not entail a program of social transformation. Indeed, his statements border on anti-Pelagianism: "God alone acts in the end time to establish his kingdom"; "humans can only wait for it"; "God himself is the sole sufficient reason for his saving action, which humans need and can receive but cannot deserve, demand, or force, jibes well with the core beatitudes."[96] Consequently, he concludes,[97]

> We begin to see why Jesus was not interested in and did not issue pronouncements about concrete social and political reforms, either for the world in general or for Israel in particular. He was not proclaiming the reform of the world; he was proclaiming the end of the world. **[180]**

Several authors, by contrast, argue that Q 6:20b directly implies a social program and practice. Borg sees Q 6:20b as a challenge to "the connection between righteousness and prosperity made by conventional wisdom."[98] The beatitude subverts other equations: that the poor are unworthy as children of Abraham; that the poor, who were ordinarily nonobservant, should be considered as outcast. Thus, for Borg, the beatitude implies a dramatic realignment of understandings for dispossessed persons. Borg even speculates on the basis of the Isaian language employed in Q 6:20 (and 7:22) and in Luke 4:16–30 that Jesus deliberately invoked the notion of the jubilee as a means by which the category of poverty could be eliminated periodically. He stops short of claiming that Jesus entertained a concrete political program; that is unlikely given the fact that Jesus never sought political power nor was ever in a position to enact such a program. Nonetheless, the valorization of poverty and the "politics of compassion," coupled with the pacificism expressed in Q 6:27–28; Q/Matt 5:41 and the Markan question about taxation, translated into a concrete social practice in the Jesus movement that addressed two pressing problems in Roman Palestine: growing internal division, and deepening conflict with

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[95] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 330. Similarly, Theissen and Merz, *Historical Jesus*, 254 [n. 8], commenting on Q 6:20–21: "Poverty, hunger and sorrow are not positive qualities. Rather, in accordance with an ideal of kingship widespread in the ancient Near East (cf. Ps. 72), God intervenes on behalf of the poor and weak, so that their fortunes soon change for the bètter. Just as there is a request for food in the Our Father, so here the coming of the kingdom is associated with the prospect of a (festal?) meal." Theissen, nevertheless, attempts to balance both futuristic and present aspects, and suggests that human as well as divine action in involved in the coming of the kingdom (*Historical Jesus*, 275).

[96] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 331.

[97] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 331.

[98] Borg, *Jesus, A New Vision*, 136.

Rome. For Borg, the kingdom is very much about what people can do in the present.[99]

Richard A. Horsley treats Q 6:20b in a similar way. Insisting on the principle that Jesus' sayings be interpreted in the most comprehensive frame possible, rather than automatically restricting their meaning to the realm of the "religious," Horsley sees Q 6:20b as expressing a concern for the alleviation of poverty and intimately associated with ideas of jubilee and sabbatical debt-cancellation and concrete strategies for local cooperation. Like Borg, Horsley doubts that Jesus actually called for the implementation the jubilee as an economic and political institution. But within the sphere of his own activities and influence – i.e., in sympathetic Galilean villages – Jesus did insist on a program of mutual debt-forgiveness. Such a notion of God's kingdom is far from Meier's entirely futuristic views.[100]

Stephen J. Patterson and Crossan give a somewhat more radical reading, but one that is clearly more consonant with those of Borg and Horsley than with Meier. The beatitude in Q and the *Gospel of Thomas* is an instance of countercultural wisdom and cultural critique.[101] The use of πτωχός [181] (beggar) alongside βασιλεία is indeed striking and suggests that Jesus advocated an extreme cultural marginality, promising the kingdom to the expendables – "a kingdom of nobodies," to use Crossan's phrase.[102] For Crossan, Q 6:20b belongs to a cluster of sayings that variously valorize the poor, expendables, and degraded, criticize wealth, and employ a series of dubious metaphors by which to describe the kingdom: weeds, leaven, and ill-gotten treasures. This kingdom was not simply notional[103]:

> What was described by [Jesus'] parables and aphorisms as a here and now Kingdom of nobodies and the destitute, of mustard, darnel, and leaven, is precisely a Kingdom performed rather than just proclaimed.

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[99] Borg, *Jesus, A New Vision*, 137–42.

[100] Horsley, *Spiral of Violence*, 248–55.

[101] Patterson, "Wisdom in Q and *Thomas*," 207, 220 [n. 78]; Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, 273–74, 275–76 [n. 5].

[102] Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, 266 [n. 5]. See, however, Vincent J. Rosivach, "Some Athenian Presuppositions About 'The Poor'," *G&R* 38 (1991): 189–98 (196), who notes that the distinction between πένης and πτωχός (which is fundamental to Crossan's case) is not secure. The term πτωχός, says Rosivach, "is rarely used to describe actual beggars; rather it is used most often in two clearly rhetorically governed contexts, first to elicit sympathy in describing people who have lost everything and second as an exaggerated synonym for *penēs*, particularly as a term of abuse" (196 n. 5). L. G. Bloomquist ("The Rhetoric of the Historical Jesus," in *Whose Historical Jesus?* [ed. William E. Arnal and Michel Desjardins; ESCJ 7; Waterloo, Ont.: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion/Corporation canadienne des sciences religieuses by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1997], 98–117 [107]) argues that in Q 6:20, Jesus was not so much seeking to exalt the poor as to shame the rich by proclaiming a reversal.

[103] Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, 292 [n. 5].

For Crossan, as for Horsley and Borg, the kingdom entailed a concrete social practice of countercultural behaviour.

In the case of the beatitudes, we are fortunate to have access to two other textualizations, *Gos. Thom.* 54 (69b, 68, 69a), and (probably) James 2:5. The *Gospel of Thomas* has three of the Q's four beatitudes, although they are not serialized in the way they appear in Q 6:20b–23. James 2:5 appears to allude to the saying, although not in its form as a beatitude.[104] None of these textualizations proposes quite the radical interpretation assigned it by Patterson and Crossan; at the same time, they do indicate that the beatitude was regularly used in the rhetoric of social critique (*pace* Meier).

c. Gos. Thom. 54

The presentation of the beatitude in the *Gospel of Thomas* is rather artless, without strong connections with the contiguous sayings.[105] Despite this, John Marshall's analysis has shown a pervasive [**182**] rhetoric in Thomas's sayings.[106] Thomas has a set of what Marshall calls "binary logia," which discuss the future (either cosmic or personal) in terms of binary categories (old age/-childhood; hidden/revealed; dead/living, etc.).[107] He observes that the binary sayings of Thomas which, in the Synoptics, were associated with an imminent eschatology (e.g., Q 12:2; 13:30; 19:26) appear in Thomas without any indications of "imminent catastrophic eschatology." Instead, they appear in contexts that stress the ultimate union of opposites and protology.[108]

Kingdom sayings in Thomas display a strong aversion to futuristic eschatology and some sayings seem deliberately designed to subvert it (sayings 3, 113). Instead of elaborating apocalyptic eschatology, Thomas pursues a speculative protology, according to which entry into the kingdom involves "become a child" (sayings 22, 46) or a solitary (saying 49), or the conversion of

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[104] See Hartin, *James and the Q Sayings*, 149–50 [n. 75]; Deppe, "Sayings of Jesus," 89–91 [n. 75]; Wesley Hiram Wachob and Luke Timothy Johnson, "The Sayings of Jesus in the Letter of James," in *Authenticating the Words of Jesus* (ed. Bruce Chilton and Craig A. Evans; New Testament Tools and Studies 28/1; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1999), 431–50, esp. 442–46.

[105] Patterson, "Wisdom in Q and *Thomas*," 214 [n. 78] observes that the *Gospel of Thomas* is much more like a list than a literary work.

[106] Marshall, "*Gospel of Thomas* and the Cynic Jesus," 26–60 [n. 7].

[107] See sayings 4, 5, 6, 11, 14, 22, 41, 47, 62, 70.

[108] Marshall, "*Gospel of Thomas* and the Cynic Jesus," 51. He adds: "The transmission history of the binary sayings in *Thomas* also supports the assertion that the traditions of conflict between Jesus and groups such as the Pharisees have been added or significantly amplified by the authors of the gospels and Q^2. The sayings which emphasize a union of binary pairs (4:3; 11; 22; 70; 106) are less well-attested across the Jesus tradition and often show themselves to be modifications to earlier sayings which did not originally emphasize the theme of union."

gender (saying 114). *Gos. Thom.* 54 does not reflect any development in the direction of protology, but neither does it evince strong futuristic elements.

Since Thomas uses the term ϩнкє only here, it is difficult to establish what "poor" means to Thomas.[109] Other sayings in Thomas, however, suggest that a countercultural practice is enjoined, including "fasting as regards the world" (*P.Oxy.* 1.4–11; *Gos. Thom.* 27) or some form of detachment from the world and family (*Gos. Thom.* 21, 55, 101), and perhaps a form of itinerancy (*Gos. Thom.* 14, 42).[110] As W. Arnal points out, the *Gospel of Thomas*'s selection and combination of sayings suggests some form of marginality[111]: [**183**]

> The *Gospel of Thomas*'s marginality stands out in its apparent failure to engage the outside world seriously. The same inversion of worldly values in Q^1 is apparently in the *Gospel of Thomas*'s critique of wealth (logion 65); blessings on the poor, hungry, and hated (sayings 54, 68–69); and exhortations to lend without expectation of return (saying 95). The urban redemptive media are likewise rejected, as is any kind of nomistic piety (logia 6, 53), and the Pharisees are singled out for direct criticism (logion 39). Like Q^1, the *Gospel of Thomas* appears to react to a situation in which the intensification of the rural poor's exploitation and dispossession through heavy taxation and consequent indebtedness to the urban rich is a primary concern. Indeed, in the *Gospel of Thomas* the criticism of wealth and political power is much more overt ... [and] even goes so far as to identify "social bandits" as protagonists, as in the case of the tenants who kill a landlord's heir (saying 65) and an assassin who kills a magnate (logion 98).

In this context, *Gos. Thom.* 54 can only have been read or heard as an endorsement of the marginal and rather countercultural stance supported by the rest of the document. There is little to suggest that the *Gospel of Thomas* exalts beggary as such[112] but equally clear that the saying would not have been heard as an apocalyptic reversal, brought about by divine intervention, as Meier would have it.

d. Q 6:20b (21–23)

Q's use of the saying displays more rhetorical sophistication. The beatitude appears as the programmatic opening to a chain of four beatitudes that culminates in the persecution beatitude. As many commentators have noted, the juxtaposition of Q 6:20b–21 with the persecution beatitude and, in particular, Q 6:23c (the invocation of the example of the prophets) has the effect of

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[109] Saying 3/*P.Oxy.* 654.20–21 uses πτωχεία / ⲙⲛ̄ⲧϩнкє twice and in a negative sense. Similarly, saying 29.

[110] On this, see Patterson, *Gospel of Thomas and Jesus*, 129–31; Tjitze Baarda, "'Jesus Said, Be Passers-By'. On the Meaning and Origin of Logion 42 of the Gospel of Thomas," in *Early Transmission of Words of Jesus: Thomas, Tatian and the Text of the New Testament* (ed. J. Helderman and S.J. Noorda; Amsterdam: VU Boekhandel, 1983), 179–205.

[111] Arnal, "Rhetoric of Marginality," 491 [n. 75].

[112] Patterson (*Gospel of Thomas and Jesus*, 139–40) presents a case for Thomas' promotion of beggary, but the entire case seems to rest on interpreting the πτωχός that presumably lies behind the Coptic of saying 54 as "beggar." On this, see above, n. 102.

redirecting the entire series of macarisms from the poor and downtrodden in general to the Q group itself. Nevertheless, a dense network of connections in Q suggests that the key terms in the opening beatitude, μακάριος, πτωχός and βασιλεία, would have been heard as embedded a deliberative argument that promoted a "countercultural" set of behaviors.

The opening set of descriptors – the poor, the hungry, those who cry, and those who are reproached – is immediately recontextualized by means of five specific incidents: enmity (6:27), suffering insult (6:29a), being victimized either by robbery or legal action (6:29b), forced labor (Q/Matt 5:41) and being asked to make loans (6:30). The first four incidents relate rather directly to initial descriptors of disadvantaged [**184**] persons. The shift from the first four incidents, each entailing a degree of victimization, to the fifth is noteworthy. The making of a loan without interest instances a behavior designed to overcome victimization. Q 6:30 is pivotal, in fact, for all of the succeeding sayings take the view, not of the victim, but of the erstwhile victim who through purposeful action demonstrates a moral superiority (6:31–34). The culmination of the cluster of sayings invokes a generous God, whose children are known by the fact that they emulate the generosity or mercy of God (6:35). Without having to repeat the terms "blessed" and "kingdom," it is now clear that the addressees are blessed precisely as children of the divine King. Their blessedness has everything to do with the program of resistance to, and overcoming of, enmity, violence and debt. Thus, whatever one might think about Q 6:20b in isolation, in the rhetoric of Q 6:20b–35 the beatitude does not invoke an apocalyptic fantasy of reversal of economic states, but belongs to the elaboration of a critique of existing social states and the proposal for an experiment in transformative behavior.

e. James 2:5

The blessing of the poor is more disguised in James 2:5, but the key terms are present:

οὐχ ὁ θεὸς ἐξελέξατο τοὺς *πτωχοὺς* τῷ κόσμῳ πλουσίους ἐν πίστει καὶ *κληρονόμους* τῆς *βασιλείας* ἧς ἐπηγγείλατο τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν;

What is noteworthy about this citation of the saying is where it occurs in the argument of James 2:1–13. James 2 presents an argument against deference to the rich, probably expressed concretely in the institution of patronage.[113] As Wachob and Watson have shown, James 2:1–13 conforms strikingly to the pattern of an elaboration on a theme described by Ps-Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and 2:5 belongs to the *confirmatio*.[114]

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[113] I have argued this point at greater length in John S. Kloppenborg, "Patronage Avoidance in the Epistle of James," *HvTSt* 55, no. 4 (1999): 755–94.

[114] Wachob, *Voice of Jesus*, 59–113 [n. 75]; Duane F. Watson, "James 2 in Light of Greco-Roman Schemes of Argumentation," *NTS* 39, no. 1 (1993): 94–121. The elaboration is described in [Cicero] *Ad Herennium* 2.18.28–2.31.50.

The purpose of James' argument is not to demonstrate that the poor are blessed; rather James 2:5 is part of the *proof* James cites in his argument against patronage. God's choice of the poor exposes any preferential choosing of the rich and influential as impracticable. James adduces the aphorism in a cluster of three rhetorical questions, each anticipating an affirmative response: [**185**]

> [5] Has not God chosen (ἐξελέξατο) the poor of the world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom, which he promised (ἐπηγγείλατο) to those who love him? [6] But you (ὑμεῖς δέ) dishonoured the poor.
> Do not the rich oppress (καταδυναστεύουσιν) you and drag (ἕλκουσιν) you into court?
> [7] And do they not blaspheme the honourable name that has been called over you?

The arrangement and choice of tenses in the three questions bears attention. James 2:5 combines a statement of God's choice of the poor (in the aorist) with an assertion of God's promise to install the poor as heirs to the kingdom. Since this act of installation associates the poor with the honor of the divine king, it creates a blatant contrast with the behavior of the addressees (ὑμεῖς δέ), who dishonored the poor in their effort to honor the rich. The second question (v. 6b) recalls the *topos* from the Tanak of the rich oppressing the poor,[115] but in doing so it shifts from the aorist to the present tense, thereby drawing attention to the *current* practices of the rich. The positioning of v. 6b after vv. 5–6a, coupled with the shift in tenses, has the effect of situating the current oppression by the rich between God's *past* choice (ἐξελέξατο) and promise (ἐπηγγείλατο) of inheritance, on the one hand, and the yet-to-be-realized effects of that promise on the other. This juxtaposition draws attention to the impracticability of the honoring the rich, since it collides with the obvious trajectory implied in God's choices and promises.

As with Q 6:20b, the aphorism cited in James 2:5 is embedded in a rhetoric of alternate social practice, one designed to avoid the nearly ubiquitous practice of patronage in favour of a greater degree of balance reciprocity. Surprisingly, the seemingly novel aphorism – God's promise of the kingdom to the poor – requires no special defense; it is cited as self-evidently true. It is for this reason that it can become a premise in an argument that seeks to extend the implications of God's choice of the poor to the specific social practices in the Jacobean group. Again, it is clear that the beatitude was not heard or used as an abstract affirmation of God's future (if imminent) choices; instead, it was employed rather concretely to undergird a critique of existing social practices and to buttress a counter-practice.

Let me be clear in what is at stake in both Q 11:2–4 and 6:20b. I have no interest in playing future eschatology against a present eschatology or in arguing that these sayings are exclusively one or the other. As James' use of ἐπηγγείλατο makes clear, there are unrealized (i.e., future) [**186**] aspects to the

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[115] Cf. the occurrence of καταδυναστεύω and its cognates at Jer 7:6; 13:18; 22:3; Ezek 18:7, 12, 16; 22:7, 29; Amos 4:1; 8:4; Mic 2:2; Zech 7:10; Mal 3:5; Wis 2:10.

kingdom. The point is, rather, that as we encounter Q 11:2–4 and 6:20b as these two units have been textualized or inscribed in the rhetorical practice of several distinct groups in the Jesus movement, both are employed to articulate a critique of existing structures and to undergird alternate patterns of behavior. That at the Jesus level these sayings were meant as bald affirmations of the "gratuitous nature of God's eschatological saving action" is certainly possible; but that is not the way we encounter them in independent and early discursive formations. It is these early deployments, I suggest, that serve as the most reliable guide to any hypothetical earlier uses.

2. Jesus, the Baptist, and the Call to National Repentance

If one of the images dominating the quest of the historical Jesus is that of a "subversive sage," another is that promoted by E. P. Sander's in his book *Jesus and Judaism*. The basic contours of Sander's views are well known. He sought to reconcile two sets of data about the historical Jesus: that he was a Galilean healer and teacher who provoked opposition among Pharisees, and that he aroused opposition among the priestly élite, an opposition that in some way led to his execution.

Sander's solution is twofold: first, Jesus was an eschatological prophet who announced the restoration of Israel and who performed a symbolic gesture in the temple signifying its destruction and rebuilding. Second, while the theme of national repentance was common in second Temple Judaism and was central to John the Baptist's message, what distinguished Jesus from John was that he associated with quislings and persons who sinned willfully, and that he announced forgiveness to them, even to those who would *not* repent in the usual way by making restitution, offering sacrifice, and turning in obedience to the Torah.[116]

On the other hand, Sanders is persuaded that Jesus did not programmatically opposed the Torah and that even the Sabbath controversies that play a key role in Mark are nonauthentic or ideal scenes.[117] I have argued elsewhere that ironically, Q scholarship supports Sander's contention – ironically, because Sanders himself is a supporter of the Farrer-Goulder hypothesis, which does not require a Q.[118] Q lacks Sabbath controversies,[119] and its nomocentric elements (11:42c;

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[116] Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 175–211, esp. pp. 206–7.

[117] Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 264–69; idem, *Jewish Law from Jesus to the Mishnah: Five Studies* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 1–96.

[118] See E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989), 112–19.

[119] The only possible candidate for a Q saying on the Sabbath is Luke 14:5. This has been included in Q with a {C} rating by the International Q Project (see J. M. Robinson, "The International Q Project Work Session 16 November 1991," *JBL* 111 [1992]: 506; see also Frans Neirynck, "Luke 14,1–6: Lukan Composition and Q Saying," in *Der Treue Gottes trauen: Beiträge zum Werk des Lukas: Für Gerhard Schneider* [ed. Claus Bussmann and Walter Radl; Freiburg, Basel and Wien: Herder, 1991], 243–63. I do not find the grounds for

16:17) are most [**187**] probably late – tertiary – additions to the collection, from the hand of a "nervous redactor."[120]

Sander's suggestions that Jesus did not make repentance a prerequisite for inclusion in the kingdom and that he is known to have associated with quislings serve as a focal point for several important issues. One is the relationship between John the Baptist and Jesus: Sanders argues that the association of John and Jesus is so deeply embedded in the tradition (and the source of some embarrassment) that one must conclude that Jesus followed John and saw his own activities in relation to John. Yet, Jesus departed from John in two crucial respects: he did not take over John's proclamation of a coming judgment of Israel or the more widespread expectation of the vindication of Israel and the destruction of the nations[121]; and he did not take over John's call for national repentance.

Crossan is in agreement on this point. Reflecting on the rather curious hiatus between the erstwhile associates, John and Jesus, Crossan suggests that while Jesus undoubtedly was baptized by John and perhaps originally accepted John's apocalyptic hopes, he "changed his view of John's mission and message."[122]

Others take the view that Jesus undoubtedly continued John's call to repentance. Meier, for example, acknowledges some difference in emphasis between John and Jesus, but argues that Jesus "carried John's eschatology, concern for a sinful Israel facing God's imminent judgment, call to repentance, and baptism with him throughout his own ministry, however much he recycled and reinterpreted this inheritance."[123] N. T. [**188**] Wright agrees with Sanders that Jesus did not call for repentance "in the normal sense" of purely individual moral emendation. Instead, repentance was both eschatological and political and included both a call return to God, to the *Shema'*, and to loyalty to God

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inclusion substantial enough, but even if it belonged to Q, no context for the saying is given (since there is agreement that 14:1–4, 6 are not from Q). Kosch (*Eschatologische Tora*, 208 is undecided whether 14:5 comes from Q or not. He notes the sapiential character of the saying and states: "Obviously, one cannot dispute the fact that the saying reflects the context of Jewish issues. Nevertheless, it is clear that the experientially-based (rather than halakic) argument has nothing to do with a conflict with halakah on the Sabbath and is completely silent in regard to an 'abrogation' of the Sabbath law. The critical potential of the rhetorical question is realized only when it is read as the answer (or counter question) to the question why Jesus assists people in need even on the Sabbath, of all days" (my translation).

[120] See Kloppenborg, "Q and the Quest of the Historical Jesus," 332–34 [n. 7], and the literature cited there.

[121] Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, 112–16.

[122] Crossan, *The Historical Jesus* [n. 5], 237. Similarly, Paul Hollenbach, "The Conversion of Jesus: From Jesus the Baptizer to Jesus the Healer," *ANRW* II.25.1 (1982): 196–219, esp. 203.

[123] Meier, *Marginal Jew II*, 176 [n. 26]; idem, "Jesus," 1320 [n. 84]: "Jesus proclaimed this joyful news in terms of the coming of God's kingdom and the consequent need for all Israel to repent" (*pace* Sanders)."

alone – all as a condition of national restoration – , and renunciation of revolutionary violence.[124] What was objectionable about Jesus' summons was that he offered forgiveness (= membership in the renewed people of God) "one his own authority and by his own process," and not in a way that involved the mediation of the Temple and sacrifice.[125] The key texts adduced by Wright are Mark 1:15; 6:12; Q 10:13–15; 11:32; Luke 13:1–5; 5:29–32; 15:7, 10; and 16:19–31.[126]

Horsley faults Sanders for adopting the "synthetic construct" of national repentance, which would be unworkable from the outset: "It is difficult to imagine," says Horsley, "how a preacher of repentance would proceed concretely in a traditional agrarian society except by addressing relatively small groups and, by means of parables, promises and threats, including inducing individuals to change their patterns of social behavior."[127] Horsley pleads that repentance, conceived as a "rigorous reorientation of individual and collective life," was as much a part of Jesus' concern as it was of John's.[128]

When one turns to the architecture of Q, what is striking is the discontinuity between John and Jesus. It is of course true that there are also expressions of continuity: Q declares both to be the children of Sophia (7:35); both are rejected; Q 16:16 seems to establish a relationship between John's activities and those of Jesus; and Q 7:18–23, 24–27 implies a mutual recognition. Their respective idioms, however, differ: the [**189**] announcement of a coming fiery judgment and the call to repent disappear with the first words of Jesus in Q 6:20, and mention of judgment and repentance recur only at 10:12, 13–15 and 11:31–32.[129] Q seems profoundly aware of the differences between John and Jesus, for in 7:33–34, Q acknowledges their almost antithetical behavior. It asserts nonetheless that both are children of Sophia (7:35).

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[124] Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 250–51. This case is based on Josephus use of μετανοέω in *Life* 110 in connection with his demand that Jesus ben Sapphias "repent [of his revolutionary activities] and prove his loyalty" to Josephus.

[125] Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, 257.

[126] Wright (*Jesus and the Victory of God*, 252–54) cites Q 10:13–15 in its Matthaean form, without discussing either Q's form or Matthew's redaction. Luke 5:29–32 is cited along with a footnote noting that neither Matthew nor Mark uses "repent," and asserting (curiously) that Justin (*Apol.* 1.15.8) "retained" this element, as if Justin attests to a pre-Lukan or authentic form of the saying. In his discussion of Luke 15:4–10, Wright does not entertain the possibility that both occurrences of μετανοέω are Lukan redactional or bother to attempt a reconstruction of Q. Dale C. Allison, *Jesus of Nazareth: Millenarian Prophet* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1998), 103–4 makes a similar case, but is much more careful to attend to elèments of redaction. He notes that "repentance" is "more faintly inscribed upon our sources" but asks nonetheless "whether all of this material [referring to many of the texts cited above] an so easily be shoved into the post-Easter period, and why Mk 1:15 ... and 6:12..., even if redactional, cannot hold authentic memory" (ibid.).

[127] Horsley, *Spiral of Violence*, 196 [n. 99].

[128] Horsley, *Spiral of Violence*, 196–99 [n. 99].

[129] The use of μετανοέω in Luke 15:7 and 15:10 is Lukan.

Q 10:12–15 and 11:31–32 have a particular rhetorical function and the former text is almost universally regarded as a secondary insertion into Q's mission instructions.[130] That 10:13–15 is a secondary insertion does not of course automatically imply that it is nonauthentic. What is common to these two sayings is that they employ a shaming tactic that cites a real or imagined Gentile response whose positive character stands in striking contrast to Israelite response to Jesus. This technique is seen elsewhere in Q on the lips of John (3:7–9) and in Q's use of the story of the centurion's serving boy (7:1–10). Q 10:12, almost certainly created by Q redaction, evokes the spectre of Sodom, which is a feature of the final redaction of Q, appearing also in 3:3; and 17:28–30, 34–35.[131] It is not necessary to suppose that all of these materials were created by Q redaction; but their use in providing a frame for the final collection is analogous to the function of such Markan summaries as 1:15 and 6:12, the two points in Mark where it is suggested that Jesus (and his disciples) engaged in a campaign of repentance preaching.

The Deuteronomistic call for repentance was central to John's preaching. In both Q and Mark, however, the notion that Jesus enjoined repentance is found only in the framing materials of the two documents rather than directly embedded in the main bodies of their respective texts. This suggests two things. First, that whether or not Jesus was remembered as a repentance preacher, both the audience of Q and that of Mark were willing to imagine a "Jesus" for whom this was the case. Their readiness to imagine a Deuteronomistic framework for Jesus' activities is yet another testimony to the popularity of Deuteronomistic theology in Second Temple Judaism.[132] Deuteronomistic theology provided an easily [**190**] available framework within which to organize the various elements of the Jesus tradition, and a ready means by which to relate Jesus' activities to other strains of Second Temple Judaism.

Second, the location of this motif in both Mark and Q (it is absent from Thomas) suggests to me that Sander is essentially correct in his conjecture about Jesus and repentance. The evidence for Jesus' use of the notion is weak; the term appears principally in framing or editorial contexts in Mark and Q, and in redactional contexts in Luke. Even if Q 10:13–14 and 11:32 are authentic, they cannot bear the freight of a Deuteronomistic outlook. In the immediate context of Q 10 and Q 11, the complaint that the Galilean cities and "this generation" did not "repent" appears to be simply a convenient way to say that they did not respond to the Jesus movement's program. Despite the fact that

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[130] For a survey of views, see Kloppenborg, "Literary and Stratigraphic Problems," 18–19 [n. 42], 18–19 [pp. 266–321 in this volume].

[131] See Kloppenborg, "City and Wasteland" [n. 56] [chap. 9 in this volume].

[132] See Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967).

these two Q sayings take over John's key term, there is no reason to think that Jesus engaged in a program of "repentance preaching," either nationally or at the village level. As with futuristic eschatology, it was a the level of *Q Redaction* that "Jesus" came to be viewed as a repentance preacher.

Conclusion

These modest explorations of how attention to the discursive practice of Q might serve to confirm or disconfirm some of the competing portraits of Jesus are scarcely more than a beginning. A full-scale analysis remains to be done. What I have suggested, however, is that just as it is illegitimate to confuse the conclusions about the composition of Q proffered in recent scholarship with conclusions about the historical Jesus, so too, paradoxically, is it unwise to disregard the particular rhetorical usage to which Q (and other early documents of the Jesus movement) puts elements of the "canon." The ways in which early followers of Jesus actually inscribed and employed the canon is the first, and perhaps best, guide to the rhetorical and social practice of the historical Jesus.

Addendum

For further discussion of Q and the Historical Jesus, see Christopher M. Tuckett, "Q and the Historical Jesus," in *Der historische Jesus: Tendenzen und Perspektiven der gegenwärtigen Forschung* (ed. Jens Schröter; BZNW 114; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), 213–241, who reviews this above article, and while agreeing with its method and many of its conclusions, takes issue with a some of its conclusions. "(1) Study of Q and study of the historical Jesus must be recognized and accepted as separate enterprises. (2) Earlier traditions which can be identified within Q cannot necessarily be taken as dominical without more ado; conversely, elements which are added later in the growth of the Q tradition are not necessarily ipso facto undominical. Equally Q, even 'early Q', does not have a monopoly of authentic tradition. (3) The absence of (most) Sabbath stories in Q cannot necessarily be taken as a reflection of the situation in Jesus' ministry, given Q's apparent concern to tone down 'antinomian' tendencies in the tradition. (4) The eschatology of Q may be valid reflection of Jesus' own teaching: the literary activity of Q in placing Jesus teaching in a broader context may well show important elements of continuity with Jesus. (5) Some of the more polemical material in the tradition, placed by many in a later stage of Q in relation to the development of Q, may be plausibly traced back to Jesus in general terms if one is to seek to explain the fact of Jesus' crucifixion" (238). Tuckett and I agree entirely on this first two points; on the third (Sabbath controversies) the absence of Sabbath controversies in Q and the relatively artificial nature of Mark's Sabbath controversy (above, p. 401) should cast some suspicion on them as non-authentic. My main point in relation to Tuckett's fourth point has to do with Jesus as

a full-blown apocalypticist à la Mark 13, not whether future eschatology can be ascribed to him. The same principle holds for the final point: the concerted redactional use to which polemical materials are put in the final edition of Q ought to cast some suspicion on their authenticity. That is, the redaction of Q, no less than the redaction of Mark and its successors, should inform conclusions about the historical Jesus, and Q should not simply be taken as an undifferentiated trove of authentic sayings, a point with which Tuckett agrees.

Jens Schröter, "Die Bedeutung der Q-Überlieferungen für die Interpretation der frühen Jesustradition," *ZNW* 94, no. 1–2 (2003): 38–67 (66): "Der Beitrag von Q besteht vielmehr in der Aufnahme wichtiger Aspekte der Wirksamkeit des irdischen Jesus, die im Licht der Schriften Israels gedeutet und auf diese Weise zu einem Bestandteil der Geschichte des Urchristentums werden. Hierzu gehört die gegenüber Mk wesentlich intensivere Beschreibung des Verhältnisses von Johannes und Jesus, hierzu gehört die Interpretation der Wirksamkeit Jesu als des vollmächtigen Repräsentanten Gottes, hierzu gehört die schroffe Forderung der Nachfolge, die zwischen dem Jüngerkreis und dem ablehnenden Israel scheidet. Durch diese Aspekte, die sich noch ergänzen ließen, entsteht das Bild Jesu, das in den Q-Texten entworfen wird und auf diese Weise zur Erinnerung an Jesus im Urchristentum beiträgt." See also James M. Robinson, "Jesus' Theology in the Sayings Gospel Q," in *Early Christian Voices. In Texts, Traditions, and Symbols: Essays in Honor of François Bovon* (ed. David H. Warren, Ann Graham Brock, and David W. Pao; Biblical Interpretation Series 66; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2003), 25–43; James D.G. Dunn, *Jesus Remembered* (vol. 1 of *Christianity in the Making*; Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2003), 147–160; Alan Kirk, "The Memory of Violence and the Death of Jesus in Q," in *Memory, Tradition and Text: Uses of the Past in Early Christianity* (ed. Alan Kirk and Tom Thatcher; Semeia Studies; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 191–206; Eckhard Rau, "Q-Forschung und Jesusforschung: Versuch eines Brückenschlag," *ETL* 82, no. 4 (2006): 373–403 (taking up Tuckett's point that the polemical sayings might reflect Jesus' own polemic); Douglas E. Oakman, *Jesus and the Peasants* (Matrix: The Bible in Mediterranean Context; Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2008); Christopher M. Tuckett, "Jesus Tradition in Non-Markan Material Common to Matthew and Luke," in *The Historical Jesus* (ed. Tom Holmén and Stanley E. Porter; vol. 3 of *Handbook of the Study of the Historical Jesus*; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2011), 1853–1876.

Part III
Mark

Chapter 14

Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9[1]

A key problem in the interpretation of the Parable of the Tenants in Mark 12:1–12 is the question of whether Isa 5:1–7 is integral to the fabric of the parable. The stakes are high. If, for example, the allusion to Isa 5:1–7 is fundamental to the construction of Mark's parable, it is natural – virtually inevitable – to read the parable's characters intertextually in relation to Isaiah's vineyard: the owner is God, the vineyard is Israel or some part of it, and the fruit is some behaviour, response, or virtue that God expects of Israel. This will be the case whether the parable used a Hebrew text of Isaiah and derives from the historical Jesus, or whether it used the Septuagint and is an early Christian creation placed on Jesus' lips. If one the other hand, the Isaian allusions are secondary, the result of later tradents importing biblical allusions, we are left with two questions: how to interpret the parable in the absence of an explicit allusion to Isaiah; and how to account for the connection of the parable with Isaiah 5:1–7 in the Synoptic stream of tradition.

The issue of the parable's relationship to texts of the Tanak became a pressing one with the discovery of the *Gospel of Thomas*, whose version of the parable (saying 65) lacks any allusions to Isa 5:1–2, 5.[2] What is more puzzling about the *Gos. Thom.* is that while the parable proper has no reference to Ps 118:22, the very next saying (66) alludes [135] to the Psalm: "Jesus says: 'Show me the stone that the builders rejected. It is the cornerstone." What is different in the *Gos. Thom.* is that Ps 118:22 is presented as an entirely separate saying, having no grammatical or logical relationship to the previous saying. The existence of this alternate version of the parable naturally raises the questions

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[1] First published as "Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9." *NovT* 44/2 (2002): 134–59. ©E.J. Brill 2002. Reprinted with permission.

[2] *Gos. Thom.* 65. "He said: 'A [usurer] owned a vineyard. He gave it to some farmers so that they would work it (and) he might receive its fruit from them. He sent his servant so that the farmers might give him the fruit of the vineyard. They seized his servant, beat him (and) almost killed him. The servant went (back) (and) told his master. His master said: 'Perhaps he did not recognize them'. He sent another servant, (and) the farmers beat that other one as well. Then the master sent his son (and) said: 'Perhaps they will show respect for my son'. (But) those farmers, since they knew that he was the heir of the vineyard, seized him (and) killed him. 'Whoever has ears should hear'."

of whether the Synoptic or the Thomasine version is the earlier one, and how the quotation of Ps 118:22 related to the original form of the parable.

But the relationship of texts of the Tanak to the Markan Parable of the Tenants in fact arose quite independently of any knowledge of the *Gos. Thom.* Even before the discovery of this gospel, critics had observed both the poor fit between the quotation of Ps 118:22–23 and the parable proper and that the details in Mark 12:1 that are drawn from Isaiah 5 are irrelevant to the plot of the parable. That the owner built a palisade and a tower, and dug a vine vat has no real bearing on the plot or the outcome of Mark's story. Indeed, Luke omitted most of them, perhaps precisely because they are irrelevant.

A generation ago it was standard to observe that the Isaiah allusion in Mark 12:1 was Septuagintal and undoubtedly secondary. In the first editions of *Die Gleichnisse Jesu* (1947, 1952, 1954, ET 1955) Jeremias already seems to have regarded the quotation of Isa 5:2 as secondary, since he suggested that Luke 20:10–12, which lacks most of Isaian elements, retained "the features of a simple story."[3] In the later editions of *Die Gleichnisse Jesu* ([8]1970, ET 1972), after Jeremias had taken the *Gospel of Thomas* into account, his conclusions were bolder: as it stands, the parable is a pure allegory. "The connection with Isa. 5 must therefore be due to secondary editorial activity."[4] The main ground for this conclusion was Mark's use of περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν, in agreement with the LXX's φραγμὸν περιέθηκα, a feature that is completely lacking in the MT of Isa 5:1–2.

Recently the wind has shifted and more critics are inclined to see the Isaian allusion as basic to the architecture to the parable. The fact of the Septuagintal nature of Mark 12:1 has been mitigated variously. [**136**] It is pointed out, for example, that the MT of Isa 5:5 mentions "its hedge" (משוכתו); thus the element that the LXX shares with Mark is not completely unanticipated in the MT. And it could be imagined that pre-Markan tradents of the parable merely assimilated the "original" Isaian allusions to a Septuagintal form. Still others argue that in the early first century Isa 5:1–7 was already being construed in much the same way that Mark 12:1 does, that is, with reference to the Temple and its adminis-

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[3] Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (Based on the 3rd 1954 German ed.; trans. S.H. Hooke; London: SCM Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955) (from *Die Gleichnisse Jesu* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, [3]1954]) 56. Jeremias, however, later seems to imply that the Isaian allusions are original (*The Parables of Jesus* [Revised edition [based on 8th 1970 German ed.]; trans. S.H. Hooke; London: SCM Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972], 124).

[4] Thus Joachim Jeremias, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu* (8. Aufl.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1970), 68; ET: Jeremias, *Parables*, 71 (1972 edn). Similarly, Hans-Josef Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese in synoptischen Gleichnistexten* (NTAbh NF 13; Münster: Aschendorff, 1978), 287; Ulrich Mell, *Die "anderen" Winzer: Eine exegetische Studie zur Vollmacht Jesu Christi nach Markus 11,27–12,34* (WUNT 76; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 80–81 and others.

tration. This being so, there is no reason to think that the Isaianic allusions are not primary and basic.[5]

From the point of view of logic, the final point is a *non sequitur*. The fact that the parable, with its Isaian elements, would be intelligible to a first-century audience does not decide the issue of whether the Isaian elements are primary or secondary since in any event, they are intelligible at the Markan level. The discovery of a first-century allegorizing interpretation of Isa 5:1–7 only shows that any stipulative argument apropos of Mark 12 fails. For example, an argument that Mark 12:1–9 cannot originally have used Isaiah in an allegorizing fashion because allegorical interpretations of Isa 5 are "late" obviously runs aground on 4Q500.[6] But these are not in fact the main grounds for thinking that the Isaian citations are secondary.

There are several bases for concluding that Isaiah is secondary to the parable. I have argued elsewhere on the basis of an examination of the legal and horticultural aspects of ancient viticulture that the scenario presented by Mark is economically and legally incoherent and that this incoherence is principally a function of the Isaian elements in Mark 12:1. By contrast, the version of the parable in the *Gospel of Thomas* is consistent with what we know of the operation and management of ancient vineyards.[7] [**137**]

In this paper I wish to argue the case in detail that the Isaian elements in Mark 12:1, 9 are Septuagintal. The argument has primarily to do with the LXX's reconceptualization of Isaiah's parable of the vineyard and, in part, the influence that Egyptian viticultural practices have exerted on the LXX's rendering. It is this reconceptualization and these influences, and not those of the MT, that are reflected in Mark. Hence, there is no reason to think that there are subterranean elements of a Hebrew or Aramaic citation lying beneath the Septua-

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[5] Klyne R. Snodgrass, *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants* (WUNT 7; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983); Thomas Schmeller, "Der Erbe des Weinbergs: Zu den Gerichtsgleichnissen Mk 12,1–12 und Jes 5,1–7," *MTZ* 46 (1995): 183–201; Craig A. Evans, "God's Vineyard and Its Caretakers," in *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (AGAJU 25; Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 381–406; Roger D. Aus, *The Wicked Tenants and Gethsemane: Isaiah in the Wicked Tenants Vineyard and Moses and the High Priest in Gethsemane* (University of South Florida International Studies in Formative Judaism and Christianity 4; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996), esp. 4–6; Wim J.C. Weren, "The Use of Isa 5,1–7 in the Parable of the Tenants (Mark 12,1–12; Matthew 21,33–46)," *Bib* 79, no. 1 (1998): 1–26.

[6] See 4Q500 and the comments on the text by Joseph M. Baumgarten, "4Q500 and the Ancient Conceptions of the Lord's Vineyard," *JJS* 40, no. 1 (1989): 1–6 and George J. Brooke, "4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard," *DSD* 2 (1995): 268–94.

[7] John S. Kloppenborg, "Isaiah 5:1–7, the Parable of the Tenants, and Vineyard Leases on Papyrus," in *Text and Artifact: Religions in Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson* (ed. Stephen G. Wilson and Michel Desjardins; Studies in Christianity and Judaism / Études sur le Christianisme et le Judaïsme.9; Waterloo, Ont.: Canadian Corporation for the Study of Religion, by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 111–34.

gintal surface. If one adopts the reasonable supposition that the historical Jesus spoke mainly Aramaic (and conceivably Hebrew) and *if* the parable is authentic, it is doubtful that the original parable alluded to Isaiah 5 in the manner that Mark's version does. Of course, it is possible that the parable is nonauthentic, as many critics have argued, but pre-Markan. But in that case too, the Septuagintal allusions and citations can only have been attached as the parable circulated in Greek.

Isaiah 5:1–7 in the MT and the LXX

In both the MT and the LXX, Isaiah's song of the vineyard has the form of a juridical parable.[8] As in the case of Nathan's parable of the ewe (2 Sam 12:1–12), the force of the juridical parable rests on its realism, a realism that provokes the hearers to render a judgment in the case cited, unaware that in so doing they condemn themselves.[9] Isaiah's song, as Yee has persuasively argued, is addressed to a Jerusalemite audience. Its story of a non-productive vineyard and its eventual destruction is a thinly disguised reference to the destruction of the Northern Kingdom by Tiglath-pileser in 734–32 BCE. As Yee notes, it is a reasonable supposition that the audience would immediately identify the vineyard with Israel, the Northern Kingdom, since at the time of Isaiah of Jerusalem, the vineyard had been a metaphor predominantly associated with Israel (Hos 9:10; 10:1; 14:8; Psalm 80). But Isaiah's application of the parable in v. 7 – "for the vineyard of YHWH is the house of Israel, and the *men of Judah* are its delightful planting" [**138**] extends the metaphor of God's vineyard to the Southern Kingdom and thus threatens Judah with the same judgment that they had just seen visited upon their northern neighbours.

Isaiah's song exists in two significantly different forms, one in the Hebrew Bible (MT), and another in the Septuagint (LXX). Since there are important differences between the two, it is possible to determine whether Mark's reference to the text is to the MT or the LXX. (Significant departures of the LXX from the MT are underscored).

Isaiah 5:1–7 (MT)	Isaiah 5:1–7 (LXX)
אָשִׁירָה נָּא	[1]Αι σω δὴ τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ᾆσμα τοῦ ἀγαπη-
לִידִידִי שִׁירַת דּוֹדִי לְכַרְמוֹ	τοῦ τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου.
כֶּרֶם הָיָה לִידִידִי	ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ
בְּקֶרֶן בֶּן־שָׁמֶן:	ἐν κέρατι ἐν τόπῳ πίονι.
יְעַזְּקֵהוּ וַיְסַקְּלֵהוּ	– – –
– – –	[2] καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα

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[8] Gale Yee A., "The Form-Critical Study of Isaiah 5:1–7 as a Song and a Juridical Parable," *CBQ* 43, no. 1 (1981): 30–40.

[9] U. Simon, "The Poor Man's Ewe Lamb: An Example of a Juridical Parable," *Bib* 48 (1967): 220–21.

— — —	καὶ ἐχαράκωσα
וַיְטָעֵהוּ שֹׂרֵק	καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον σωρηχ
וַיִּבֶן מִגְדָּל בְּתוֹכוֹ	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ
	καὶ προλήνιον ὤρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ·
וְגַם־יֶקֶב חָצֵב בּוֹ	καὶ ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλήν,
וַיְקַו לַעֲשׂוֹת עֲנָבִים	ἐποίησεν δὲ ἀκάνθας.
וַיַּעַשׂ בְּאֻשִׁים:	[3] καὶ νῦν, ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ιουδα καὶ οἱ ἐν-
וְעַתָּה יוֹשֵׁב יְרוּשָׁלַם וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה	οἰκοῦντες ἐν Ιερουσαλημ,
	κρίνατε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀμπελῶ-
שִׁפְטוּ־נָא בֵּינִי וּבֵין כַּרְמִי:	νός μου.
	[4] τί ποιήσω ἔτι τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου
מַה־לַּעֲשׂוֹת עוֹד לְכַרְמִי	καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησα αὐτῷ;
וְלֹא עָשִׂיתִי בּוֹ מַדּוּעַ	διότι ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλήν,
קִוֵּיתִי לַעֲשׂוֹת עֲנָבִים	ἐποίησεν δὲ ἀκάνθας.
וַיַּעַשׂ בְּאֻשִׁים:	[5] νῦν δὲ ἀναγγελῶ ὑμῖν
וְעַתָּה אוֹדִיעָה־נָּא אֶתְכֶם	τί ποιήσω τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου·
אֵת אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה לְכַרְמִי	ἀφελῶ τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτοῦ
הָסֵר מְשׂוּכָתוֹ	καὶ ἔσται εἰς διαρπαγήν,
וְהָיָה לְבָעֵר	καὶ καθελῶ τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ
פָּרֹץ גְּדֵרוֹ	καὶ ἔσται εἰς καταπάτημα,
וְהָיָה לְמִרְמָס:	[6] καὶ ἀνήσω τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου
וַאֲשִׁיתֵהוּ בָתָה	καὶ οὐ μὴ τμηθῇ οὐδὲ μὴ σκαφῇ,
לֹא יִזָּמֵר וְלֹא יֵעָדֵר	καὶ ἀναβήσεται εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς εἰς χέρσον
וְעָלָה שָׁמִיר וָשָׁיִת	ἄκανθα·
וְעַל הֶעָבִים	καὶ ταῖς νεφέλαις ἐντελοῦμαι τοῦ μὴ βρέξαι
אֲצַוֶּה מֵהַמְטִיר עָלָיו מָטָר:	εἰς αὐτὸν ὑετόν.
כִּי כֶרֶם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל	[7] ὁ γὰρ ἀμπελὼν κυρίου σαβαωθ οἶκος τοῦ
	Ισραηλ ἐστίν
וְאִישׁ יְהוּדָה נְטַע שַׁעֲשׁוּעָיו	καὶ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ Ιουδα νεόφυτον
	ἠγαπημένον·
וַיְקַו לְמִשְׁפָּט וְהִנֵּה מִשְׂפָּח	ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι κρίσιν, ἐποίησεν δὲ
	ἀνομίαν
לִצְדָקָה וְהִנֵּה צְעָקָה:	καὶ οὐ δικαιοσύνην ἀλλὰ κραυγήν. [**139**]

1. The Hebrew Version (MT)

a. General Structure

Isaiah's song of the vineyard in the MT consists of three stanzas, vv. 1–2, vv. 3–6, and v. 7, with constantly shifting grammatical perspectives. The first stanza is particularly complex. It begins in the first person as Isaiah's declaration of his intention to sing to or for his friend: "I will sing to my friend (אשירה נא לידידי)." The song itself, however, seems to be his friend's song, for it is introduced as "my beloved's song for his vineyard" (שירת דודי לכרמו). One

might therefore expect that what follows would be framed as a first person speech of the friend to his vineyard. Instead, v. 1b offers a third person narrative: "my friend had a vineyard" and this perspective continues throughout the rest of vv. 1b–2, which describes the friend's preparation and planting of the vineyard and his disappointment at its unexpected unproductivity.

In the second stanza (vv. 3–6) the fictive vineyard owner, Isaiah's friend, steps out of his story and, as it were, addresses the inhabitant of Jerusalem and the "man" of Judah directly:

And now, you who dwell in Jerusalem and you man of Judah,
judge between me and my vineyard.
What more can I do for my vineyard?
And what did I not do for it?

After restating his case in the briefest terms – "I expected it to produce grapes, but it produced stinking grapes" –, the speaker then describes his remedy: he will abandon the vineyard, destroy its hedge and walls, and cease to tend it, with the result that it will be overrun by thorns and become a wasteland.

Isaiah himself returns in the final stanza (v. 7) and offers in third person perspective the interpretation of the key elements of the parable: the vineyard is Israel *and* Judah; the expected produce were justice (*mišpāt*) and righteousness (*ṣedāqāh*); and the actual results were bloodshed (*miśpāḥ*) and an outcry (*ṣeʿāqāh*).

Isa 5:1–7 thus comprises three levels of discourse: Isaiah's introduction (v. 1a) and interpretation (v. 7); a story of the vineyard owner's efforts and expectations (vv. 1b–2); and embedded in this, the owner's direct address to Israel and Judah (vv. 3–6). Even before Isaiah's own unequivocal interpretation of the parable's key elements in v. 7, the hearer would guess that Isaiah's "friend" was in fact YHWH. The description of the destruction of the vineyard in vv. 5–6 – the removal of its hedge and wall, apparently metaphors of God's protection, and [**140**] its being overrun by thorns – would in the context of late eighth-century Judah evoke the destruction of Shechem and the Northern Kingdom. Isaiah's interpretation (v. 7) confirms this identification, but extends the application of the parable to Judah.

b. Notes

5:1: בקרן בן־שמן ("on a fertile horn"): The MT describes the location of the vineyard as בקרן בן־שמן, "on a fertile horn." The precise meaning of *qeren* (קרן) is unknown, since it is used only here in the Tanak in relation to a topographical formation. Budde suggests "spur" (of a mountain), which appears to suit the context well,[10] since vineyards were normally located on terraced hillsides.[11]

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[10] K. Budde, "Zu Jesaja 1–5," *ZAW* 50 (1932): 38–72, here 55; KBL 1068: "Ausläufer eines Berges."

[11] Arye Ben-David, *Talmudische Ökonomie: Die Wirtschaft des jüdischen Palästina zur Zeit der Mischna und des Talmud* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1974), 107.

5:2: יעזקהו ויסקלהו ("he broke up the clods and cleared the stones"): The MT uses the two verbs *y^{e}ʿazz^{e}qēhû* (לעזק) and *way^{e}saqq^{e}lēhû* (לסקל), probably best rendered respectively "to break up"[12] and "to clear of stones."[13] As such, the two verbs describe the initial labour required to the transform a plot of land from a previously uncultivated state into a state suitable for the cultivation of vines.

5:2: שׂרק: After the plot has been prepared it is planted with *soreq*, probably a red varietal grape.[14] **[141]**

5:2: Pressing installations: The vineyard is also furnished with a watch-tower (*migdal*) and "even" (*gam*) a winepress (*yeqeb*). The use of "even" (*gam*) draws attention to the fact that a vineyard need not have a press. The building of a press, which involved the excavation of the vats from hard limestone and the construction of a pressing mechanism, represented a considerable investment of effort and capital and would be unnecessary if commercial or communal presses were available nearby. The term *yeqeb* has a variety of connotations: it can refer to the vat or trough that holds the must or to the entire winepress, which includes an upper vat for treading (Amos 9:13; Isa 63:2), a lower vat for collection of the must (connected by a *ṣinnor*, a groove), and the pressing equipment.[15] Since *yeqeb* is the object of the verb לחצוב, "to quarry," the substantive must refer to the treading or collecting vat, which is excavated from stone. But since the phrase וגם יקב חצב בו stands in parallel to the description of the building of the watchtower, the other main structure of a

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[12] KBL 766 (*hapax legomenon*): Qal: "aufhacken, umgraben," From Ethiopic^{G} *ʿazaqt*, cistern; Akkadian *esēqu*, einritzen; Piel "umgraben, behacken, jäten" ("hoe," "weed"); Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1985), 1062: Piel "break up clods, level ground, till" (*b. Men.* 85b; *m. ʾOhol.* 18.5; *t. ʾOhol.* 17.9).

Oded Borowski (*Agriculture in Iron Age Israel* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987], 104), citing Puchačevsky ("Explanation of Biblical Words Relating to Agriculture," *Sefer hashana shel Eretz Israel* [Tel Aviv: Agudat Hasofrim Haʿivriyim and Dvir, 1924] 43–45), suggests that the most logical meaning is "clear of brambles," basing this from the Arabic name *ʿajjaq* for the mastic or lentisk (*pistacia lentiscus*), a common bush in the Judaean mountains.

[13] KB 725: Piel: (1) "mit Steinen (be)worfen" 2 Sam 16:13; 16:6; (2) (a) "von Steinan säubern" Isa 5:2; (b) "Steinen wegräumen."

[14] This grape is mentioned also in Gen 49:11 and Jer 2:21. That the soreq is red in colour is suggested by Zech 1:8, where the word appears in parallel with *ʾadom* (red), and by Gen 49:11, where it stands in parallel to the phrase *bedam-ʿanabîm*, "blood of grapes." According to Judg 16:4 Deliliah came from the *Nahal Soreq* (LXX: Αλσωρηχ), presumably a grape-growing valley. For a discussion of other grape varieties, see Gustaf Hermann Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Deutsches evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem, Schriften 3/1–2; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1928–1942; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964), 4:320; Borowski, *Agriculture*, 104.

[15] For descriptions of the pressing mechanisms, see Rafael Frankel, *Wine and Oil Production in Antiquity in Israel and Other Mediterranean Countries* (JSOT/ASOR Monographs 10; Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999).

vineyard, it seems likely that the "vat" refers by metonymy to the entire pressing installation.

The particulars of vv. 1b–2 touch on the motifs of fertility, expense, permanence, and the expectation of high productivity. The location of the vineyard was ideal for viticulture, on a hillside, presumably with good drainage; and the area was fertile, which probably meant well-watered. It was, nevertheless, still uncultivated and therefore required a good deal of preparatory labour on the part of the owner. Vv. 1b–2a thus underscore the efforts that the owner expended in creating a vineyard from where there was none. The permanent and expensive structures mentioned in v. 2b emphasize the owner's high expectations. Instead of erecting a temporary hut (*sukkah*, Isa 1:8; 4:6) or creating a small shaded area (*melunah*, Isa 24:20), the owner built (לבנות) a stone tower. Instead of relying on local presses, the owner built his own. Such elements imply that owner expected to create a stable and productive vineyard that merited permanent installations.

5:2: באשים ("stinking [grapes]"): All of these elements of preparation and expectation combine to enhance the contrast with the actual result, the production of *beʾušîm* rather of grapes. The term has sometimes been translated as "wild grapes," but this is hardly appropriate. A good quality domestic varietal of *vitis vinifera L.* never produces a non-domesticated variety. *Vitis vinifera L.* appears to have been domes[**142**]ticated in Northern Syria and the Aegean and is found in Early Bronze sites (3200–3000 BCE) in Jericho, Arad, Lachish, Taʿannek, Bab edh-Dhraʿ, and Numeira.[16] No remains of the wild grape (*vitis silvestris*) have been found in Canaan.[17] Hence *beʾušîm* cannot be rendered "wild grapes" but should be translated as "stinking (or diseased) grapes."[18] It is not a matter of the contamination of a plot of land with some foreign plants but of the corruption of what had been planted.

5:5: משׂוכתו: The viticultural metaphor is maintained throughout vv. 4–6, where several other features of the construction and care of vineyards are mentioned. V. 5 notes the presence of a hedge (*meśûkkāh* or *mesûkkāh*),[19] probably an enclosure made of thorns. Such hedges are still used by Bedouin for creating rough enclosures around sheepfolds. The MT also mentions a wall (*gadēr*), probably constructed at least in part from the stones removed from the field.

5:6: Verse 6 adverts to the activities of pruning (לזמר), normally done twice, immediately after the harvest and during the summer,[20] and hoeing (לעדר) to

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[16] Borowski, *Agriculture*, 102.

[17] Borowski, *Agriculture*, 102; Michael Zohary, *The Plants of the Bible* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 55.

[18] David J.A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 2:88, "stinking," in reference to worthless grapes. Aquila translates it as σαπρίας, "rotten."

[19] The Qumran Isaiah[a] scroll reads מסוכתו, cf. Mic 7:4, where מסוכה stands in paralle! with הדק, briers.

[20] Borowski, *Agriculture*, 109–10.

keep down the thorns (*šamîr wāšāyit*).[21] Both are essential activities if yields are to be maximized. And of course, rain (מטר) is essential.

5:7: Only in v. 7 does the author's application of the parable appear. Isaiah's interpretation depends on a double word play: God sought for justice (*mišpāt*) but found only bloodshed (*miśpāḥ*), and for righteousness (*ṣedāqāh*) but found only an outcry (*ṣeʿāqāh*). These themes are major preoccupations of Isaiah of Jerusalem, who complains of the oppression of the poor by the rich and of avaricious practices of the élite (Isa 3:12, 13–15; 5:8–24; 10:1–4). *Miśpāḥ* (משפח) is a *hapaxlegomenon* in the Hebrew Bible but seems to mean "bloodshed."[22] *Ṣeʿāqāh* ("outcry," [143] צעקה), the word play on *ṣedāqāh* ("righteousness", צדקה), occurs only here in Isaiah, but appears in other contexts in the MT having to do with complaints against injustice (Gen 27:34; Exod 3:7, 9; 11:6).

Accordingly, Isaiah's parable of the vine in the MT concerns God's expectations for Israel and Judah, that they would produce a society characterized by justice and freedom from abuse, but that it had just the opposite results.

2. The Septuagint (LXX)

Although the translators of the LXX refrained from effecting major rearrangements, additions, or deletions, their choice of Greek terms and a few free adaptations significantly transformed the parable.

a. General Structure

The MT displays confusing shifts in perspective, from the first person (v. 1b), to the third (v. 1b–2), then back to the first (vv. 3–6), and finally to the third (v. 7). Some of these shifts are due to the basic rhetorical structure of the speech: Isaiah's speech (vv. 1a, 7) contains a parable told in the third person (vv. 1b–2), followed by the fictive owner's challenge to the audience to judge the situation outlined in the parable (vv. 3–4) and then the owner's response (vv. 5–6). A similar structure is seen in 2 Sam 12:1–12, which moves from a parabolic story told in the third person (2 Sam 12:1b–4), to David's reaction to the story (2 Sam 12:5–6), and then to Nathan's oracle, delivered in the first person (2 Sam 12:7–12).

The LXX translators rationalized the speech, presenting it as first person discourse throughout, except in v. 1b where the MT's third person is preserved: "(my) beloved had a vineyard on the horn (of a hill) in a rich place." The LXX's shift to the first person in the following cola entailed the conversion of the

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[21] The phrase שמיר ושית appears to be a hendiadys (Zohary, *The Plants of the Bible*, 153). Compare Isa 7:23–25 for a similar threat of land being overrun by thorns (*šamîr wāšāyit*) for lack of hoeing. The pair of *šamîr* and *šāyit* is also seen at Isa 9:17; 27:4.

[22] Thus Hans Wildberger, *Jesaja (1–39)* (BKAT 10/1–3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972–82), 1:172–73 and John D.W. Watts, *Isaiah* (Word Biblical Commentary 24–25; Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1985–87), 2:56 relate משפה to the root ס.פ.ח and to the Arabic *safaḥa*, meaning "to shed blood."

verbs in vv. 2 (περιέθηκα, ἐχαράκωσα, ἐφύτευσα, ᾠκοδόμησα, ὤρυξα, ἔμεινα) and 7 (ἔμεινα). But it also meant that the structure of the juridical parable is effaced. The speaker (Isaiah) still sings his beloved's song, introducing the song with a parenthesis about the vineyard (v. 1b). But the remainder of the unit (vv. 2–7) now becomes the beloved's song, including what in the MT had been the friend's address to Jerusalem (vv. 3–6) and Isaiah's interpretation (v. 7). The first verse, nonetheless, remains rather confusing. Rather than "I will sing to my beloved, (my) beloved's song for *my* vineyard; *my* beloved had a vineyard," one might more reasonably [144] expect τῷ ἀμπελῶνι αὐτοῦ ("for *his* vineyard") and ᾧ ἐγενήθη ἀμπελών ("who had a vineyard").

b. Notes

5:1: ἐν κέρατι ἐν τόπῳ πίονι: In the LXX the vineyard is located on a κέρας or "horn,"[23] which seems generally to correspond to the MT's *qeren*. The MT's "fertile" (בן־שמן, lit. "son of fatness") is rendered ἐν τόπῳ πίονι, "in a rich (or fertile) place."

5:2: καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα, "and I surrounded it with a palisade": A more significant alteration concerns the description of the labour of the owner. While the MT stresses the initial labour required to convert virgin hillside into a productive vineyard, the LXX takes the initial preparations for granted. Like the MT, the LXX indicates that the "vineyard" was already in the speaker's possession (ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ). But the LXX, by dispensing with the verbs having to do with the breaking and clearing of the ground, implies that the plot had already been prepared for planting. What was required, however, was a palisade (φραγμός)[24] and furnishing the plot with stakes or props for the vines. Thus the LXX seems to envisage the conversion of existing agricultural land into a vineyard.

Such conversions, it might be noted, probably reflect practices in Egypt, where agricultural lands were often redesignated from one use to another, owing to the desires of their owners or to the availability of water through the maintenance of a system of dikes and canals. The failure of the irrigation system might mean that certain plots, once used for irrigation-intensive crops (e.g., vines, melons), might have to be converted for grain growing or pasturage. Alternatively, the creation of a dike system allowed owners to reseed dry or marginal lands with high-yield crops. In Palestine under the Ptolemies, the conversion of plots for field crops into vineyards and olive and fruit orchards was driven by an interest in export crops and in maximizing the yield of the land.[25] [145]

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[23] LSJ 941, V.6 "mountain peak," "spur" (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.6.7; Lycophron 534: Μαζουσία προύχουσα χερσαίου κέρως, Mazusia jutting from the horn of the dry land).

[24] Vulgate: saepivit, "surround with a palisade, enclose."

[25] On the Ptolemaic occupation and exploitation of Palestine, see in general, G. Maclean Harper, "A Study in the Commercial Relations Between Egypt and Syria in the Third Century

Where the MT names digging and stone-removal as the preliminary activities of vineyard preparation, the LXX mentions the building of a palisade (φραγμός). Two issues are of importance here: first, the meaning of the LXX's term, and second, the significance of its mention as an initial activity.

1. While the MT makes no mention of a hedge in 5:2, it emerges from v. 5 that a hedge had been present, where *meśûkkāh* appears in poetic parallelism with *gadēr* (wall, LXX: τοῖχος). While *meśûkkāh* is probably a hedge formed of thorny bushes, the φραγμός of the LXX (5:2, 5) is more likely a wooden palisade or a low stone wall. To be sure, the context of Isa 5:5 LXX indicates that the φραγμός is less substantial than the τοῖχος (stone wall)[26]: the φραγμός is merely "taken away" or "removed" (ἀφίημι), while the wall is "taken down" or "razed" (καθαιρέω).[27] This corresponds generally to the MT's *meśûkkāh*, which is removed (להסר), and the wall (*gadēr*), which is destroyed (לפץ).[28] But an examination of other instances of φραγμός, both in the LXX[29] and in contemporary Greek literature, indicates that the word normally referred to a wooden fence or palisade.[30] In Egyptian papyri [**146**] and a few other texts

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Before Christ," *AJPh* 49 (1928): 1–35; Victor Tcherikover, "Palestine Under the Ptolemies," *Mizraim* 4–5 (1937): 9–90; Xavier Durand, *Des Grecs en Palestine au III^e siècle avant Jésus Christ: Le dossier syrien des archives de Zénon de Caunos (261–252)* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 38; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1997). Martin Hengel ("Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern, Mc 12:1–12 im Lichte der Zenonpapyri und der rabbinischen Gleichnisse," *ZNW* 59 [1968]: 15–16) suggests that this new economic situation in Palestine produced various tensions: "The new – typically Hellenistic – revenue-intensive kind of management, in which agents charged with achieving delivery quotas certainly did not act with special deference, aroused the indignation of the Galilean farmers, who apparently refused to pay the rent" (referring to *P.CairZen* 59 018 (258 BCE).

[26] For τεῖχος in connection with vineyards, see *P.Ryl.* II 157 (135 CE); *P.RossGeorg* II 19 (141 CE); *P.Stras* VI 539 (290/91 CE); *P.Vind Sal* 8.r.31 (325 CE).

[27] See Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.4.13 (ἔγνω Πραξίτας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τειχῶν καθελεῖν ὥστε δίοδον στρατοπέδῳ ἱκανὴν εἶναι, "first Praxitas decided to pull down the walls to make a passage wide enough for a passage for the soldiers"); Plato, *Menexenus* 244C (καὶ τείχη καθελόντες ἀνθ' ὧν ἡμεῖς τἀκείνων ἐκωλύσαμεν πεσεῖν, "and they demolished the walls as a recompense for our saving their walls from ruin").

[28] Similarly, Ps 80:13: למה פרצת גדריה, "Why did you destroy its [the vineyard's] walls?" Note, however, that the LXX renders this as ἵνα τί καθεῖλες τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτῆς. The same translation of *gadēr* is given at Ps 89:14 (καθεῖλες πάντας τοὺς φραγμοὺς αὐτοῦ).

[29] In all cases where the connotation of φραγμός can be determined, it is used of solid enclosures, either palisades around vineyards, or city walls: Num 22:24 (wall of a vineyard, solid enough to pin Balaam against it); 1 Kgs 10:22 (walls of Jerusalem); 11:27 (walls of the city); 2 Esdras 9:9 (wall of Jerusalem); Ps 61[62]:4 (a tottering fence); Ps 79[80]:13 (destroying [καθεῖλες] a vineyard wall); Ps 88[89]:41 (city walls); Prov 24:31 (stone fences); Isa 58:12 (city walls); Mic 4:14 (city wall?).

[30] φραγμός: Theocritus, *Idyll* 5.108 (a fence around a vineyard); Lycurgus, Frag. 10–11.14 *apud* Harpocration, *Lexikon* [I CE] 215.14: ὀρκάνη: μήποτε φραγμὸς, τουτέστι τὸ περίγραγμα καὶ ἡ αἱμασία, οὕτω καλεῖται, παρὰ τὸ ἐρύκειν ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἕρκος εἶναι, "*horane*: perhaps a palisade (*phragmos*), that is the fence and (stone) wall, so called from "to hold in" (*erukein*) or from "fence"" (*herkos*); Philo, *Det.* 105 (ἀντὶ τείχους φραγμοὺς εἶναι, "to be a

φραγμός refers specifically to a palisade that surrounds an agricultural plot or a vineyard.[31] The choice of φραγμός to render *meśûkkāh* in v. 5 was probably motivated by the fact that the LXX translators, with Egyptian agricultural practices in view, assimilated Isaiah's vineyard to vineyards more familiar to them in Egypt.[32]

2. The second issue concerns the reasons for the LXX mentioning the building of a palisade in the initial stage of preparing a plot for vines. This probably has to do with the likelihood, noted above, that the LXX envisages the conversion of an *existing* agricultural plot in an intensively cultivated area into a vineyard rather than the MT's conception of the breaking of virgin hillside. The palisade was a key part of a vineyard, for both legal and practical reasons. In areas of intensive cultivation, the palisade served as a boundary marker used in surveys and land registers (e.g., *P.Ness* III 31 [VI CE]), marking off one plot falling under one tax regime from contiguous plots that might be taxed quite differently. The palisade, moreover, protected a newly planted vineyard from damage by humans and animals, which might use the plot for grazing or as a short-cut.[33] Finally, the palisade protected the maturing fruit from ravages by animals, especially foxes and boars, and (along with a guard in the watchtower) from theft by humans.[34] In later Palestinian agricultural practices, the palisade

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fence as [strong as] a wall"); *Agr.* 19 (a palisade of wood); *Moses* 1.271 (αἱμασίαι καὶ φραγμοί, "[stone] walls and palisades" that are strong enough to repel an attack); Strabo 13.4.14 (a fence of stone); Plutarch, *Pericles* 9.2.6 (τῶν τε χωρίων τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφαιρῶν, describing the removal of palisades around an orchard); Plutarch, *Cimon* 10.1.4 (τῶν τε γὰρ ἀγρῶν φραγμοὺς ἀφεῖλεν, describing the removal of palisades around fields).

[31] *BGU* IV 1119 (6/5 BCE) (palisade around a vineyard); *P.Giss.* 56 (V CE) (palisade around a vineyard); *P.Ness* III 31.11, 16, 31, 51, 55, 60 (VI CE) (palisades marking vineyards). Michael Schnebel (*Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten. Erster Band: Der Betrieb der Landwirtschaft* [Münchener Beiträge Zur Papyrusforschung und Antiken Rechtsgeschichte 7; München: C.H. Beck, 1925], 244) doubts that Egyptian φραγμοί were made of wood, since wood was relative rare and expensive, and suggests that they were (stone) walls.

[32] This explanation seems preferable to that given by Johann Fischer (*In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor? Eine textkritische Studie* [BZAW 56; Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1930], 20), according to whom φραγμὸν περιέθηκα was a "free" translation which took עזק to be related to עזקה, "ring" (which however, appears only as a proper name in the Hebrew Bible). עזקא ("signet") is attested only in Aramaic (Dan 6:18). Robert Gundry (*The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel: With Special Reference to the Messianic Hope* [NovTSup 18; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967], 44) rather implausibly suggests that the LXX, Peshitta and Vulgate understood יסקלהו as "to build a (stone) fence" and argues that this is unrelated to the משׂוכה of v. 5. But as I we have argued above, this is more likely a hedge of thorns. See below, n. 39.

[33] Cf. *P.Mich* V 229 (48 CE), a complaint about damage to a vineyard caused by ass-driver.

[34] Prov 24:31 treats the stone wall (גדר אבניו, LXX: οἱ φραγμοὶ τῶν λίθων) as an essential part of a vineyard, as does Sir 36:25: οὗ οὐκ ἔστιν φραγμός διαρπαγήσεται κτῆμα, "wherever there is no fence, the property is plundered." Damage to vineyards from animals and humans is noted in Ps 80:13–14: "Why did you destroy [the vineyard's] walls, so that every passerby

had [147] an additional function: since Deut 22:9 prohibited the intercultivation of vineyards with other (cereal or vegetable) crops, care was taken to demarcate the vineyard from adjoining fields that were sown to other crops. A wall (גדר הכרם) or reed fence (מחיצת הקנים) served as a valid way to divide one area from another so as to comply with the laws of mixed seeds.[35]

5:2: καὶ ἐχαράκωσα (and I staked it): What is completely new in the LXX is the use of χαρακόω, used in Ptolemaic- and Imperial-period papyri in connection with the staking of vines.[36] This may be another [148] instance of the influence of Egyptian viticultural practices on the LXX translators,[37] but the

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plucks its fruit, wild boars gnaw at it, and creatures of the field feed on it?"; Cant 2:15: πιάσατε ἡμῖν ἀλώπεκας μικροὺς ἀφανίζοντας ἀμπελῶνας, "catch us little foxes, that spoil the vineyards"; Theocritus, *Idyll* 1.45: "And but a little removed from master Weatherbeat there's a vineyard well laden with clusters red to the ripening, and a little lad seated watching upon the fence [τις κῶρος ἐφ' αἱμασιαῖσι φυλάσσει]. And on either side of him two foxes; one ranges to and fro along the rows and pilfers all such grapes as are ready for eating, while the other sets all his cunning at the lad's wallet"; Theocritus, *Idyll* 5.112–13: μισέω τὰς δασυκέρας ἀλώπεκας, αἳ τὰ Μίκωνος αἰεὶ φοιτῶσας τὰ ποθέσπερα ῥαγίζοντι, "I hate the brush-tail foxes, who ever come creeping to their vintaging amid Mikon's vines." For the fable of the Fox and the Grapes, see Babrius 19; Phaedrus 4.3.

[35] Two biblical prohibitions lead to concern over the space that must be allowed between crops of different kinds, and the types of partitions that validly separate two crops. Deut 22:9–11 (from D) speaks specifically of vineyards: "You shall not sow your vineyard with a second kind of seed, else the crop – from the seed you have sown – and the yield of the vineyard may not be used [lit.: becomes holy]" You shall not plow with an ox and an ass together. You shall not wear a mingled garment, wool and linen together." A later text (from P) speaks more generally: Lev 19:19 ("You shall not let your cattle breed with a different kind; you shall not sow your field with two kinds of seed; you shall not put on cloth from a mixture of two kinds of material."

These prohibitions are explicated in the Mishnah. In *m. Kil.* 4.1, a space of 12 cubits (16 according to Beth Shammai) must be allowed between the outer row of a vineyard and a seeded crop. A wall, however, formed a valid partition between plots of land. Hence, the Mishnah assumes both that walls are a normal part of a vineyard and that vines could extend up to the wall, thus occasionally trailing over the wall and infringing on a neighbour's grain crop (*m. Kil.* 7.4). According to *m. Kil.* 4.3, a wall of ten handbreadths high constitutes a valid partition. Likewise a reed fence is a valid partition: "A partition of reeds (מחיצת הקנים) – if between reed and reed be less than three handbreadths sufficient for a kid to enter, – counts as a valid partition [and one can sow seed on the other side]. And a palisade that is breached up to a space of ten cubits is considered as an entrance, if it be more than this, opposite the breach is forbidden [to sow seed]" (*m. Kil.* 4.4).

[36] *P.CairZen* 59 229 (253 BCE); *PSI* VI 595 (III BCE): ὑπομνήμα Ζήνωνι παρὰ Νίκωνος εἰς τὴν μὲν σκαφὴν καὶ χαράκωσιν, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ ἐγδέδωκας, προσδέξομαι; *P.ZenPestman* 64.14, 18 (=*PSI* VI 624; III BCE); *P.Oxy* IV 729.23 (Oxyrhynchus; 137 CE):]τι κεχαρακωμένας καὶ τὰ [το]ῦ κτήματος χώματα ἐστεγασμένα καὶ ὑδροπεφυλακημένα, "... staked and the embankments of the vineyard firm and watertight"; *P.Ryl* II 427 (II/III CE); *P.Oxy* XLIV 3205.41 (Oxyrhynchus; 297–308 CE); *CPR* XVIIA 25.22 (307 CE); *CPR* VII 38.11 (V CE); *P.Hamb* I 68.5 (549/50 or 654/55 CE).

[37] On the staking of vines, see Clotilde Ricci, *La coltura della vite e la favvricazione del vino nell'Egitto greco-romano* (repr. Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1972; repr., Studi Della

training of vines on trellises, palisades, and trees is also attested in early Israelite agriculture.[38] In any case, the LXX translators have reconceived the scenario imagined by the MT, shifting the emphasis from the labour of making virgin soil suitable for agriculture, to the particular preparations characteristic of viticultural practice, namely, the erection of a palisade or wall and the staking of the land with trellises.[39]

5:2: ἄμπελον σωρηχ (a vine of soreq): In the description of the planting of the vines, the LXX also differs from the MT. Whereas the MT specifies a particular variety of grape, *soreq*,[40] a term unattested outside the Hebrew Bible,[41] the LXX uses the phrase ἄμπελον σωρηχ ("a vine of soreq") as the object of ἐφύτευσα. Although the LXX preserves [**149**] *soreq* through a simple transliteration, it seems probable [**150**] that the term was not sufficiently well known in Egypt to be self-explanatory and so ἄμπελος was added to make its general meaning clear.[42]

Scuola Papirologica 4/1; Milano: U. Hoepli, 1924), 23, 27, 34 and *BGU* IV 1122 (13 BCE); *P.Lond* III 1003 (562 CE). Pliny (*Hist. naturalis* 17.35.164–166) describes 5 methods of vine-training: (1) on the ground; (2) as a self-supporting bush; (3) training on vertical posts; (4) training on horizontal yokes; and (5) training on an overhead trellis ("on four bars in a rectangle"). There is also considerable evidence for the training of vines on trees: Columella 5.6; Varro 1.8.3. See K.D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 19–23.

[38] See Borowski, *Agriculture*, 107–8; Frankel, *Wine and Oil Production*, 35;. Vines were trained on the ground (Ezek 17:6, גפן סרחת; *m. Men*. 8.5; *m. Kil*. 4.7; 6.4) or on a fence (Ezek 17:8: גפן אדרת). *t. Men*. 9.10, *m. Kil*. 6.6–9 adds the term כרמת, apparently a type of trellis (Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, 671.

[39] Jastrow (*Dictionary of the Targumim*, 1062) thinks that the LXX's rendering of עזק as χαρακόω is influenced by the Aramaic עזקתא ("clap," "ring"). A more usual, albeit adventuresome, explanation is that the LXX translators mistook סקל as סלל. The LXX renders סללה ("ramp") as χάραξ (palisade) four times: Isa 37:33; Jer 40(33):4; Ezek 4:2; 26:8. See Fischer, *In welcher Schrift?* 20–21).

[40] See above, n. 14.

[41] As a geographical designation, the term appears only in Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, 160, where Eusebius suggests that Σωρηχ (Judg 16:4) was located in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis. The standard Christian exegesis of the term follows Symmachus and interprets it to mean "elect": Origen, *Homiliae in Jeremiam* 12.1: ἡ καλουμένη ἄμπελος Σωρήκ, Ἐκλεκτή τις οὖσα καὶ Θαυμαστή. Cf. also Basil, *Ennaratio in prophetam Isiam* 5.142; Basil, *Asceticon magnum* (PG 31:1136): Σωρηχ, ὃ ἑρμενεύεται ἐκλεκτή; Cyril of Alexandria *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam* (PG 70:137): Σωρηκ, τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἐκλεκτήν; John Chrysostom, *Fragmenta in Jeremiam* (PG 64:768): Σωρηχ, τουτέστιν ἐκλεκτήν; and Theodoret *Commentaria in Esiam* 2.475 (*Théodoret de Cyr, Commentaire sur Isaïe* [ed. J. N. Guinot; 2 vols.; SC 276, 295; Paris: Cerf, 1980–1982] 1.230). In *Interpretatio in Isaiam Prophetam* 5 (PG 56:58) John Chrysostom interprets Soreq as the truth: *Sorec autem hic significat veram, generosam, non malis nec inferioris notae propaginibus instructam, sed probatis et praecipuis*.

[42] I. L. Seeligmann (*The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* [Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux," Mededelingen en Verhandelingen.9; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948], 33), however, drawing attention to the sevenfold

5:2: προλήνιον (vat): Verse 2b describes the excavation of the *yeqeb*, which the LXX renders as προλήνιον (vat). The usual translation of *yeqeb* is ληνός and this normally refers to the entire pressing installation.[43] In a few instances it is rendered by ὑπολήνιον, that is, one of two vats (one for treading and the other to collect the must).[44] Προλήνιον, the LXX's choice of translation, is unattested in Greek literature until fourth century Christian citations, where, commenting on the LXX Isa 5:2, Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret interpret Isaiah's προλήνιον as the altar before the temple.[45] In the context of Isaiah 5, however, προλήνιον must refer to a collecting or treading vat and is probably therefore equivalent to ὑπολήνιον.[46] It seems probable that the choice of ὑπολήνιον over ληνός is a function of the verbs, לחצוב ("to hew") / ὤρυξα ("to dig"), which suggest the excavation of a vat rather than building of the entire pressing installation.

5:2: ἄκανθα (thorns): The LXX dramatically reconceives the failure of the vineyard. Whereas the MT contrasts the owner's expectation of grapes (*ʿanabîm*, ענבים) with the actual produce, "stinking grapes" (*beʾušîm*), the LXX introduces a new contrast, using ἄκανθα ("thorns") as the second member of the

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repetition of ἀμπελών in Isa 5:1–7 (and in 1:8 and 3:14), suggests that ἄμπελον is secondary. He also observes that "from 7.23 onward ἄμπελος is used with the same regularity (eight times in succession) as ἀμπελών previously."

[43] Num 18:27, 30; Deut 15:14; 16:14; 2 Kgs 6:27; Hos 9:2; Joel 2:24 (in all instances, paired with *goren*, threshing floor); Prov 3:10 (paired with *ʾasam*, barn); Jer 48:33 (LXX 31:30); Lam 1:15. Ληνός is used to translate *gat* at Judg 6:11; Neh 13:15 (=2 Esdras 23:15); Isa 63:2; Joel 4:13. See further, Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen 12/3; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1934), 179.

[44] Isa 16:10 (the treading vat); Joel 4:13 (treading vat or the collecting vat); Hag 2:16 (the collecting vat); Zech 14:10 (the king's winepress).

[45] Eusebius, *Commentaria in Psalmos* on Psalm 8 (PG 23:125): προλήνιον τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ θυσιαστήριον. Athanasius, *Expositiones in Psalmos* on Ps 8 (PG 27:80): πάλαι μὲν ἐν τῇ νομικῇ λατρείᾳ ἦν ἓν προλήνιον, τὸ θυσιαστήριον δηλονότι τὸ ἐν τῷ ναῷ; Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Isaiam Prophetam* (PG 70:137): ᾠκοδόμησα δὲ, φησὶ, καὶ πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προλήνιον ὤρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ.... τέθειται δὲ θυσιαστήριον ἐν αὐτῷ; John Chrysostom *Interpretatio in Isaiam Prophetam* 5 (PG 56:58): *et aedificavi turrim, et torcular in medio eius: quidam turrim interpretantur templum, et torcular altare; quia illic fructus virtutis cuiusque congregabantur*; Theodoret, *Commentaria in Esiam* 2.470 (ed. Guinot, 1.230). W. J. C. Weren ("Use of Isa 5,1–7," 9 n. 24) erroneously states that προλήνιον occurs also in Oda 10:2, not realizing that this is Isa 5:2.

[46] The distinction between ληνός and ὑπολήνιον is observed by the anonymous *Geoponica* 6.1.2–4 (*Heinrich Beckh, ed., Geoponica, sive Cassiani Bassi scholastici De re rustica eclogae* [Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana; Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1895]): δεῖ τοίνυν τὴν ληνὸν πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συγκομίζεσθαι μελλόντων καρπῶν οἰκοδομεῖν . . . ἔστω δὲ ἡ ληνὸς θερμή, καὶ ἐχέτω φῶς πλεῖστον πάντοθεν, τὸ δὲ ὑπολήνιον ἔστω πλατύστομον, καὶ μετὰ τὴν χρῆσιν πλυθήτω ἢ θαλάσσῃ ἢ ἅλμῃ θερμῇ, καὶ σπογγισθήτω. Ziegler (*Untersuchungen*, 179) suggests that προλήνιον might refer to a special kind of wine press, "vielleicht eine "Vorkelter" im Gegensatz zur Hauptkelter (ληνός). In der Papyrusliteratur ist das Wort προλ. bis jetzt m.W. nicht aufgetreten; aber sicher war die "Vorkelter" dem alexandrinischen Leser bekannt."

pair.[47] The contrast of grape/thorn is neither a fixed parallel pair in Hebrew nor does it appears in the MT or elsewhere in the LXX. The pair in fact is barely attested in the Hellenistic period, appearing only in Matt 7:16[48] and *Gos. Thom.* 45[49] and, much later, in *b. Pesaḥ.* 49a.[50]

The LXX's choice of "thorns" seems to be a function of two factors. First, the focus of the LXX has shifted from the vine to the vineyard. While the MT repeats the term "vineyard" (*qeren*, vv. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), the complaint is about the vine itself, which produced rotten fruit. In the LXX, by contrast, the focus has shifted from the vine (despite ἄμπελον σωρηχ) to the vineyard (ἀμπέλων), which yielded thorns instead of grapes. Second, the LXX's choice may be a function of other texts of the Tanak which indicate that thorns were a constant encroachment on agricultural lands, signalling neglect (Isa 7:23–25; 32:13) and presenting a danger of fire (Exod 22:6 [LXX 22:5]).[51] Thus where the MT locates the failure in the unexpectedly corrupted growth of a good quality vine, the LXX thinks of the failure as that of the [151] plot itself and, presumably, of those who should have cared for it. Good and well-tended land should have produced a valuable crop; instead it produced only worthless thorns. Hence, the LXX apparently already has in view the failure of human subjects who tend the vineyard, in distinction from the MT, which studiously maintains its focus on the vineyard itself until the identification with Israel and Judah in v. 7.

5:3–6. There are several modifications and adaptations of the MT by the LXX in these verses, but not all are consequential for the issue of Mark's relation to Isaiah 5. The addressees of v. 3 are reversed in the LXX: the MT has "the one who dwells in Jerusalem" (יושׁב ירושׁלם) and then "man of Judah" (איש יהודה) (both, curiously in the singular), which the LXX reverses: "man (ἄνθρωπος) of Judah" and "inhabitants (οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες) of Jerusalem." The LXX renders the

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[47] The word באשׁים appears only twice in the MT (Isa 5:2, 4), while באשׁ ("stinking") is found three times: Isa 34:3 (LXX: ἡ ὀσμή, smell), Joel 2:20 (LXX: ἡ σαπρία, stench) and Amos 4:10 (construed by the LXX as בְּאֵשׁ, ἐν πυρί).

[48] Matt 7:16: μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν σταφυλὰς. The IQP reconstructs Q mainly following Luke rather than Matthew: μήτι συλλέγουσιν ἐξ ἀκανθῶν σῦκα ἢ ἐκ τριβόλων σταφυλάς. W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison (*A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Matthew* [ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–97], 1:707) suggest that Matthew may have altered Q (= Luke) under the influence of Isa 5:2 LXX.

[49] *Gos. Thom.* 45.1: Jesus says: "Grapes are not harvested from thornbushes, nor are figs picked from thistles, for they do not produce fruit."

[50] *b. Pesaḥ.* 49a: "Let a man always sell all he has an marry the daughter of a scholar, and marry his daughter to a scholar. This may be compared to [grafting of] grapes of a vine with grapes of a vine [which is] a seemly and acceptable thing (משׁל לענבי הגפן בענבי הגפן דבר נאה ומתקבל). But let him not marry the daughter of an *ʿam ha-areṣ*; this may be compared to [grafting of] grapes of a vine with berries of a thorn bush [which is] a repulsive and unacceptable thing" (משׁל לענבי הגפן בענבי הסנה דבר כעור ואינו)."

[51] Ἄκανθαι is also used of acacia trees, often found on the embankments of vineyards: see *P.Oxy* VI 909 (225 CE), an agreement to uproot and sell the acacia trees (ἄκανθαι) in a vineyard, and *P.Lond* II 214 (270–75 CE).

MT's idiom שׁפט ביני ובין ("judge between me and *x*") rather woodenly as κρίνατε ἐν ἐμοὶ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ ἀμπελῶνός μου (judge with me and in the midst of my vineyard).[52]

5:4: In v. 4 the LXX translates the MT's impersonal idiom מה-לעשׂות עוד ("what more is to be done") as a first person future: "what more shall I do?" The word-pair σταφυλή/ἄκανθα is repeated in v. 4, again modifying the MT's *ʿanabîm* ("grapes") and *beʾušîm* (stinking grapes).

5:6: καὶ ἀνήσω (I will abandon): The influence of Ptolemaic agricultural practice is again visible in v. 6, where the LXX translators have rendered the MT's ואשׁיתהו בתה ("I will make [it] a waste [?]"),[53] as καὶ ἀνήσω τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου (I will abandon my vineyard). As Ziegler notes, the LXX's verb ἀνιέναι is a technical term used in Ptolemaic papyri used in connection with land left untilled.[54]

5:6: ὡς εἰς χέρσον (on a dry plot): In the same verse the phrase ועלה שׁמיר ושׁית ("and thorns and brambles will grow up") is translated as καὶ ἀναβήσεται εἰς αὐτὸν ὡς εἰς χέρσον ἄκανθα ("and thorns will spring [**152**] up on it as on a dry plot").[55] The use of χέρσος also points to an Egyptian agricultural context, where the term is regularly designates land once used for agricultural production but which had become unproductive. Such failures were normally due to a collapse of the irrigation system or to low levels of the Nile inundation.[56] But the term means more than "dry land." Χέρσος implies that the land was economically unproductive, since in Egypt it was exempt from taxation.[57] Vineyards were particularly susceptible to failure because they depended on a constant supply of water. So common in fact was the failure of a vineyard that the

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[52] The LXX often renders the idiom לשׁפט בין ובין as κρίνειν ἀνὰ μέσον N καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον N (Deut 1:16; Judg 11:27; 1 Sam 24:16) or more simply as κρίνειν ἀνὰ μέσον NN καὶ NN (Gen 16:5).

[53] The meaning of בתה is suggested only from the context. The etymology is unknown. See KBL 159.

[54] *P.Tebt* I 60.81–81 (118 BCE): καὶ τοῦ ἀ[ν]ειμένου εἰς νομὰς καὶ | χο(ρτο)νο(μὰς) κδ΄, "and 24 (arourai) of land left untilled for pasturage and grassland"; *P.Tebt* I 72.35–36 (114/13 BCE): καὶ τῆς ἐν τῶι νγ΄ (ἔτει) προσαχθείσης ἐν Ἀλεξαν|δρείαι ἀνεῖσθαι εἰς νομάς. See also *P.Tebt* III/2 827.4 (170 BCE). Ziegler notes that the LXX of Isa 27:10 renders נוה משׁלה (homesteads deserted) with τὸ κατοικούμενον ποίμνιον ἀνειμένον ἔσται.

[55] The LXX uses a similar translation at Isa 7:23: εἰς χέρσον ἔσονται καὶ εἰς ἄκανθαν (לשׁמיר ולשׁית יהיה), 24 ὅτι χέρσος καὶ ἄκανθα ἔσται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ (כי־שׁמיר ושׁית תהיה כל־הארץ), 25 ἔσται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς χέρσου καὶ ἀκάνθης εἰς βόσκημα προβάτου καὶ εἰς καταπάτημα βοός (לא־תבוא שׁמה יראת שׁמיר ושׁית והיה למשׁלח שׁור ולמרמס שׂה).

[56] Cf. *P.Oxy* XII 1475 (267 CE), detailing the sale of a now-dry orchard (τὸ . . .πωμάριον νυνὶ ἐν χέρσῳ, l. 20) and mentioning a cistern and water wheel, "now in disrepair." The term can also refer to land that normally reached by the Nile inundation, but which the flood missed in particular years: *P.Petr* III 99 (Fayûm; III BCE); *P.Ryl* II 207a (Hermopolites; II CE). See Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 9–24.

[57] Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, 16, quoting *P.Lond* II 401 (II, p. 12) (Pathyrites 116–111 BCE); *P.Lond* II 267.149, 276 (II, p. 129) (Fayûm, II BCE).

term χερσάμπελος was coined to refer to vineyards that had become unproductive.[58] The LXX's use of χέρσος fits the context, since the next colon refers to God's stopping up of the clouds so as to withhold moisture. Hence, in addition to the MT's general image of a field being overrun by thorns, the LXX employs a term that would be recognized immediately by the Egyptian reader as referring to a specific class of unproductive agricultural land.[59]

5:7: νεόφυτος: In the concluding verse, the LXX has rendered the MT's *neṭaʿ* ("planting") by νεόφυτος, a technical term used in Egypt for newly-planted vineyards.[60]

5:7: κρίσις, ἀνομία, δικαιοσύνη, κραυγή (justice, lawlessness, fairness, [153] outcry). It proved impossible to replicate the MT's wordplays *mišpāt / miśpāḥ* and *ṣedāqāh / ṣeʿāqāh*. Instead, the LXX simply used the standard renderings of *mišpāt* as κρίσις, *ṣedāqāh* as δικαιοσύνη, and *ṣeʿāqāh* as κραυγή. The *hapax legomenon miśpāḥ* may have presented the translators with a problem, but they rendered it with the vague term ἀνομία (lawlessness).

A close examination of the text indicates that the translators of the LXX adjusted the imagery of Isa 5:1–7 in a variety of ways. Most obvious is the conversion of the entire unit into a first-person speech; less obvious is the reconceptualizing of the types of labour needed to create a productive vineyard, the shift of focus from the individual vine to the vineyard as a whole, and the pervasive influence of terminology that reflects the agricultural practices in Hellenistic Egypt.[61]

Mark 12:1, 9 and Isaiah 5:1–7

It is clear that Mark 12:1 (9) alludes to Isaiah 5. What remains to be decided is whether Mark knows Isaiah via the MT or the LXX. (Significant agreements with the LXX are underscored).

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[58] For example, *PSI* III 240 (I/II CE); γῆς χερσαμπέλου σιτο[σπο]‖[ρουμέν]ης; *P.Sarap* 103 (125 CE); *SB* VI 9190 (131 CE); *P.Oxy* IV 729 (137 CE); *P.RossGeorg* II 19 (141 CE); *P.Oxy* III 506 (143 CE): τὸ πρὶν ἀμπελικο‹ῦ› κτήματος νυν{ε}ὶ δὲ χερσαμπέλ[ου]; *P.RossGeorg* II 42 (II CE); *P.Thmouis* 1 (170/71 CE); *P.Ryl* II 222 (II CE); *P.Ryl* II 427 (II/III CE). Dry vineyards could, however, be used for the raising of grain and other crops less demanding of water (and would, of course, be subject to taxation).

[59] Similarly, Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 181: "Der letzte Begriff [χερσός] ist besonders aus dem Vorstellungskreis des alexandrinischen Bauern heraus zu verstehen; denn χερσός bedeutet nicht nur das Ödland, sondern im besonderen Sinne das Brachland, das unbebautet Land, das vorher Fruchtland war.... So hat der Übers. ein neues Bild gebracht, das zwar nicht genau die hebr. Vorlage wiedergibt, aber doch für den griech. Leser recht anschaulich ist."

[60] *PSI* IV 371.11 (250/49 BCE); *P.Lond* I 131.3.42, 4.83 (I, p. 166) (78 CE); *P.Oxy* VI 909 (225 CE).

[61] Similarly, Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 178.

Isa 5:1–7 MT	Mark 12:1, 9	Isa 5:1–7 LXX
. . .		
כֶּרֶם הָיָה לִידִידִי בְּקֶרֶן בֶּן־שָׁמֶן:	ἀμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν,	ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ ἐν κέρατι ἐν τόπῳ πίονι.
[2] וַיְעַזְּקֵהוּ וַיְסַקְּלֵהוּ	----------	----------
	καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμὸν	[2] καὶ φραγμὸν περιέθηκα
	----------	καὶ ἐχαράκωσα
וַיִּטָּעֵהוּ שֹׂרֵק		καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον σωρηχ
	καὶ ὤρυξεν ὑπολήνιον	
וַיִּבֶן מִגְדָּל בְּתוֹכוֹ	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν πύργον	καὶ ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτοῦ
וְגַם־יֶקֶב חָצֵב בּוֹ	. . . .	καὶ προλήνιον ὤρυξα ἐν αὐτῷ·
וַיְקַו לַעֲשׂוֹת עֲנָבִים		καὶ ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλήν,
וַיַּעַשׂ בְּאֻשִׁים:		ἐποίησεν δὲ ἀκάνθας.
[4] מַה־לַּעֲשׂוֹת עוֹד לְכַרְמִי	[9] τί οὖν ποιήσει ὁ κύριος	[4] τί ποιήσω ἔτι τῷ ἀμπελῶνί
וְלֹא עָשִׂיתִי בּוֹ מַדּוּעַ	τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος;	μου καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησα αὐτῷ;
קִוֵּיתִי לַעֲשׂוֹת עֲנָבִים	ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει	[154] διότι ἔμεινα τοῦ
וַיַּעַשׂ בְּאֻשִׁים:	τοὺς γεωργούς, καὶ δώσει	ποιῆσαι σταφυλήν, ἐποίησεν
	τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις.	δὲ ἀκάνθας.
[5] וְעַתָּה אוֹדִיעָה־נָּא אֶתְכֶם אֵת		[5] νῦν δὲ ἀναγγελῶ ὑμῖν τί
אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה לְכַרְמִי		ποιήσω τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου·
הָסֵר מְשׂוּכָּתוֹ וְהָיָה לְבָעֵר		ἀφελῶ τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτοῦ
פָּרֹץ גְּדֵרוֹ וְהָיָה לְמִרְמָס:		καὶ ἔσται εἰς διαρπαγήν, καὶ
		καθελῶ τὸν τοῖχον αὐτοῦ καὶ
		ἔσται εἰς καταπάτημα

Despite attempts to trace Mark 12:1, 9 to a putative Hebrew or Aramaic version of the parable, it seems likely that Mark is dependent exclusively on the LXX.

First, Mark's phrase ἀμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν continues the tendency, already visible in the LXX, to focus not on the vine but on the vineyard as a whole. It was this refocusing of the imagery of the MT that allowed the LXX to imagine thorns rather (ἄκανθαι) than rotten grapes (*beʾušîm*) as the product of the vineyard (5:3, 4). In Mark the object of ἐφύτευσεν (planted) is not ἄμπελον (a vine), but ἀμπελών (a vineyard) and in this respect, Mark's story intersects more closely with the LXX of Isaiah 5 than it does with the MT.

Of course, the trope of the vineyard functions quite differently in Mark; Mark's account introduces the idea of a tenancy agreement, which is foreign to

both forms of Isa 5:1–7. It should be noted, however, that in indicating that the failure of the vineyard was its being overrun by thorns, the LXX implies that neglect was involved, probably a failure to hoe and weed. Egyptian vineyard contracts regularly state that the tenant is to stake the vines, perform the hoeing, trenching, and pruning, and insure that the vines are watered properly.[62] [155] Invasion by thorns can only mean that the vineyard suffered extreme neglect from those appointed to care for it.[63] Hence the LXX, without expressly naming tenants, has human failure in view even before v. 7. We are still, however, far from Mark's scenario of revolt.

One could hypothesize that Mark's parable extrapolates developments in the LXX, reconfiguring the addressees of Isa 5:3 LXX (the "person of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem") or those of 5:7 ("house of Israel, person of Judah") as the rebellious tenants of the vineyard, this despite the facts that both the MT and the LXX conclude that Israel and Judah *are* the vineyard and neither suggests that a rebellion is at stake. Or, one might suggest that a tenancy story concerning a vineyard and the rebellion of its tenants attracted the Isa 5:1–7 LXX, because of it offered Mark (or some pre-Markan tradent) the interpretive possibility of construing the vineyard as Israel (or God's domain), whose first tenants refused God his due. In any case, there is no contact with the specifics of the MT in either regard.

Second, Mark shows no knowledge of what is unique to the MT's presentation of the preparation of the land, namely, the two initial verbs of digging (לעזק) and clearing the land of stones (לסקל). On the other hand, his reference to the building of a palisade (καὶ περιέθηκεν φραγμόν) reflects a specifically Septuagintal addition to the MT and mirrors the Egyptian viticultural practice that influenced the LXX translators.[64] The fact that the MT has *meśûkkāh* in v. 5 does not help an attempt to derive Mark from the MT, since Mark still reflects the LXX's choice to render *meśûkkāh*, probably a hedge of thorns, as φραγμός, a wooden or stone fence. Dependence on the LXX is here a virtual certainty.

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[62] E.g., *BGU* IV 1122 (Alexandria; 13 B.C.E). *P.Oxy* XIII 1692 (Oxyrhynchus; 188 CE) lists as duties of the tenant: the cutting and transporting of reeds (for supporting the vines), sweeping up cut reeds and transporting them outside the walls, hoeing around the vines, and trenching, planting (extra) vines in the necessary places, cutting of the new reeds for the reedwork, the arranging of the reeds, breaking up the ground, picking off the shoots, pruning the leaves, disposal of the pruned shoots, thinning the foliage, and stationing guards in the field. *P.Oxy* XIII 1631 (Oxyrhynchus; 280 CE) provides a similar list of duties.

[63] See *P.Oxy* IV 707 (Oxyrhynchus; 135 CE) for an account of legal proceedings in regard to vineyard that was neglected by its former tenants.

[64] Merrill Miller ("Scripture and Parable: A Study of the Function of the Biblical Features in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen and Their Place in the History of the Tradition," Ph.D. diss. [Columbia University, 1974], 62) suggests that the LXX's καὶ ἐχαράκωσα "may simply have been felt to be redundant."

It is true that Mark has effected some alterations to clause and word order: he combined the initial statement of ownership (LXX: ἀμπελὼν ἐγενήθη τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ) with the mention of the planting of the vines/vineyard (LXX: καὶ ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον σωρηχ) into a single clause (ἀμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν), and inverted the order of the building of the tower and the digging of the vat. Moreover, in the final three clauses, he standardized word order: where the LXX has φραγμὸν περιέθηκα, [**156**] ᾠκοδόμησα πύργον, and προλήνιον ὤρυξα, Mark consistently places the verb first. It should be noted, however, that Mark is no closer to the MT in this respect, which lacks entirely the enclosing of the plot with a palisade and like the LXX has the verb-object order in the clause concerning the digging of a vat (וגם־יקב חצב בו). Neither the LXX nor Mark has any equivalent to the emphatic *gam* of the MT.

Finally, Mark agrees with the LXX in using a more particular term in connection with the excavation of the vat. As suggest above, the MT's "he hewed out a *yeqeb*" treats the excavation of a vat as a metonymy for the building the entire pressing installation. The LXX's phrase is also metonymic, but rather than adopting the customary rendering of *yeqeb* as ληνός, the LXX translators interpreted it as a particular vat in the press, the προλήνιον. As also noted, the LXX's word is unattested until the fourth century CE and even then it appears only in commentaries on Isa 5:2 LXX rather than in more general discussions of pressing installations. Mark's choice of ὑπολήνιον appears simply to be the substitution of a more common term for vat and another Septuagintalism used to render *yeqeb*.[65]

The combination of Septuagintalisms that appear in Mark 12:1 and the lack of agreement with any of the particulars of the MT make the conclusion highly probable that Mark depends on the LXX. Some resist this conclusion. In defending a case that the parable is authentic and that the Isaianic allusions are original, Gundry asserts that Mark's ὑπολήνιον is closer to the MT than the LXX's προλήνιον, arguing that the latter is ambiguous (presumably, like *yeqeb*/ληνός).[66] But it is hardly ambiguous: προλήνιον with ὤρυξα must refer to a vat, even if προλήνιον is otherwise unattested in Greek literature of the period. The prefix προ- suggest that it is a collecting vat in front of the press. Mark's ὑπολήνιον, moreover, is dependent on a specifically *Septuagintal* rendering of *yeqeb*. In the end, Gundry seems to agree: "in its text-form this quotation is primarily Septuagintal."[67]

Aus strains to avoid the conclusion that Mark depends on the LXX.[68] He makes four points. First he stresses that the use of third person singular verbs

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[65] Above, n. 44. For other uses of ὑπολήνιον see Julius Pollux, *Onomasticon* 10.130; *P.Oxy* XIV 1735 (IV CE).

[66] Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, 44.

[67] Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament*, 44.

[68] Aus, *Wicked Tenants and Gethsemane*, 4–6.

in Mark 12:1 are closer to the MT than to the LXX. [**157**] This is technically correct (though the LXX's τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ in v. 1b betrays a third person) but hardly a convincing point, given the MT's constant shifts from the first (v. 1a) to the third (v. 1b–2) to the first (v. 3–6) to the third person (v. 7). And at 12:9, Mark is just as distant from the LXX as from the MT; while they use the first person, Mark has the third. If Mark displayed a complexity similar to that of the MT, *that* might evidence the influence of the MT; but he does not.

His second point is built on an elaborate conjecture: first, that Jesus borrowed *gadēr* from Isa 5:5 and used this to "paraphrase" Isaiah's יעזקהו ויסקפהו; then a "Hellenistic Jewish Christian" translated *gadēr* with περιέθηκεν φραγμόν, employing a phrase of the LXX. But one hardly needs so elaborate and hypothetical a solution when the LXX itself accounts for both Mark's verb and his substantive.

Aus's third point is that ὑπολήνιον in Mark demonstrates Mark's independence of the LXX.[69] There is a subtle *non sequitur* here: Mark's independence of the LXX indicates dependence on the MT. But this is precisely what Aus fails to show – that Mark is *dependent* on the MT, which clearly he is not. As noted above, ὑπολήνιον is itself Septuagintal.

The final point concerns Mark 12:9/Isa 5:4–5. Aus notes that whereas Mark and the LXX use the future, the MT puts the speaker's question in the present (מה-לעשות עוד לכרמי). But, he argues, the MT intended the future. It is difficult to see how this amounts to a compelling argument for Mark's use of the Hebrew version over the Greek, since whatever the MT's intent, Mark agrees with the future of the LXX, both in 5:4 and in 5:5. Aus claims, further, that the use of לבער ("to be destroyed") in 5:5 may have influenced Mark's ἀπολέσει in 12:9. This, however, is an argument that works only in English: לבער (or the idiom היה לבער, to be [destined] for destruction) is nowhere rendered by ἀπολλύειν. Thus Aus's conjectures are baseless. Despite his special pleadings, the LXX is closer to Mark than the MT.

Weren makes three points[70]: that Mark agrees with the third person verbs of the MT rather than the LXX, the point already made by Aus.[71] Second, Weren makes much of the fact that Mark inverts the word order of the LXX (above, p. 428). But this, like Aus's third point, is a *non sequitur*: deviation from the LXX does not amount to an argument for the influence of the MT. This is especially the case, [**158**] since the MT lacks an equivalent for περιέθηκεν φραγμόν; Mark departs from the subject-verb order of the MT=LXX in the case of phrase concerning the excavation of the vine vat, and the verb-subject order in the phrase concerning the planting of the vineyard; and Mark agrees with the LXX *and* the MT in the phrase concerning the tower. There are no agreements with the MT *against* the LXX.

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[69] Evans, "God's Vineyard," 401 n. 42; Weren, "Use of Isa 5,1–7," 9.
[70] Weren, "Use of Isa 5,1–7," 9–12.
[71] Similarly, Evans, "God's Vineyard," 401 n. 42.

Finally, Weren suggests that Mark agrees with "some nuances in the Hebrew text which are absent in the LXX": "I will make it [the vineyard] a waste" and "bloodshed" as well as the question of Mark 12:9.[72] As I have already argued, the final point about the question of Mark 12:9 is vacuous, since Mark agrees with the future of the LXX. The conjecture that אשיתוה בתה is reflected in Mark's ἀπολλύειν fares no better than Aus's suggestion concerning לבער: since the meaning of בתה in v. 6 can only be guessed at,[73] it is baseless to claim that Mark here stands closer to the MT. The same goes for the *hapaxlegomenon miśpaḥ*, which perhaps means "bloodshed."[74] Obviously, the killing of the son in Mark is a case of bloodshed. But Mark does not use the term αἷμα (blood), the usual term associated with bloodshed in the Bible.[75] It is hard to see, then, how Mark's story is closer to the MT than the LXX, which uses terms no less appropriate to Mark's story – but terms also not actually attested in the story – , ἀνομία (lawlessness) and κραυγή (outcry).

For his part, Snodgrass concedes the similarities of Mark 12:1 to the LXX, but tries to mitigate their force with the claim: "that some LXX wording was used is no proof at all [of the secondary nature of the quotation] since this may reflect only an assimilation to the LXX in either the oral or written period."[76] Secondary assimilation of a quotation to the LXX is, of course, a possibility. But in order to render [**159**] likely the possibility of assimilation, one should be able to appeal to at least *some* elements in the text that are unassimilated, i.e., elements which agree with the MT against the LXX or which are closer to the MT or some textual development of the MT. The difficulty with the arguments of Snodgrass and Weren is that Mark fails to agree with the MT against the LXX *at any point*. There is then little basis for the conclusion that the Isaian allusions existed in a putative pre-Markan Aramaic or Hebrew version of the parable.

To conclude. A careful comparison of the MT of Isa 5:1–7 with the version in the LXX shows that the LXX has reconceived the scenario of Isaiah's vineyard in various ways. For the LXX the vineyard was not created from virgin soil but

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[72] Weren, "Use of Isa 5,1–7," 11. Similarly, Evans, "God's Vineyard," 401 n. 42.

[73] See above, n. 53.

[74] See above, n. 22.

[75] In the more obvious phrases having to do with bloodshed, the LXX regularly renders them with αἷμα: e.g., Isa 1:15: ידיכם דמים מלאו, LXX: αἱ γὰρ χεῖρες ὑμῶν αἵματος πλήρεις; 4:4: ואת־דמי ירושלים ידיח; LXX: καὶ τὸ αἷμα ἐκκαθαριεῖ; 26:21: ונלתה הארץ שת־דמיה; LXX: καὶ ἀνακαλύψει ἡ γῆ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῆς.

[76] Snodgrass, *Wicked Tenants*, 47. Compare Schmeller, "Der Erbe des Weinbergs," 194: "Sowohl am Anfang wie am Ende des Gleichnisses finden sich deutliche Bezugnahmen auf Jes. 5. An beiden Stellen begegnen Anklänge an LXX, die auf eine sekundäre Bearbeitung schließen lassen. An beiden Stellen begegnen aber auch gewisse Anklänge an MT, die zeigen, daß Bezüge auf Jes 5 wohl schon zum ursprünglichen Gleichnis gehörten und sekundär verstärkt wurden."

probably transformed from existing agricultural land; correspondingly, the fate of the vineyard is to become χέρσος, unproductive agricultural land. For the LXX, the failure of the land has not so much to do with the initial planting going bad, but with the infiltration of the vineyard by weeds and thorns and this, in turn, points to neglect by its caretakers. Hence, the LXX has modified the discourse of the MT, for which the vineyard *is* Israel and Judah; the LXX has implicitly distinguished the vineyard from its caretakers. Finally, the LXX has introduced terminology that reflects distinctively Egyptian viticultural practices: the building of a φραγμός, the use of stakes, and the use of terms such as νεόφυτος and χέρσος.

In comparing Mark with the two versions of Isaiah, what is clear is that Mark agrees with the LXX against in the MT, both in the use of φραγμός and in locating (implicitly or explicitly) the failure of the vineyard in the activity or inactivity of its caretakers. Moreover, Mark and the LXX lack any indication that the vineyards in questions are newly broken plots; that is, they reflect Ptolemaic and post-Ptolemaic agricultural patterns rather than those of eighth-century BCE Judah assumed by the MT. In brief, Mark agrees with the LXX but never with the MT *against* the LXX. If one adopts the reasonable supposition that the historical Jesus spoke mainly in Aramaic or Hebrew and *if* the parable is authentic, it seems doubtful that the original parable made an explicit allusion to Isaiah 5. The allusions now in the text of Mark are purely Septuagintal.

Addendum

Against my contention that Mark fails to agree with the MT against the LXX, Craig Evans ("How Septuagintal is Isa. 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9?" *NovT* 45, no. 2 (2003) 105–110) observes that Mark agrees with the MT's third-person verbs (חבץ, ויבן, ויטעהו) against the LXX's first-person and suggests that that the original parable reflects the influence of the Targum of Isaiah. But it should be noted in this connection that Mark also disagrees with the *Tg. Isa.* 5,1–7, which like the LXX uses the first person. Evans' observation may be granted, but it hardly needs stating that insofar as the parable is telling a *story* rather than reporting a speech, the use of the third person is required. Mark could not retain the first person regardless of whether his immediate source was the MT, the LXX, or the *Tg. Isaiah*. This "agreement" is thus without source-critical significance. The difficulty with the arguments of Evans (and others) is that Mark fails to agree with the MT against the LXX *at any point*. There is then no basis (beyond special pleading) for the conclusion that the Isaian allusions existed in a putative pre-Markan Aramaic or Hebrew version of the parable.

See my response to Evans, "Isa 5:1–7 LXX and Mark 12:1, 9, Again," *NovT* 46, no. 1 (2004): 12–19. A fuller treatment of the citation of Isaiah 5 in Mark is available in John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Ag-*

rarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine (WUNT 195; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), chap. 6. The subsequent interpretation history of Isaiah 5 in 4Q162 (4QpIsa^{b}), 4Q500 (4QpapBened), *t.Sukk.* 3.15, Tg. Isa 5.1–7; and Origen, *Commentarium in Matthaeum* (17.6–7) is discussed in *The Tenants in the Vineyard*, 88–99.

John P. Meier ("The Parable of the Wicked Tenants in the Vineyard: Is the Gospel of Thomas Independent of the Synoptics?" in *Unity and Diversity in the Gospels and Paul: Essays in Honor of Frank J. Matera* [ed. Christopher W. Skinner and Kelly R. Iverson; Early Christianity and Its Literature 7; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012], 129–145) seems to conclude that the Isaian reference is original, even though he seems aware of the Septuagintal nature of the citation. His main interest in the allusion is to make the argument that the absence of allusion in *Gos. Thom.* 65 reflects Lukan redaction. Accordingly, he tries to argue that Luke's ἐφύτευσεν ἄμπελωνα is not an allusion to Isa 5:2 (135 n. 16). He seems not to realize that "planting" a vineyard is not essential to Luke's story (or, for that, to Mark's or Matthew's story), but because of this, the presence of ἐφύτευσεν points ineluctably to dependence on Isaiah. Thomas's version, by contrast, only indicates that the man *has* a vineyard.

Chapter 15

Self-Help or *Deus ex Machina* in Mark 12:9?[1]

Opinion on the parable of the Tenants (Mark 12:1a–9; *Gos. Thom.* 65) divides into three main camps. Some, following Adolf Jülicher and W.G. Kümmel, argue [**496**] that the parable is so lacking in historical verisimilitude and

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[1] First published as "Self-Help or *Deus Ex Machina* in Mark 12.9?" *NTS* 50 (2004): 495–518. © Cambridge University Press 2004. Reprinted with permission.

Abbreviations of papyri cited: *BGU*: *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den königlichen [staatlichen] Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*. 4 vols. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1895–1912); *CPR*: *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri* (Vienna: kaiserliche königliche Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, etc., 1895–1991); *MChr*: L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* II. Band, *Juristischer Teil*, II. Hälfte, *Chrestomathie* (Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1912); *P.CairoZenon*: C.C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri*, 5 vols. (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1925–1940); *P.ColZenon*: W.L. Westermann, *et. al.*, *Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. dealing with Palestine and Egypt*. Columbia Papyri 3–4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934–1940); *P.Enteuxeis*: O. Guéraud, *ΕΝΤΕΥΞΕΙΣ: Requêtes et plaintes addressées au Roi d'Egypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1931); *P.Flor*: *Papiri greco-egizii pubblicati dalla R. Accademia dei Linzei. Papiri Fiorentini*, 3 vols. (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1905–1915);

P.Gurob: J.G. Smyly, ed. *Greek Papyri from Gurob*, Cunningham Memoirs 12 (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1921); *P.Hal*: *Dikaiomata: Auszüge aus alexandrinischen Gesetzen und Verordnungen in einem Papyrus des Philologischen Seminars der Universität Halle*, (Berlin 1913); *P.Hib*: *The Hibeh Papyri*, 2 vols. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1906–1955); *P.Köln*: *Kölner Papyri*, 7 vols. (Köln-Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976–1991); *P.Lond: Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. 7 vols. (London: British Museum, 1893–1974); *P.Mich: Michigan Papyri*. (Ann Arbor, etc.: University of Michigan Press, etc., 1931); *P.MichMchl:* E.M. Michael, *A Critical Edition of Select Michigan Papyri* (Diss. University of Michigan, 1966); *P.Mur: Pierre Benoit, ed. Les grottes de Murabba'ât.* DJD 2. (Oxford: Clarendon 1961); *P.Oxy: The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1898–); *P.RossGeorg*: Gregor Zereteli, *et al. Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*. 4 vols. (Tiflis: Universitatslithographie, 1925–35); *P.Ryl*: *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library*. 4 vols. (Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1911–1952); *PSI*: *Papiri greci e latini*. Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto. 15 vols. (Firenze: F. Le Monnier, 1912–1966); *P.Soter*: Sayed Omar, ed. *Das Archiv von Soterichos (P. Soterichos)* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1978); *P.Tebt*: *The Tebtunis Papyri*. 4 vols. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1902–1976); *P.Yadin*: [=*P.Babatha*]: N. Lewis, *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989); *SB*: F. Preisigke, *et al. Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*. Strassburg and Wiesbaden: Trubner and Harrassowitz, 1915–.

presupposes for its intelligibility specifically Christian confessions concerning Jesus and beliefs about God's judgment of Israel that it can only have been composed after Jesus' death as an allegory illustrating beliefs of the Jesus movement.[2] A second group of scholars argues that a first-century Judaean or Galilean audience could well have made sense of the parable in Mark 12:1b–9, either as it stands[3] or by bracketing a few redactional phrases,[4] and without the benefit of the confessions and beliefs of the [497] later Jesus movement. This is because the story is said to employ metaphors that would be readily intelligible to Jesus' Jewish audience. This view normally entails the claim that Jesus was speaking self-referentially when he described the activities and fate of the "beloved son,"[5] although a few scholars try to avoid the self-referential im-

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[2] Adolf Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (2. Aufl.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1888–1899 [repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963, 1976]), 2:385–406, esp. 402–6; Werner Georg Kümmel, "Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtner (Mark 12,1–9)," in *Aux sources de la tradition chrétienne: Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel à l'occasion de son soixante-dixième anniversaire* (Bibliothèque théologique; Neuchâtel and Paris: Delachaux and Niestlé, 1950), 120–31. See also Alfred Firmin Loisy, *Les évangiles synoptiques* (Ceffonds, Près Montier-en-Der: Chez l'auteur, 1907–8), 2:298–320; Ernst Haenchen, *Der Weg Jesu: Eine Erklärung des Markus-Evangeliums und der kanonischen Parallelen* (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1966), 401–5; Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967), 269–73; Josef Blank, "Die Sendung des Sohnes: Zur christologischen Bedeutung des Gleichnisses von den bösen Winzen Mk 12,1–12," in *Neues Testament und Kirche: Für Rudolf Schnackenburg zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. Joachim Gnilka; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1974), 11–41; Charles E. Carlston, *The Parables of the Triple Tradition* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 183–85; Mary Ann Tolbert, *Sowing the Gospel: Mark's World in Literary-Historical Perspective* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 236–37; Ulrich Mell, *Die "anderen" Winzer: Eine exegetische Studie zur Vollmacht Jesu Christi nach Markus 11,27–12,34* (WUNT 76; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 114–15.

[3] Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT 2; Freiburg, Basel and Wien: Herder, 1976–1977 [2. Aufl. 1977–1980]), 2:213–23 argues that 12:1a–9 is an authentic parable (including vv. 5b, 9), but that 12:10–11 has been added later on the basis of a word play in Hebrew or Aramaic between son (בן) and stone (אבן). Vv. 1a and 12 are Markan redaction. Klyne R. Snodgrass, *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants* (WUNT 7; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), 72–112 is loath to consider even vv. 10–11 secondary, and argues that vv. 1a, 12 accurately reflect the original discursive setting of the parable. He believes that the supposed word play is original.

[4] Hans-Josef Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese in synoptischen Gleichnistexten* (NTAbh NF 13; Münster: Aschendorff, 1978), 287–89, 310–11 treats as secondary the allusions to Isa 5:1–7 (Mark 12:1b, 9), 12:5b, ἀγαπητός in v. 6, the phrases δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτόν (cf. Gen 37:20) in v. 7 and λάβοντες αὐτόν (Gen 37:24) in v. 8, and vv. 10–11, as well as the redactional frame in 12:1a, 12.

[5] Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:222: "Als ein Gleichnis Jesu ist der Text ein hochbedeutsames Dokument für Jesu Selbst- und Sendungsbewußtwein sowie für Ziel and Anspruch seines Jerusalemer Auftretens, ferner für die Voraussetzungen des im Abendmahlstext

plications of the parable altogether,[6] or argue that the "son" here refers to John the Baptist.[7] On any of these views, however, the parable still offers an allegorical reading of the history of Israel: it expressed God's continuous assertions of sovereignty and his unrelenting efforts to win repentance,[8] or it served as a threat of judgment and destruction,[9] depending on whether the statement about the destruction of the tenants in v. 9 is considered part of the original parable or not.

The third approach follows in the train of C.H. Dodd and Joachim Jeremias, insisting that the parables of Jesus are realistic fictions.[10] This approach tries to

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(14.22–25) überlieferten Todesverständnisses Jesu. Der in der Parabel greifbare eschatologische Vollmachtsanspruch Jesu ist eine grundlegende Voraussetzung urkirchlicher Christologie."

[6] Aaron Milavec, "A Fresh Analysis of the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen in the Light of Jewish-Christian Dialogue," in *Parable and Story in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. Clemens Thoma and Michael Wyschogrod; New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 101–4 urges that the "son' was not identified as Jesus by Mark or by Jesus' audience, since the Messiah as never identified as "heir," and the details of the son's murder do not correspond to the details of Jesus' death at the hands of the Romans outside the walls of Jerusalem. He argues, moreover, that Matthew did not regard Mark's story as allegorical, since he dropped the key phrases, ἔσχατον, ἔτι ἕνα εἶχεν and ἀγαπητόν. (Milavec does not notice that Matthew substitutes ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέστειλεν for Mark's ἔσχατον, thus preserving the sense of finality).

[7] Arthur Gray, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen," *HibJ* 19 (1920–21): 42–52; Malcolm Lowe, "From the Parable of the Vineyard to a Pre-Synoptic Source," *NTS* 28 (1982): 257–65; Merrill Miller, "Scripture and Parable: A Study of the Function of the Biblical Features in the Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen and Their Place in the History of the Tradition," Ph.D. diss. (Columbia University, 1974), 390–408; David Stern, "Jesus' Parables from the Perspective of Rabbinic Literature: The Example of the Wicked Husbandmen," in *Parable and Story in Judaism and Christianity* (ed. Clemens Thoma and Michael Wyschogrod; New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 42–80; Thomas Schmeller, "Der Erbe des Weinbergs: Zu den Gerichtsgleichnissen Mk 12,1–12 und Jes 5,1–7," *MTZ* 46 (1995): 183–201.

[8] Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 308–9.

[9] Snodgrass, *Wicked Tenants*, 109; Arland J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 361–62.

[10] The insistence of realism as a feature of a parable (as opposed to an allegorical narrative) goes back to Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 1:97: "The similitude [Gleichnis] guards against all opposition by speaking of what is indubitably true; the parable [Fabel] aspires to overcome resistance by speaking the story to attractively, so warmly and freshly, that the auditor will not be able to think of any objection. It makes the matter seem so probable that the auditor does not ask whether it is true" [my translation]. Similarly C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (Rev. ed; London: James Nisbet & Co., 1961), 5: "At its simplest the parable is a metaphor or simile drawn from nature or common life, arresting the hearer by its vividness or strangeness, and leaving the mind in sufficient doubt about its precise application to tease it into active thought." See also Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (Revised edition [based on 8th 1970 German ed.]; trans. S.H. Hooke; London: SCM Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 11–12; Geraint V. Jones, *The Art and Truth of the Parables: A Study in Their Literary Form and Modern Interpretation* (London: SPCK, 1964), 112–14; Amos Niven Wilder, *The Language of the Gospel: Early Christian Rhetoric*

[**498**] recover a non-allegorical, realistic story behind Markan redaction or in the *Gospel of Thomas*, a procedure that normally involves stripping away certain details of the parable such as the allusions to Isa 5:1–7 LXX, the awkward summarizing statement in v. 5b, the designation of the "son" as ἀγαπητός, and part or all of verse 9.

While the conclusions of Jülicher and Kümmel are founded (in part) on the claim that the parable lacks verisimilitude with social and economic conditions of Jewish Palestine and thus distinguishes itself from Jesus' other parables, both the second and the third approaches require verisimilitude. This is obvious, of course, in the case of the third view: it is basic to the approach of Dodd and Jeremias and their successors to reconstruct a story whose details are essentially credible, even if the story concerns a rather singular or shocking event. For on this view the parable gains its effect, first by evoking in the hearer certain expectations or beliefs about the world or cultural scripts, and then challenging or problematizing those expectations, beliefs, and scripts through its narrative. But it can do this only if the story is told in a generally realistic mode.

But realism is also important to the second, metaphorical, approach. On this view, even though the parable is said to contain elements that have metaphorical valences and that the act of interpretation amounts to the hearer assembling various metaphorical elements into a coherent picture, a high degree of realism is required in the base or "host story." If the host story were to be unrealistic or to contain implausible elements, the picture evoked at the metaphorical level would likewise lack coherence and therefore conviction.

An example of the metaphorical approach is found in Hans-Josef Klauck's treatment of the parable. He rejects the thoroughgoing allegorizing of all of the [**499**] elements of the parable, since this inevitably produces incoherences or aporiae. For example, since the vineyard is ultimately taken away from the tenants, it is difficult to identify it with Israel. And the temptation to equate the

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(New York: Harper & Row; London: SCM Press, 1964), 81: "[T]he impact of the parables lay in their immediate, realistic authenticity. In the parable of the lost sheep, the shepherd is an actual shepherd, and not a flash-back to God as the shepherd of Israel or to the hoped-for Messiah who will shepherd Israel. To press these images in this way is to pull the stories out of shape and to weaken their thrust." Similarly, Eta Linnemann, *Parables of Jesus: Introduction and Exposition* (trans. John Sturdy; London: SPCK, 1975), 3–4 (citing Jülicher's definition); Norman Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom: Symbol and Metaphor in New Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 104: "The parables of Jesus are pictures and stories drawn from *petit-bourgeois* and peasant life in Palestine under the early Roman emperors. They are not myths employing archetypal symbols; they are not fables exploiting the universal features of the human conditions; they are not folk tales appealing to the collective experience of a people as a people. They are vivid and concrete pictures and stories drawn from the details of a particular situation at a given time and in a given place"; Charles W. Hedrick, *The Parables as Poetic Fictions: The Creative Voice of Jesus* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 39–56.

slaves with the prophets faces the objection that the mission of the prophets in the Hebrew Bible was not to collect "fruit," but rather to encourage repentance.[11] But Klauck also rejects the thorough de-allegorizing of the parable. Instead, he insists on the metaphoricity of selected elements of the parable and assembles these into a coherent picture. His principle of selection derives from other elements of the Jesus tradition that appear also to have had metaphorical valences. The figure of the vineyard, although it acquired various metaphorical senses in the Hebrew Bible and the literature of Second Temple Judaism, has no obvious metaphorical sense in Matthew's parables of the vineyard workers (Matt 20:1–16) or the two sons (Matt 21:28). And if the vineyard is without metaphorical significance, neither does the notion of "inheritance" (v. 8), which the parable identifies with the vineyard. But the δοῦλοι of the parable in this and other parables, though they do not refer to the prophets, function generally to illustrate the relationship between humans and God. The main figure of the parable must refer to God; and the "son," though it need not evoke specifically messianic beliefs, "refers in an indirect fashion to the person and activities of Jesus, just as do the figures of the physician, the bridegroom and the sower."[12] From this, and from the narrative structure of the parable, it follows that Jesus was conscious that he was in the final stages of his activities and that his (violent) death was near. Thus Klauck concludes,[13]

> in the parable of the wicked vinedressers, Jesus expresses his own fate in an indirect, i.e., parabolic, relation to the kingdom. His death is the unavoidable result of the mission to which he is committed. But his death remains rooted in the will of God, who will bring about his kingdom, even if its envoys are frustrated. Thus the parable decisively makes a claim about God and his continuous claims to sovereignty – a fact that agrees with the formal observation concerning the central role played by the owner at the level of the narrative.

This point, however, can have its effect only if the general narrative structure of the parable exhibits verisimilitude. The metaphorical picture is as it were parasitic on the "host story," and were the host story to prove incredible, the logic of the metaphorical picture would be contaminated. So Klauck, drawing on Martin [**500**] Hengel's influential essay on the parable of the tenants and the Zenon papyri,[14] argues that the essential details of the host story are thoroughly

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[11] Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 307: "Von Jesaja her ist die Identifizierung Israels mit dem unfruchtbaren Weinberg, der zerstört wird, vorgegeben. In der Parabel bleibt der Weinberg erhalten, Israel scheint eher den Part der Pächter zu übernehmen. Auch der Vergleich von Knechten und Propheten ist nicht spannungslos. Die Propheten wollen Gottes Wort zu Gehör bringen und zur Umkehr mahnen, nicht aber Früchte einsammeln, und seien es Früchte der Buße."

[12] Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 308–9, here 309.

[13] Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 309.

[14] The first efforts to ground details of the story in the historical of Jewish Palestine are found in Dodd, *Parables*, 94, who related the conflict in the story to tensions between economically disadvantaged peasants and the Jewish and Roman élite. Hengel's essay ("Das Gleichnis von den bösen Weingärtnern, Mc 12:1–12 im Lichte der Zenonpapyri und der

credible: it was unexceptional for vineyard owners to lease out (ἐκδιδόναι) their vineyards and become absentees; crop-share leases, implied by Mark's λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος (12:2), were one of the usual types of leases; it was not unusual for tenants to resist the extractions of owners; and occasions of physical violence are attested. Hence, "[t]he parable of the vinedressers employs realistic set-scenes on the narrative level. Realism is no more strained and no farther removed than in other parables."[15]

Other advocates of a metaphorical approach to the Tenants argue for an even greater degree of metaphoricity. Both Ruldolf Pesch and Klyne Snodgrass argue that the parable began with an allusion to Isa 5:1–7 – a feature which would incline the parable to be understood as a story about God and God's people.[16] The sequence of servants sent and abused would inevitably have been heard as a metaphor for the mistreatment of the prophets by Israel, culminating in the murder of the final eschatological messenger, Jesus. Because both Pesch and Snodgrass believe that Mark 12:9, with its allusion to Isa 5:4, is part of the original parable, both think that the parable functioned as a threat of judgment against those who rejected Jesus (Pesch), specifically the priestly élite (Snodgrass).[17] At the [**501**] same time, however, both insist that the host narrative is thoroughly realistic, without any subtraction of elements such as the allusion to

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rabbinischen Gleichnisse," *ZNW* 59 [1968]: 1–39) provides a detailed analysis of features of Mark's story against the background of agrarian conflict evidenced in the Zenon archive. For an complete inventory of the Zenon archive, see Pieter W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (in collaboration with W. Clarysse, et al.; Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 21; Leiden, New York, København, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1981).

Klauck is rightly dubious of the efforts of J.D.M. Derrett ("The Parable of the Wicked Vinedressers," in *Law in the New Testament* [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1970], 286–312) to root the tenants' claim to the owner's land in the principle of *usucaptio*.

[15] Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 297.

[16] Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:213: 'Es gehört gerade zur Kunst der Erzähler, daß er nicht von Angang an allegorisch erzählt – ἄνθρωπος (V 1b) ist keine Metapher für Gott! – , aber die Deutung der 'gehandelten Welt', auf die er mit der Parabel zielt, doch durch deutliche Fingerzeige in Arrangement und Begrifflichkeit erreicht. Die keineswegs nur als LXX-Zitat begriefbare Anspielung auf Jes 5.2, 5 in V 1, die in V 9 durch abermalige Anspielung auf Jes 5.5 ergänzt wird, dürfte ebenso ursprünglicher Fingerzeig sein, wie die (die nach der Regel der Dreizahl) erfolgende dreimalige Sendung eines Knechtes – hierauf allein ist die Revel zu beziehen! –) überbietende Sendung vieler anderer Knechte (V 5b), welche erst die Sendung des Sohnes, des Erben, als letzten Boten unumgänglich, plausibel macht."

[17] Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:221: "die Pointe der Parabel ist eine Gerichtsdrohung und damit eine Warnung vor der Ablehnung Jesus als des letzten Boten und seiner besonderen Vollmacht (vgl. 11,27-33)"; similarly, Snodgrass, *Wicked Tenants*, 109: "The parable is an accusation and a threat against the Jewish leaders, but at the same time it is a veiled claim of Jesus to be the authoritative and decisive representative from God." Similarly, Alexander Weihs, *Jesus und das Schicksal der Propheten: Das Winzergleichnis (Mk 12,1–12) im Horizont des Markusevangeliums* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 61; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 79–80 n. 220.

Isa 5:1–7 in 12:1, 9, or the awkward phrase in 12:5b, which Klauck had eliminated as redactional.[18] Craig Evans further tries to show that Mark's setting of the Tenants, which directs the parable against the priestly élite of Jerusalem, is thoroughly plausible given the fact that ancient lessees were not uniformly "peasants" but could also be more privileged renters.[19] With this argument, Evans hopes to establish that the hearers of Jesus' [**502**] parable could well identify the tenants with the priestly élite, as "tenants" working in God's

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[18] Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:213–23; Snodgrass, *Wicked Tenants*, 31–40.

[19] Craig A. Evans, "God's Vineyard and Its Caretakers," in *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (AGAJU 25; Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 384–90; idem, "Are the Wicked Tenant Farmers 'Peasants'?: Jesus' Parable and Lease Agreements in Antiquity," in *Jesus and His Contemporaries: Comparative Studies* (AGAJU 25; Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 231–50; idem, "Jesus' Parable of the Tenants in Light of Lease Agreements in Antiquity," *JSP* 14 (1996): 73–80. While it may be granted that some lessees were persons of means, this was by no means the rule. There are, moreover, several problems with Evans' use of evidence: (1) He suggests that the Apollonios son of Apollonios named in *P.Ryl* IV 583 (170 BCE) is "quite possibl[y]" the son of Apollonios the *dioiketes* of Ptolemy II Philadelphus mentioned in the Zenon papyri ('God's Vineyard', 384). This is unlikely, since (a) the former Apollonios is designated a "Persian of the Epigone" (see below, n. 66), and (b) the vineyard in question is only 6 arourae (1.65 ha., 4.1 acres), hardly a large holding. *P.Ryl* IV 583 is clearly not part of the Zenon archive. (2) Evans cites *P.Lond* II 256r (E), which is an order to deliver seed grain to the "public farmers" (δημόσιοι γεωργοί), but concludes that this designation implies that they are not "poor peasants." Evans misunderstands the designation, which is usually collective and refers to peasants who farmed crown land (accounting for about 90% of the land). The document in question is an order to the *sitologos* to dispense a loan of wheat to a group of crown tenants in the amount of 483 artabae (538 bu.) of seed grain. A separate order from a later period written on the same papyrus (*P.Lond* II 256r D) provides a break-down of 807½ artabae (=899.5 bu.) of seed grain loaned to a number of individual crown farmers, which range from 11-36½ artabae (= 12-40.6 bu.), indicating that individually these are small cultivators. On "crown farmers" and "public farmers," see Mikhail I. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C., a Study in Economic History* (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History 6; Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1922), 86–87 and Jane Rowlandson, "Freedom and Subordination in Ancient Agriculture: The Case of the *Basilikoi Georgoi* of Ptolemaic Egypt," *History of Political Thought* 6 (1985): 327–47; idem, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford Classical Monographs; Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1996), 93–95. (3) Finally, Evans interprets the *praxis* clause of *P.Ryl* IV 582, which in the case of default permits the lessor to attach the property of the lessee, to imply that "the lessee was a man of some means and not a poor peasant or day-labourer." Of course, by definition, the lessee was not a "day labourer"; but the *praxis* clause to which Evans points is a standard execution clause in most leases, and tells use nothing *in itself* about the status of the lessee. Evans also overlooks the fact that even poorer farmers had property – cloaks, household goods, etc. – that could be attached. On the execution clause, see Adolf B. Berger, *Die Strafklauseln in den Papyrusurkunden: Ein Beitrag zum grako-ägyptischen Obligationenrecht* (repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1965; repr., Leipzig and Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1911) and Hans Julius Wolff, "The *Praxis*-Provision in Papyrus Contracts," *TAPA* 72 (1941): 418–38.

possession.[20] Most recently Arland Hultgren has advocated what I have termed a "metaphorical approach" to the Tenants, arguing that the original story encouraged the hearer to identify the owner with God,[21] the slaves with the prophets,[22] the son with Jesus (expressing an implicit Christology), and the new tenants with an imagined new leadership for Israel. Thus the parable is a parable of judgment aimed at the priestly élite and expresses Jesus' own consciousness of his coming death.[23] Nevertheless, Hultgren also insists that the features of the story are not unrealistic and that it is not absurd to think that an owner would send his son when previous envoys had been mistreated, or that the tenants might have believed that they might come into possession of the vineyard by resisting the extractions of the owner, or again that the owner at the end would reassert his claims to the vineyard.[24]

Thus while it is possible to admit that some of the actions described in the "host story" might be striking or even somewhat unusual – such as tenants killing a legal heir –, there must be an isomorphic relationship between the basic claims, assumptions, and narrative line of the host story and the claims and assumptions made at the level of the metaphorical picture. Just as vineyard owners normally let out their properties, expect rent, employ agents, might anticipate resistance, and are entitled to assert their claims by force if necessary and to re-let their properties, so God has a proprietary relationship with Israel and despite resistance – even violent resistance –, it is credible that God would continue to exert claims to sovereignty via agents and a son (Klauck) and even to dispossess with force those who resist his claims and turn his favour to others (Pesch; Snodgrass; Evans; Hultgren). [**503**]

Mark 12:9 and the Original Parable

One of the key disagreements among those who maintain the realism of the parable concerns the final sequence of the Markan version, where the owner

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[20] While insisting on the realism of the parable, Evans ("God's Vineyard," 390–97, 405) also cites rabbinic parables in which characters act in "illogical and unreasonable ways." This observation cuts against his first point, since the actions of the characters in Mark must be judged either realistic or illogical, but not both.

[21] Although Hultgren (*Parables of Jesus*, 357, 361) recognizes that the allusion to Isa 5:2 in Mark 12:1 is Septuagintal, he nonetheless asserts that the parable is based on Isa 5:1–7.

[22] Hultgren (*Parables of Jesus*, 361–62) argues, following Gos. Thom. that the original parable had only two servants (neither killed), followed by the son. 'The popular 'rule of three' could have been employed, which would have required the sending of one slave and then two others, followed by the sending of the son (as in Luke), or (more likely) the sending of one slave, then another, followed by the son (as in the *Gospel of Thomas*)."

[23] Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 361–62.

[24] Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 362–67, following Derrett's ("Wicked Husbandmen") speculation about the tenant's resort to laws of adverse possession.

takes it into his own hands to destroy the first tenants and then to relet the vineyard to others. Opinion does not divide neatly on this issue, although virtually all advocates of a thoroughly realistic story – Dodd and Jeremias' approach – exclude either v. 9b (the destruction of the tenants and the re-letting of the vineyard) or the entire rhetorical question and answer (v. 9ab).[25] Those who adhere to a metaphorical interpretation, with the exception of Klauck,[26] include all of v. 9 in the parable.[27]

The issue turns not on Mark's phrase, καὶ δώσει τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἄλλοις, which is in fact a thoroughly realistic element of the story, though Jülicher thought otherwise.[28] Lease agreements regularly contained a clause permitting

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[25] V. 9b as secondary: Dodd, *Parables*, 96; B.T.D. Smith, *The Parables in the Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 224; Dan Otto Via, *The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 135; Hengel, "Das Gleichnis," 7, 18, 31; Jane E. Newell and Raymond R. Newell, "The Parable of the Wicked Tenants," *NovT* 14 (1972): 236; Hans Weder, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu als Metaphern: Traditions- und redaktionsgeschichtliche Analysen und Interpretationen* (FRLANT 120; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 149; William R. Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 100.

V. 9 as a whole as secondary: Arthur T. Cadoux, *The Parables of Jesus: Their Art and Use* (New York: MacMillan, 1931; repr., London: James Clark, 1930), 42 (apparently); Jeremias, *Parables*, 74 (but on p. 76 Jeremias speaks as if the "others" were part of the parable); Alfred Suhl, *Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen im Markusevangelium* (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1965), 140; Tim Schramm, *Der Markus-Stoff bei Lukas: eine Literarkritische und redaktionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (SNTSMS 14; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 163; John Dominic Crossan, *In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 90, 95; Bernard Brandon Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 250–51; James D. Hester [aka J. David Hester Amador], "Socio-Rhetorical Criticism and the Parable of the Tenants," *JSNT* 45 (1992): 33, 49.

[26] Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 288, 308, 309.

[27] Those who argue for the presence of v. 9 in the original: Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:214; Snodgrass, *Wicked Tenants*, 87–95; Brad H. Young, *Jesus and His Jewish Parables: Rediscovering the Roots of Jesus' Teaching* (Theological Inquiries; New York and Mahwah: Paulist Press, 1988), 282–316 (without any argument); John R. Donahue, *The Gospel in Parable: Metaphor, Narrative, and Theology in the Synoptic Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 53–56; Milavec, "Fresh Analysis," 106–7; Roger D. Aus, *The Wicked Tenants and Gethsemane: Isaiah in the Wicked Tenants Vineyard and Moses and the High Priest in Gethsemane* (University of South Florida International Studies in Formative Judaism and Christianity 4; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1996), 5, 7; Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 365.

[28] Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:16: "The man who leases his vineyard to unreliable tenants, without any legal guarantees when he leaves the country, who sacrifices one servant after another to the brutal mistreatment of those good-for-nothings without noticing the futility of his approach, and, when all his servants have been murdered nevertheless offers his only son when he also possess the power at the end to dispatch the tenants and the desire to find yet another set of farmers – this is a vineyard owner who is every bit as unlikely a person as tenants who not only withhold from the owner what belongs to him, but engage in

the lessor, [**504**] in the event of default, to expel (ἐβάλλειν) the lessee from the object of the lease and to re-let it (μεταμισθοῦν) to others.[29] Rather, the issue has to do with the Mark's rhetorical question, τί [οὖν] ποιήσει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος; and the owner's remedy: ἐλεύσεται καὶ ἀπολέσει τοὺς γεωργούς, a remedy which in legal terms is 'self-help' – the satisfaction of a real or pretended claim without the permission of the opponent and without the intervention of a court.[30].

Three arguments have been adduced against the originality of v. 9. The first is form-critical. Ever since Dodd it has been argued that while a parable might end in a question, it was not characteristic for Jesus to answer his own questions.[31] Although Dodd did not document this claim, perhaps he had in mind the fact that Jesus is represented in Matt 21:31, Luke 10:36 and Luke 16:20 as asking questions that are either left unanswered or are answered by an interlocutor. The difficulty with such an argument, however, is that on the one hand it seems precarious to generalize from just three examples and, on the other, there are counter-examples such as Luke 17:7–10 and 15:4–7, 8–10, which are framed as questions (τίς [ἄνθρωπος/γυνὴ] ἐξ ὑμῶν...;) which are answered by Jesus.

Of the remaining objections, one has to do with the rhetorical question (12:9a) and the other with the answer (12:9b). Critics since Jeremias have pointed out that the wording of Mark's question bears a striking similarity to the conclusion of [**505**] Isaiah's song of the vineyard in the LXX, where the owner asks τί ποιήσω ἔτι τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου (5:4 LXX) and then has the owner

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meaningless provocation and calculate the murder of the son without taking the owner himself into account!" (my translation). Similarly, Crossan, *In Parables*, 90.

[29] See, e.g, clauses permitting expulsion (ἐκβάλλειν) and re-leasing (μεταμισθοῦν): *BGU* IV 1119.39–40 (6/5 BCE); 1120.45 (5 BCE); 1121.25–36 (5 BCE); 1122.33–36 (13 BCE); *P.ColZenon* I 54.18–19 (256 BCE); *P.Hal* 1v.8.177 (III BCE); *P.Köln* III 147.14 (30 BCE – 14 CE); *P.RossGeorg* II 19.50 (141 CE). Other contracts stipulate the the lease being guaranteed, the tenant's tenure is secure against expulsion (ἐκβάλλειν) and re-leasing (μεταμισθοῦν): *P.Tebt* I 105.31–21 (103 BCE).

[30] Anonymous, "Self-help *n.*" *A Dictionary of Law*. Ed. Elizabeth A. Martin. Oxford University Press, 2002. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press (accessed 19 October 2003): "Action taken by a person to whom a wrong has been done to protect his rights without recourse to the courts. Self-help is permitted in certain torts, such as trespass and nuisance. A trespasser may be evicted provided only reasonable force is used. A nuisance may be abated."

[31] Dodd, *Parables*, 98: "It appears, however, that it was not the practice of Jesus to answer the questions to which His parables so often lead up; on the other hand it is the practice of the evangelists to point the moral of parables. It must therefore be regarded as uncertain whether xii.9b is an integral part of the authentic tradition." The same argument is used by Smith, *Parables*, 224; Hengel, "Das Gleichnis," 7; John A.T. Robinson, "The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen: A Test of Synoptic Relationships," *NTS* 21 (1975): 449; Bernard Brandon Scott, "Essaying the Rock: The Authenticity of the Jesus Parable Tradition," *Forum* 2, no. 1 (1986): 22; idem, *Hear Then the Parable*, 248.

declare (ἀναγγελῶ) τί ποιήσω τῷ ἀμπελῶνί μου (5:5 LXX). Moreover, just as Isaiah's song begins by speaking of a "beloved' but by the end identifies him as κύριος (5:7), so in Mark's story the ἄνθρωπος of v. 1 modulates into ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος in v. 9. If, as Jeremias argues, the allusion to Isa 5:2 LXX at the beginning of the Markan parable is a secondary insertion, then the rhetorical question, also drawing on Isaiah 5, is probably also secondary.[32]

The final consideration concerns the narrative logic of 12:9b in the context of the parable as a whole. Crossan puts the objection most trenchantly[33]:

> The whole idea of a punitive expedition by the master is very improbable against the rest of the story. If such power had been available to him, the pathetic hope for respect [in v. 7] becomes somewhat ludicrous. The punishment theme is an allegorization of the influx of Gentiles into the church.

The first (form-critical) objection to the originality of v. 9 is rather weak, but the Septuagintal character of 12:9a and the implausibility of 12:9b weigh seriously against this verse.

A number of options are open to defenders of the integrity of 12:9, but none is very convincing. Some argue that Isa 5:1–7 is integral to the structure of the parable,[34] despite the clearly Septuagintal nature of the allusions.[35] Others contend that if the parable began with at least some elements of Isa 5:2, however reduced, then it might also have concluded with an adaptation of Isa 5:4, 5.[36] Pesch urges that the fact that v. 9 continues in the idiom of a vineyard story favours its authenticity.[37] But it is a relatively simple matter to adduce examples of secondary [**506**] elaborations which preserve the idiom and imagery of the sayings to which they are attached.[38] Hultgren can only assert that "rhetori-

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[32] Jeremias, *Parables*, 74; Schramm, *Markus-Stoff*, 163; Crossan, *In Parables*, 90; Robinson, "Wicked Husbandmen," 449; Klauck, *Allegorie und Allegorese*, 288: "Wir werden den ursprünglichen Schluß der Parabel hinter V. 8 ansetzen müssen, und V. 9 der gleichen vormarkinischen Hand zuweisen, die auch die Exposition under dem Einfluß des jesajanischen Weinbergliedes umgestaltet hat."

[33] Crossan, *In Parables*, 90 Similarly, Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 248.

[34] E.g., Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:214; Snodgrass, *Wicked Tenants*, 88.

[35] See John S. Kloppenborg, "Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9," *NovT* 44, no. 2 (2002): 134–59, the reply by Craig A. Evans, "How Septuagintal is Isa. 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9?" *NovT* 45, no. 2 (2003): 105–10 and Kloppenborg's response, "Isa 5:1–7 LXX and Mark 12:1, 9, Again," *NovT* 46, no. 1 (2004): 12–19.

[36] E.g., although Hengel argues that there has been some assimilation of the parable to Isa 5:1–7 LXX, he argues nonetheless that original parable began ἀμπελῶνα ἄνθρωπος ἐφύτευσεν καὶ ἐξέδοτο (cf. Isa 5:2 LXX: ἐφύτευσα ἄμπελον and ended with τί ποιήσει (cf. Isa 5:5: τί ποιήσω): "Das Gleichnis," 7, 18.

[37] Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:220: "Daß die Antwort, die auf die Frage nach dem Handeln des Weinbergbesitzers gegeben wird, noch ganz im Rahmen der Parabel bleibt, spricht für ihre Ursprünglichkeit."

[38] E.g., Mark 2:18–19 +20; Matt 22:1–10 + 11–14.

cal questions and answers are by no means out of place in the parables of Jesus... so the question and answer need not be out of place here either."[39]

While the arguments in favour of the originality of v. 9 are weak and the considerations against its originality substantial, there is a certain irony in the views of those who excise v. 9b from the original parable. Dodd argues that v. 9b was not present in the original parable but then concludes that Mark's answer to Jesus' question was "natural conclusion to the story" and that the owner would of course retaliate in just the way that Mark renders explicit. Thus the parable "may be said [both] to "predict" the death of Jesus and the judgment to fall on his slayers."[40] Likewise Hengel: while uncertain in regard to the status of v. 9, he nevertheless concludes[41]:

> Der Duktus der Parabel läuft so mit inner Folgerichtigkeit auf den durch die rhetorische Frage in 12.9a angestrebten Schluß zu: Der abscheuliche Frevel der Pächter muß das unerbittliche Strafgericht des Besitzers herausfordern. Auch hier wird die Bildseite in keiner Weise durchbrochen.

Herzog, perhaps one of the commentators most sensitive to social issues in first century Jewish Palestine, concludes that the question in v. 9a implies its own answer[42]:

> Galilee and Judaea were in the midst of significant change during the early decades of the first century, primarily through the forces of commercialization. Pressure brought to bear on peasants through the takeover of land was one important factor. The parable codifies such a land seizure. Oppression generates violent reactions because it continually feeds the first phase of the spiral of violence. But in a world where elites controlled the means of production of weapons and retained armies to use them, revolts reproduced the impotence that ignited them, and legitimated more intense forms of repression. In its closing question, the parable codifies the futility of violence under these circumstances.

Hester, who expressly argues against the originality of v. 9, nevertheless tries to normalize Mark's answer, citing two theory-based principles. On the one hand, according to Gerhard Lenski violent actions against members of the élite[43] [**507**]

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[39] Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 364–65.

[40] Dodd, *Parables*, 98, 102. Jeremias (*Parables*, 76), who excluded v. 9 in its entirety, nonetheless claimed that the parable vindicates Jesus' message to the poor, presumably the "others" of v. 9b, which he excluded!

[41] Hengel, "Das Gleichnis," 31.

[42] Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech*, 113. Newell and Newell, "Wicked Tenants," 236 also argue that the parable ended with v. 9a, but conclude that the question "can have only one answer: It is that the owner will put the tenants to death for their crimes"; Scott, "Essaying the Rock," 23: "It is also a normal response by a reader – a reader/performer expects a master to punish."

[43] Gerhard Emmanuel Lenski, *Power and Privilege: A Theory of Social Stratification* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984; repr., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 86.

are always taken very seriously. The severity of the punishments undoubtedly reflect a recognition of the existence of widespread, latent hostility toward the holders of power and the realization that anything less than prompt and severe punishment may encourage more widespread violence.

On the other, in Mediterranean culture, the killing of one's kin amounted to a challenge to honour and would 'require a response nothing short of vengeance on the part of the owner."[44]

Hence in an odd way, these commentators seem eager to absolve Jesus of expressly evoking the violent destruction of the tenants by the owner, but then reintroduce the notion just excluded by appealing to what the hearer would have taken to be the obvious conclusion to such the story.

Self-Help in Graeco-Roman and Palestinian Law

But is this expectation self-evident? To those who read the story through the lens of God's destruction of Isaiah's parable of the vineyard (Isa 5:4–6), it is probably self-evident that the owner would retaliate in this fashion, destroying the tenants as a natural prelude to re-letting the vineyard to others.[45] But is it safe to assume that in a story realistically narrated that a resort to self-help would be expected?

The scenario imagined by Mark 12:1–8 and *Gos. Thom.* 65 is generally realistic.[46] Because vineyards were highly capitalized agricultural enterprises, with costly installations and requiring expensive iron tools, and because the crop commanded relatively higher prices than grain, vineyards were frequently the sites of conflict. We hear of tenants being ejected from their leases by landlords during the course of the lease,[47] of tenants being expelled or other-

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[44] Hester [aka J. David Hester Amador], "Parable of the Tenants," 53, referring to Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox Press, 1981), 40–41.

[45] Matt 21:41 clearly regarded the owner's actions as expected, since he redactionally transformed Mark 12:9 into Jesus' interlocutors' answer. But Matthew, even more clearly than Mark, has assimilated the parable to the Isaianic and deuteronomistic metanarrative, which continues in his redaction of the parable of the Great Feast (Matt 22:1-14). Interestingly, Luke keeps the announcement of destruction in Jesus' mouth, but has the interlocutors object: μὴ γένοιτο (20:16). This objection then requires Luke to offer a justification, introducing the quotation of Ps 117:22 (20:17) as Jesus' counter-response (ὁ δὲ ἐμβλέψας αὐτοῖς εἶπεν), and then adding 20:18 to further justify the destruction of the tenants.

[46] Hengel, "Das Gleichnis" and John S. Kloppenborg, *Reading Viticulture: The Social Context of the Parable of the Tenants in Mark and Thomas* (Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, Occasional Papers.44; Claremont, Calif: Claremont Graduate University, 2002).

[47] *CPR* XVIIa 6 (316 CE): a case of two cultivators complaining to the *strategos* on having been expelled from their lease of two vineyard areas, allegedly on a pretext.

wise impeded by the [**508**] opponents of the owner,[48] of landlord's agents being assaulted,[49] of outright occupation of another's property,[50] of the theft of the harvest or of valuable vine props and viticultural implements,[51] of tenants going on strike to protest extractions of their landlord,[52] and of numerous acts of violence.[53]

Owing to a peculiar feature of Hellenistic property law, the relationship between lessor and lessee was made additionally more complicated. Unlike modern consensual contracts, the Hellenistic lease had features of a 'conveyance of property, accompanied by a covenant providing for certain obligations incurred with respect to, and in connection with, this conveyance."[54] In this type of contract the lessor delivered (ἐκδιδόναι, cf. Mark 12:1, ἐξέδετο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς) the property to the lessee, who thus gained a temporary and limited title to it.[55] Sometimes the lease contained a βεβαίωσις clause guaranteeing the lessee against molestation by the lessor or by any third party related to the lessor.[56] At the expiration of the lease period the lessee was required to return (ἀποδιδόναι) the property.

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[48] *P.CairoZenon* II 59179 [255 BCE]; *P.CairoZenon* III 59367 (240 BCE); *P.Enteuxeis* 65 [221 BCE]; *P.Mich* I 53 [250 BCE]: granary employees being expelled from Zenon's granary; *P.Oxy* XLIX 3464 [54–60 CE].

[49] *P.CairoZenon* I 59018 (258 BCE).

[50] *P.CairoZenon* IV 59624 (ca. 250 BCE); *P.Enteuxeis* 65 (221 BCE); *P.Mich* I 53 [250 BCE]: granary employees being expelled from Zenon's granary; *P.Mich* I 63–64 (247 BCE); *P.Mich* III 174 [145–47 CE]: explusion from a leased house; *P.Mich* VI 422–425 (197–99 CE); *P.Oxy* XLIX 3464 (54–60 CE).

[51] *P.Gurob* 8 (210 BCE): theft of wine and a vinedresser's knive; *P.Mich* I 63 (247 BCE): theft of wine; *P.MichMchl* 11 (180–210 CE): theft of dates; *P.Oxy* XX 2274 (III CE): theft of vine cuttings; *PSI* IV 393 (241 BCE): theft of 30,000 reeds valued at 14 dr./10,000.

[52] *PSI* V 502 (257 BCE).

[53] *P.CairoZenon* I 59018 (258 BCE); *P.CairoZenon* IV 59624 (ca. 250 BCE); *P.CairoZenon* V 229 (48 CE); *P.Gurob* 8 (210 BCE); *P.Mich* I 63–64 (247 BCE); *P.Mich* V 229 (48 BCE); V 230 (48 CE); *P.Mich* VI 422–425 (197–99 CE); *P.Oxy* XLIX 3464 (54–60 CE); *PSI* VI 345.8 (256 BCE).

[54] Hans Julius Wolff, "Consensual Contracts in the Papyri?" *JJP* 1 (1946): 62.

[55] Wolff ("Consensual Contracts?" 62) points out that 'unlike the Roman *locatio conductio rei*, the μίσθωσις did not create merely obligatory relations between the lessor and the lessee, but seems to have resulted in the acquisition by the latter of a temporally and qualititively limited title to the object." On Roman law, see William W. Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian* (3rd ed; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 500: in Roman Law the *conductor* or lessee did not acquire *dominatio* (ownership) or *possessio* (possession) but only 'detention."

[56] Wolff ("Consensual Contracts?" 68–69) notes that such clauses occurred where the lessee had economic power close to that of the lessor. In the case of the Zenon papryi, where the social difference between the lessor (Apollonios and Zenon) and the lessees was great, no such warrantees occur. Occasionally, the lessor was contractually obligated to pay a fine in the case of violation of the βεβαίωσις provision. See Raphael Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri: 332 B.C. – 620 A.D.* (2d ed; Warsaw: Pantsowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955), 361.

But as Wolff notes,[57]

> the tenant was under no contractual obligation to return the property. The expiration of the term simply restored the full title of the landlord who was [**509**] now in a position to recover his land by such judicial or extra-judicial acts as were allowed to every κύριος not in possession of his property, while the tenant was no longer protected against ejectment.

In the case imagined by the parable of the Tenants what remedies were open to the owner? As noted above, leases regularly contained provisions allowing the lessor to expel (ἐκβάλλειν) tenants from the object of the lease in the event of default, usually the failure to deliver the rent.[58] It should be noted that ἐκβάλλειν carries with it the connotation of force. But the actual procedure for action in the case of default was cumbersome: the plaintiff was required to apply to the πράκτωρ (bailiff) or his assistant (ὑπηρέτης) and to the local court which, after examining pertinent documentation, issued the bailiff with an order of execution. But instead of actually executing the order, the bailiff merely delivered the order to the defendant, allowing him or her the opportunity of a formal response.[59] Only if there was no response did the court then allow execution on the defendant's property after the plaintiff had sworn an oath that his declarations were true.[60] The very unwieldy nature of these procedures is probably the reason that additional penalty clauses are found in many lease agreements, imposing substantial fines in the case of default.[61] This was a strong disincentive for a vexatious tenant tempted to frustrate the lessor by resistance and then simply hand back the property when resistance was no longer possible or prudent.[62] Even so we hear of cases of a defendant ignoring private attempts at negotiation and even refusing to acknowledge his debt before the bailiff.[63]

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[57] Wolff, "Consensual Contracts?" 67.

[58] Above, n. 29.

[59] See, e.g., *P.ColZenon* I 54 (256 BCE), reporting arrears in rent. The creditor requests the assistant of the bailiff to register the debt and the added-50% penalty, and to issue a statement of claim, which the debtor can then accept or reject.

[60] Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 525, 526–27, 533–34; Wolff, "*Praxis*-Provision," 425: 'The judicial judgment did not, like the sentence of a modern court in Civil Law countries, determine that the defendant owed a debt to the plaintiff, performance of which might be enforced, but simply established the plaintiff's right to proceed against the defendant by way of execution."

[61] E.g., *BGU* IV 1119.33–40 (6/5 BCE): a fine of 500 (silver) dr.; 1121.28–34 (5 BCE): a fine of 1000 (silver) dr.; 1122.24–30 (13 BCE): a fine of 500 (silver) dr.; *P.Oxy* IV 729.20 (137 CE): 1000 (silver) dr.; *P.Ryl* IV 583.18–19, 65–68 (170 BCE): fine of 2 (silver) talents; *P.Soter* 2.35 (71 CE): fine of 5 (copper) talents; *P.Tebt* I 105.43–44 (103 BCE): a fine of 30 (copper) talents; *SB* XIV 11279.35–36 (44 CE): fine of 5 (copper) talents.

[62] See Wolff, "*Praxis*-Provision," 426.

[63] *P.Hib* 30D (300–271 BCE). *P.CairoZenon* I 59018 (258 BCE), where the creditor's agents are assaulted and expelled from the property, is probably an example of resistance to informal attempts at negotiation. On negotiation, see Roger S. Bagnall, "Official and Private Violence in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 26 (1989): 201–16.

The imaginary case of the parable of the Tenants, of course, concerns not merely a refusal to produce rent, but violence against the owner's agents and the [**510**] killing of his son. Snodgrass, in an effort to render the owner's resort to self-help plausible, opines[64]:

> It is not necessary to justify legally the owner's punishment of the tenants. Under the circumstances, probably no objection would or could be made if he did kill the tenants. Our concern is that this feature of the parable is in keeping with rabbinic parables and the inadequate administration of justice at the time.

Snodgrass appeals to *BGU* IV 1122 (13 BCE), which contains a (standard) clause threatening a defaulting tenant with immediate imprisonment.[65] But apart from the fact that the clause says nothing of the *killing* of a defaulting lessee, it is not relevant in any event, since the document concerns a 'Persian of the descent' (Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς), a pseudo-ethnic designation found in Graeco-Egyptian contracts and applied to persons below the status of the Macedonian settler-class who were prohibited from resorting to a claim of asylum.[66] We have no evidence of an analogous class of persons in Jewish Palestine.

In fact it is quite unlikely that any law permitted the owner to act as Mark's owner did. It is true that Greek, Roman, and Jewish legal traditions permitted a degree of self-help in the execution of justice. This was a necessity, given the inadequate police resources in cities and towns and the almost complete absence of police in the countryside. Athenian law in the classical period permitted the application of lethal force in the absence of a court decision but only in the case of adultery and housebreaking. The common denominator here is the transgression of the boundaries of the οἶκος and, hence, the affront to honour of the κύριος.[67] But the prosecution of other injuries had become the

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[64] Snodgrass, *Wicked Tenants*, 39–40.

[65] *BGU* IV 1122.24–26: ἐὰν δέ τι [[....]] παραβαίνω(σιν) εἶναι αὐτο(ὺς) παραχ(ρῆμα) | ἀγωγίσ[μ(ους)] καὶ συν(έχεσθαι μ)έχρι τοῦ ἐκτῖσ(αι) ἅ τε ἔχουσι τοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ | ὃ ἐὰν μέρος λάβω(σι) σὺν ἡ(μιολίᾳ), 'If they should default on any of these conditions they shall immediately be liable to arrest and imprisonment until they repay both the wages that they have received and whatever portion, with an extra added half, of whatever else they received."

[66] On the designation, see John F. Oates, "The Status Designation: ΠΕΡΣΗΣ, ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗΣ," *YCS* 18 (1963): 1–126. In papyri from the Roman period the term uniformly designates persons subject to the ἀγώγιμος (imprisonment) clause. See Fritz M. Heichelheim, *Die auswärtige Bevölkerung in Ptolemäerreich* (repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1963; repr., Klio Beiheft 18; Leipzig: Dieterich, 1925), 76–80; Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 532; Johannes Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 41; München: C.H. Beck, 1958), 66–67.

[67] Matthew R. Christ, "Legal Self-Help on Private Property in Classical Athens," *AJPh* 119, no. 4 (1998): 521–45. On self-help in the case of housebreaking, see Demosthenes 24.113: "If a man should steal anything whatsoever at night, it is permitted that his victim in pursuit, kill him, wound him, or lead him by *apagōgē* to the Eleven if he wish"; Demosthenes

jurisdiction of [511] Athenian courts, which thus became a major forum in which feuding, rivalry, and honour displays took place.[68] And homicide had been within the court's purview since the Draconian laws of the seventh century.

In Roman practice the Law of the Twelve Tables had allowed the killing of a thief caught at night or using a weapon, but had required that this be done only after convening an emergency council of neighbours – this provision to guard against murder disguised as a response to housebreaking (8.12–13).[69] It was also taken for granted that a plaintiff could physically bring a defendant to court if the defendant otherwise refused (*manus iniecto*).[70] And self-help might be used where judicial protection was inadequate and where self-help was the only means to avoid irreparable damage.[71]

By the first century BCE, Roman jurists had moved to limit severely the resort to self-help. In the case of land taken by fraud or force, it had been legal under the *Lex agraria* of 111 BCE for the owner to re-acquire the land by force, and legal to use force in the defence of property. Obviously, both parties to a dispute over ownership could appeal to such principles.[72] Moreover, it was not always feasible to use self-help when the occupier of the land had superior power; hence, the *Lex agraria* guaranteed restitution through the courts to one ejected from his lands, who had not himself acquired them by force or fraud.[73] But by the first century BCE, the use of violence was further limited: first by Lucullus' edict *de vi armata* of 76 BCE, directed against the use of arms and

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23.60: "If one kills immediately in defence of one's property a man carrying or leading it away by force or unjustly, he is killed with impunity."

[68] David Cohen, *Law, Violence, and Community in Classical Athens* (Key Themes in Ancient History; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 16, 161, 181; Peter John Rhodes, "Enmity in Fourth-Century Athens," in *Kosmos: Essays in Order, Conflict, and Community in Classical Athens* (ed. Paul Cartledge, Paul Millett, and Sitta Von Reden; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 144–61.

[69] Lex XII Tab. 8.12. If the theft has been done by night, if the owner kills the thief, the thief shall be held to be lawfully killed. 13. (It is unlawful for a thief to be) killed by day... unless he defends himself with a weapon; even though he has come with a weapon, unless he shall use the weapon and fight back, you shall not kill him. And even if he resists, first call out (so that someone may hear and come up).

[70] Lex XII Tab. 1.1: If plaintiff summons defendant to court, he shall go. If he does not go, plaintiff shall call witness thereto. Then only shall he take defendant by force. 2. If defendant shirks or takes to heels, plaintiff shall lay hands on him. See also 3.1–6. See Andrew W. Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 26–27.

[71] Fritz Schulz, *Classical Roman Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 459.

[72] Lintott, *Violence*, 28–30.

[73] Salvatore Riccobono, et al., *Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani* (Editio altera aucta et emendata; Florentiae: G. Barbera, 1968), 8 l.18: Sei quis eorum quorum ager supra scriptus est, ex possessione vi eiectus est, quod eius is quei eiectus est possederit, quod neque vi neque clam neque precario possederit ab eo, quei eum ea possessione vi eiecerit....

gangs[74]; then by interdicts recent [**512**] in Cicero's day, which forbade the resort to violence in the advancement of claims over land, whether or not it was rightfully one's possession[75]; and finally by the Julian *lex de vi publica* and *lex de vi privata* of the late Republic, which criminalized the use of arms in expelling someone in possession of a farm (Dig. 48.6.3),[76] imposing a fine of one-third of the property of anyone convicted under this statute (Dig. 48.7.1–5).[77] By the late Republic, as Lintott observes, 'the righting of wrongs is no longer an irrefutable excuse for violence."[78] Thus if considered under Roman law, the vineyard owner of Mark's story was not only *not* justified in applying lethal force in the recovery of his property, but, even if he could demonstrate that he had an unassailable claim to it, would still be liable to a punitive fine under the Julian law.

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[74] Lintott, *Violence*, 129: 'The principle of Lucullus' edict is that any armed violence, however provoked, is wrong. Some sort of force had been commonly employed to settle property disputes from the beginning of Roman society, but the disputes had been on a small scale and, whatever weapons were used, deaths rarely occurred. However, with the growth of estates, presumably in the second century [BCE], and the corresponding growth of *familiae* of slaves, this kind of violence began to be a problem, for an armed gang of slaves would have turned a fracas into a battle."

[75] Bruce W. Frier, "Urban Praetors and Rural Violence," *TAPA* 113 (1983): 221–41 (235–36). The interdict, which can be pieced together from Cicero's comments in *Pro Caesina* 41–48, 55, 60–61, 88, must have read: *unde tu aut familia aut procurator tuus illum vi hominibus coactis armatisve deiecisti, eo restituas*, "that you, NN or your servants or agent restore NN, [his servants or his agent] to the place whence you have ejected him by force through men collected together and armed." Frier points out that the formulation used by Cicero in *Pro Caesina* had broader scope than the earlier formulation of 71 BCE, "that you, NN or your servants or your agents do restore NN, his servants or his agent to the place from whence, in this year (*in hoc anno*), you ejected him by force, he being in possession, without having gained it from you by force or stealth or request" (*quod nec vi nec clam nec precario a te possideret*)' (Cicero, *Pro Tullio* 44) by eliminating the temporal restriction *in hoc anno* and by omitting the final clause, which limited the prohibition of forcible ejection to cases where the one ejected had an indubitable claim to ownership. See also Wilfred Nippel, *Public Order in Ancient Rome* (Key Themes in Ancient History; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 35–37.

[76] Digesta 48.6.3: Eadem lege tenetur, qui hominibus armatis possessorem domo agrove suo aut navi sua deiecerit expugnaverit, 'Also liable under this statute [*Lex Iulia de vi publica*] is anyone who with armed men expels someone having possession from his home, his farm, or his ship, or attacks him' (Theodor Mommsen, Paul Krueger, and Alan Watson, *The Digest of Justinian* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985], 4:816).

[77] Digesta 48.7.1: De vi privata damnati pars tertia bonorum ex lege iulia publicatur, 'Under the *lex Iulia*, one third of the property of anyone condemned for *vis privata* is to be confiscated'; 48.7.2: *Hac lege tenetur, qui convocatis hominibus vim fecerit, quo quis verberetur pulsaretur, neque homo occisus erit*, "Anyone who, after summoning men toether, commits *vis* resulting in anyone's being flogged or beaten, [even if] nobody is killed, is liable under this statute" (Mommsen, Krueger, and Watson, *Digest*, 4:817–18).

[78] Lintott, *Violence*, 130.

Prevailing law in late Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt similarly made self-help problematic. Of course it was still permitted to restrain a thief and bring him to a magistrate, although as *P.Mich* VI 421 (41–68 CE) illustrates, this could be a risky [513] business. The plaintiff here complains that as he was trying to apprehend the culprit, he was himself imprisoned by customs-guards, apparently friends or accomplices of the thief, until the thief could make good his escape. But as Taubenschlag observes, other forms of self-help were not permitted in Graeco-Egyptian law.[79] The exceptions prove the rule. We have a few instances where persons who engaged in self-help themselves became the subject of legal proceedings. A papyrus from the Zenon archives records a complaint of a debtor whose wife and serving boy were seized and imprisoned by a creditor.[80] The petition requests the king to mete out the appropriate punishment 'for the imprisonment of a free person." The same inducements against self-help are in evidence in the late first century CE when a prefect threatens to have a creditor beaten for having imprisoned a debtor and his wife.[81] The proper recourse in matter of debt recovery was the courts.[82]

That resort to the courts was normal is indeed shown by a series of papyri from the third century BCE to the second century CE, each concerning the (allegedly) illegal and sometimes violent occupation of a plaintiff's farm or house. For example, *P.Enteuxeis* 65 (221 BCE) records a petition to the *stratēgos* by a woman who complains that following the division of a vineyard, her vinedresser was forcibly expelled by her two former co-partners. Zenon himself had similar difficulties: *P.CairoZenon* III 59624 (250 BCE) is a letter written to Zenon advising him of the violent occupation of one of Apollonios' vineyards and requesting that Zenon seek judicial relief. A few years earlier Apollonios wrote to Zenon to tell him that some of his vineyards in Memphis had been occupied by rivals, subjoining letters to the court (*P.CairoZenon* II 59179 [255 BCE]). In the first century of the common era, *P.Oxy* XLIX 3464

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[79] Raphael Taubenschlag, "Self-Help in Greco-Roman Egypt," in *Opera Minora* (Warsaw: Pantsowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959), 2:135–41 (repr. from *Archives d'Histoire du droit oriental* 4 [1949] 79–84).

[80] *P.ColZenon* II 83 (245/44 BCE).

[81] *P.Flor* I 61 = *MChr* II 80 (85 CE).

[82] There is a special problem with a series of texts which grant to the lessor the right to seize debtors' sureties and the right of execution on all of their property 'as if by a legal decision' (καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης), e.g., *BGU* IV 1122.24–29 (13 BCE). Taubenschlag (*Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 531–32; "Self-Help," 140) takes the formula to imply that the creditor had the right to detain a debtor or his sureties without court approval. Hans Julius Wolff, however, has argued that "there is nothing to give aid and comfort to those in whose opinion the insertion in a document of a καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης clause served the purpose of obviating a judicial action otherwise necessary" and that an examination of Ptolemaic documents indicates that in fact the clause "*never* had the meaning commonly attributed to it" ("Some Observations on *Praxis*," in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* [ed. Deborah Hobson Samuel; American Studies in Papyrology 7; Toronto: A.M. Hakkert, 1970], 529, emphasis original).

(54–60 CE) records an application to the *stratēgos* on behalf of a woman whose vineyard was seized and who, after one successful petition to the court, was [**514**] still prevented from recovering it. A similar tale is told by a series of petitions (*P.Mich* VI 422 and 423) by a certain Gemellus, whose property was violently occupied by a rival, Sotas, who later died, but whose brother Julius continued to harass Gemellus' tenant and to appropriate the harvest.[83] Whether Gemellus' repeated petitions restored his ownership is unknown.

What these documents instruct is that an appeal to the courts for legal redress was used not only by the women of *P.Enteuxeis* 65 and *P.Oxy* XLIX 3464, who probably lacked the ability to employ physical force in the pursuit of their claims, but also by Apollonios the *dioikētes* who was clearly possessed of the ability to dislodge rivals by force, should he wish to do so. Nevertheless, each of these appealed to the courts rather than resort to self-help.[84]

In ancient Israel, as in classical Athens and the early Republic, there was a legacy of self-help. But as in these other jurisdictions, the state moved to curtail the unlimited or vexatious use of self-help. As early as the framing of the Pentateuch, Deut 24:10–12 forbade a creditor from entering the house of a debtor to seize a surety. And according to Exod 22:25–26, a cloak (τὸ ἱμάτιον) of a debtor used as a surety had to be returned before sunset.[85] We are less well informed about the development of rulings on self-help in the second Temple period, but it is instructive that the Mishnah, in the spirit of Deuteronomy, required a creditor to use a court in recovering a debt.[86]

Abraham Schalit surveyed legal practice in Herod's day and detected evidence of the influence of Hellenistic and Roman law concerning debt recovery. He suggests that the establishment of a tribunal alluded to in *m. Ket.* 13.1 to adjudicate cases of damage and injury is an example of such influence.[87] Apropos of self-help Schalit concluded[88]: [**515**] "In money matters

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[83] *P.Mich* VI 422 is addressed to the praefect of Egypt, Quintus Aemilius Saturninus and is perhaps from early 197 CE; *P.Mich* VI 423=424 is dated May 22 [Pachons 27], 197 CE, just after the harvest, which Julius appropriated.

[84] Similarly, *P.Mich* V 230 (48 CE): a case of housebreaking; *P.Mich* IX 525 (119–24 CE): a petition of a widow concerning the theft of property by her brother-in-law; *P.Mich* III 174 (145–47 CE): a case of expulsion of a public farmer from his leasehold and house; *P.Mich* III 175 (193 CE): theft of hay by a cousin.

[85] See Edward Neufeld, "Self-Help in Ancient Hebrew Law," *RIDA* 5 <3e série> (1958): 291–98.

[86] *m. B. Meṣ.* 9.13: 'He who lends money to his fellow should exact a pledge from him only in court, and the [agent of the court] should not go into his house to take his pledge, as it is said, 'You will stand outside' [Deut 24:11]."

[87] Abraham Schalit, *König Herodes: Der Mann und sein Werk* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969), 223–56, esp. 253–56 S. R. Llewelyn (S. R. Llewelyn, "Self-Help and Legal Redress: The Parable of the Wicked Tenants," in *Inscriptions and Papyri First Published in 1980–81* [vol. 6 of *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*; North Ryde, N.S.W.: Macquarie University, 1992], 86–105 [92]) notes the presence of the *praxis* and execution clauses similar to those encountered in Graeco-Roman Egypt in deeds of second century CE: *P.Mur*

no one in the first century of the Christian era in Jerusalem was entitled to take the law into his own hands, and there is no reason to think that in the first century BC the legal situation may have been different."

That Jewish Palestine was not exceptional in regard to the normalcy of resort to courts is reflected in the Jesus tradition itself. Q 12:58–59, on settling quickly with one's accuser, presupposes specific details of Hellenistic judicial procedure. The plaintiff (ὁ ἀντίδικος) and the defendant are imagined to be together ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ prior to appearing before the judge. This is not because the two have by coincidence met on the road, but because one of the approved mechanisms of judicial procedure, in default of an adequate police force, was to have the plaintiff compel the defendant to come to court.[89] The procedure presupposed by Q also imagines the execution of the verdict by the ὑπηρέτης (Luke: ὁ πράκτωρ), just as in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.[90]

Conclusion

The implications of this survey should be clear. The owner's resort to lethal self-help is far from the self-evident or obvious response to the preceding events. It might indeed be imagined that the owner of Mark's parable took the law into his own hands, just as the defendants mentioned in *P.ColZenon* II 83 or *P.Flor* I 61.[91] But in that case it would have been just the sort of violence that Roman, Graeco-Egyptian, biblical, and post-biblical laws sought to curtail

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114.14–21 (191 CE); 115.16–17 (124 CE); *P.Yadin* 11.22–27 (124); 18.24–27 (128 CE); 21.24–27 (130 CE).

[88] Schalit, *König Herodes*, 256; cited in Llewelyn's translation ("Self-Help," 91–92).

[89] What Q has in view here is a form of *manus iniecto*, compelling a defendant to come before a court. Ramon Sugranyes de Franch, *Études sur le droit palestinien à l'époque evangélique: la contrainte par corps* (Arbeiten aus dem Iuristischen Seminar der Universität Freiburg Schweiz 1; Fribourg: Librairie de l'Université, 1946), 56–57 points out that there are traces of this procedure in the Mishnah (*m. B.B.* 10.8). Of course, a plaintiff was not always able to compel a defendant to appear in court, e.g., *P.CairoZenon* II 59179 (255 BCE), which concerns defendants of high status who could resist a summons. Similarly *P.Enteuxeis* 65 (221 BCE) and *P.Oxy* XLIX 3464(54–60 CE), where the plaintiffs are women (in one case, a widow), and therefore unable to compel their opponents to come to court.

[90] See above, p. 448 and Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 525: 'The execution of sentences passed by the chrematists was thus effected: the plaintiff requested the chrematists to send a copy of the sentence to the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν and to the *strategos* with the order to put it into effect. If granted, the εἰσαγωγεύς wrote the respective orders on the copies. The plaintiff handed the order to the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν in person and to the *strategos* with a special application submitting the copy and the respective order....After that he gave the respective instruction to the local *epistates*. He issued to the πράκτωρ ξενικῶν a similar order to start the execution." In *P.ColZenon* I 54.47 the order is delivered to the ὑπηρέτης of the bailiff.

[91] Above, nn. 80 and 81.

and indeed to [**516**] criminalize.[92] There is every reason to believe that judicial institutions existed in Jewish Palestine to allow for debt recovery and for actions on default. Indeed Q 12:58–59 takes such an institution for granted.[93] In a realistic story of default and debt recovery, either the courts would have been involved, or it would have been clear that the creditor was overstepping normal practice in taking the law into his own hands. The fact that Mark's version of the parable betrays not the slightest degree of embarrassment over the owner's actions suggests that the details of 12:9 belong not to the realm of realistic story-telling but to the metal-level of discourse about God's punishment of wrongdoers.

Mark 12:9 in fact makes three assumptions that in no way can be judged realistic. First, it takes as self-evident that the owner would move against the tenants in order to dislodge them. But when much more powerful persons such as Zenon did not dare attempt this, and when lesser individuals clearly avoided punitive expeditions for fear of suffering physical injury themselves, this is clearly *not* an assumption that was self-evident to any first-century audience. Second, v. 9 assumes that the owner will undoubtedly succeed in recovering his property. But such confidence is scarcely realistic given actual reports of illegal occupation of farms and the difficulties that plaintiffs incurred in recovery. For even when one's claim to ownership was unassailable, it could not be taken for granted that recaption would be smooth or that it would occur at all. And finally, the conclusion to Mark's story takes for granted that the owner's resort to self-help was normal and indeed justified, betraying not the least interest in explaining or justifying what in fact was clearly an illegal resort to violence.

These three assumptions make sense *only* if one grants that the narrator of Mark's parable is self-consciously no longer speaking in a realistic vein, but is instead speaking of God's action. That is, at this point the narrator of Mark's parable has moved from the world of viticulture and contract law into the orbit of the gods and their prerogatives, despite his preservation of the idiom of a vineyard story. At this level, divine action need no justification by a court; divine actions are believed to be unconditionally effective in securing their aims; and there is no reason to suppose that God would hesitate in acting once he had resolved to take [**517**] action. In this appeal to a *deus ex machina* ending,

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[92] Snodgrass (*Wicked Tenants*, 39) cites *b. B.K.* 27b (=*t. B. Qam.* 10.38) as evidence of the approval of self-help: 'Ben Bag Bag [a pre-Tannaitic sage] says, A person should not retrieve his own property from the household of another lest he appear to be a thief. And so did Ben Bag Bag say, A person should not steal what belongs to him from the house of a thief, lest he too appear to be a thief. But he should be ready [in public] to break his teeth and seize whatever is his own from [the thief's] possession." Snodgrass here misunderstands the intent of the ruling, which is to ensure that recaption not occur in the thief's house but on the street. On the limitation of self-help, see Boaz Cohen, "Self-Help in Jewish and Roman Law," *RIDA* 2 <3e série> (1955): esp. 120–27.

[93] See Sugranyes de Franch, *Études sur le droit palestinien*, 128–31.

the framer of Mark 12:9 does not invoke quotidien legal and economic realities, but reaches back to archaic representations of God, unfettered by considerations of human justice or judicial prudence, and to archaic codes of human behaviour, when the strong took and held their possessions by force.[94]

We are left with two options. One is to insist on a metaphorical reading of the parable of the Tenants outlined above, despite the fact that what lends to the parable its primary metaphorical sense is a clearly *Septuagintal* allusion. But if one pursues this option, it must also be conceded that at a crucial point in the narrative – the owner's use of self-help –, the parable fails the test of realistic actions and beliefs; the parable must be interpreted as an allegory adapted from Isa 5:1–7. As a judgment parable, Mark 12:9 is a necessary component of the story and cannot be detached. But insofar as the metaphorical reading requires that the 'host story' be realistic in order that the metaphorical picture also be coherent, at a crucial point, the logic of the host story collapses. The owner's actions are simply not realistic as justifiable actions.

The other, and in my view preferable, alternative is to argue that the Tenants, like other parables ascribed to Jesus, is a piece of realistic fiction whose effect is first to invoke certain expectations and beliefs about the world, in this case concerning landownership, absenteeism, and status-displays, and then to challenged them by means of the turn of its narrative. Seen in this way the parable relates a realistic story about the unsuccessful efforts of an owner to recover his property, efforts that end in the loss of his son and heir as well. On this view Mark 12:9 must be treated as a secondary allegorizing accretion to the story, together with the Isaianic allusions in 12:1b, the summarizing Deuteronomistic comment in 12:5b allusion, and probably the designation ἀγαπητός in 12:6.

It is of more than passing interest that this is precisely the version of the story related in *Gos. Thom.* 65, although I have arrived at the conclusion that Mark 12:9 was [**518**] not an original part of the story, not by using any assumptions about Thomas as critical tools, but merely by applying the test of

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[94] I say 'archaic' because the forms of action imagined here are more akin to the representations of God in Joshua, where enemy towns are placed under *ḥerem* at God's command (and Achan, who disobeyed the command, is killed along with his family and cattle; cf. Josh 7:24-26), and to the authorization of nearly-unlimited vengeance (Gen 4:24), than they are to other streams of Israelite representations of God which insist that God must act in accordance with principles of justice. For the latter, see Gen 18:25 ('Far be it from you to do such a thing, to slay the righteous with the wicked, so that the righteous fare as the wicked! Far be that from you! Shall not the Judge of all the earth do what is just?') and lament psalms such as Pss 22; 44; 89, which demand of God that he live up to certain promises undertaken, that is, covenantal agreements. The mitigation of unlimited vengeance is seen in the *lex talionis* of Exod 21:24; Lev 24:20; Deut 19:21, which insofar as it is represented as a divine command also implies something about God's justice. Apocalyptic literature revived some of these older worldviews, with terrifying scenarios of unlimited destruction wreaked by divine agents (although of course there are also scenarios involving divine courts).

narrative realism. It might be added, parenthetically, that Thomas' version of the Tenants passes the tests of narrative realism in its other details as well.[95] This should perhaps encourage a reconsideration of the relative of Thomas' version of the Tenants vis à vis its Markan parallel.[96]

Addendum

For further discussion of Mark 12:9, see Ernest van Eck, "The Tenants in the Vineyard (GThom 65/Mark 12:1–12): A Realistic and Social-Scientific Reading," *HvTSt* 63, no. 3 (2007): 909–936; Klyne R. Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 2008), 276–299; Kelly R. Iverson, "Jews, Gentiles, and the Kingdom of God: The Parable of the Wicked Tenants in Narrative Perspective (Mark 12:1–12)," *Biblical Interpretation* 20 (2012): 305–335.

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[95] See Kloppenborg, "Egyptian Viticultural Practices".

[96] I would like to express my gratitude to the anonymous review of *NTS* and to Leslie Hayes and John L. McLaughlin for various criticism and helpful suggestions.

Chapter 16

Evocatio deorum and the Date of Mark[1]

The date of the Gospel of Mark is generally set a few years either side of the destruction of the Second Temple on the 9th of Av, 70 CE.[2] The grounds [**420**]

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[1] First published as *"Evocatio Deorum* and the Date of Mark," *JBL* 124/3 (2005) 419–50. © Society of Biblical Literature 2005. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Gabrielle Gustafsson for providing me with a copy of her Uppsala dissertation, to Eve-Marie Becker for a pre-publication copy of her *Habilitationsschrift*, and to William Arnal, Dan Bahat, Scott Brown, Eve-Marie Becker, Leslie Hayes and Ian Henderson for helpful comments and criticisms. A version of the paper was read at the 2004 annual meeting of the Canadian Society of Biblical Studies.

[2] A few much earlier dates have been proposed: Charles C. Torrey (*Documents of the Primitive Church* [New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1941], 31–33) argued that Mark 13:14 referred to Caligula's proposed desecration of the Temple and concluded that it must have been penned before Caligula's assassination in January 41 CE; similarly Günther Zuntz, "Wann wurde das Evangelium Marci geschrieben?" in *Markus-Philologie: Historische, literargeschichtliche und stilistische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Evangelium* (ed. Hubert Cancik; WUNT 33; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1984), 47–71. On the belief that Peter came to Rome in 42 CE (*Chronicon Hieronymi*; Eusebius, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus* [ed. R. Helm; vol. VII of *Eusebius Werke*; GCS Eusebius 9; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1956], 179) and following Clement's view that Mark composed the gospel while Peter was alive, J. A. T. Robinson (*Redating the New Testament* [London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1976], 112–17) speculates that the gospel was written *ca.* 45 CE. Similarly, Willoughby Charles Allen, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (Oxford Church Biblical Commentary; London: Rivingtons, 1914), 5–6. Adolf von Harnak (*The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels* [New Testament Studies 4; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1911], 133) conjectured that Mark should be dated prior to the death of Paul on the grounds that Luke, supposedly Paul's companion, knew Mark's gospel: "Tradition asserts no veto against the hypothesis that St Luke, when he met St Mark in the company of St Paul the prisoner, was permitted by him to peruse a written record of the Gospel history which was essentially identical with the gospel of St Mark given to the church at a later time; indeed, the peculiar relation that exists between our second and third gospel suggests that St Luke was not yet acquainted with St Mark's final revision, which, as we can quite well imagine, St Mark undertook while in Rome." This would put Mark in the 50s. Bo I. Reicke ("Synoptic Prophecies on the Destruction of Jerusalem," in *Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honor of Allen P. Wikgren* [ed. David E. Aune; NovTSup 33; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972], 121–34, at p. 133–34) argues similarly: the synoptic predictions about the destruction of Jerusalem do not betray knowledge of the actual events; and if Acts is dated *ca.* 62 CE, then Mark (Matthew and Luke) should be dated before 62 CE. This early date is followed by Robert H. Gundry, *Mark: A Commentary on His Apology for the Cross* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1993), 1041–42. N. H.

for this dating vary. Earlier commentators tended to place considerable stock in the patristic testimony that claimed that the author of the second Gospel was a companion of Peter, which in turn implied a date for the Gospel either during Peter's lifetime or shortly after his death – in any event, before 70 CE.[3] More recent scholarship has insisted on internal evidence of date, with attention mainly falling on Mark 13. There is no strong tendency apparent: although perhaps the majority holds that Mark looks back on the destruction of the Second Temple,[4] a few recent commentators, usually combining patristic testimony with internal evidence, hold that Mark ought to be placed shortly before 70 CE.[5]

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Taylor ("The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Transmission of the Synoptic Eschatological Discourse," *HvTSt* 59, no. 2 [2003]: 283–311), who argues that Mark 13 was formed during the Caligula crisis (in 40 CE), holds that Mark was not composed later than 62 CE.

[3] E.g., Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark. The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes, and Indexes* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1952), 31–32 and the authors cited there. More recently, E. Earle Ellis ("The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel," in *The Four Gospels 1992: Festschrift Frans Neirynck* [ed. Frans Van Segbroeck, et al.; BETL 100; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1992], 801–15) dates the gospel between 50–60 CE on the strength of patristic testimony.

[4] E.g., Adolf Jülicher, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (trans. Janet Penrose Ward; London: Smith, Elder, 1904), 324; James Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament* (3rd, rev. ed.; International Theological Library; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1918), 227; Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (2. Aufl.; THKNT 2; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1962), 25; Nikolaus Walter, "Tempelzerstörung und synoptische Apokalypse," *ZNW* 57 (1966): 38–49, at p. 43; Rudolf Pesch, *Naherwartung: Tradition und Redaktion in Markus 13* (Düsseldorf: Patmos-Verlag, 1968), 218–23; John R. Donahue, *Are You the Christ? The Trial Narrative in the Gospel of Mark* (SBLDS 10; Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1973), 131–32; Werner Georg Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Revised English ed.; trans. Howard C. Kee; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975), 98; Philipp Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur* (De Gruyter Lehrbuch; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1975), 347; Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT 2; Freiburg, Basel and Wien: Herder, 1976–1977 [2. Aufl. 1977–1980]), 1:14; Joachim Gnilka, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (EKKNT 2/1–2; Zürich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1978–79), 1:34–35; Walter Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (ÖTKNT 2; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn; Würzburg: Echter, 1979), 61; Dieter Lührmann, *Das Markusevangelium* (HNT 3; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1987), 6; Joel Marcus, "The Jewish War and the Sitz Im Leben of Mark," *JBL* 111 (1992): 460. Morton Smith (*Jesus the Magician* [San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978], 29, 155) puts the Gospel ca. 75 CE on the basis of Mark's reports of conflict with the Pharisees, which Smith argues reflects the period after the Revolt when reorganized Pharisaic groups came into conflict with the Jesus movement.

[5] William L. Lane, *The Gospel According to Mark: The English Text with Introduction, Exposition, and Notes* (New International Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1974), 17–21; Martin Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 1–30; Robert Guelich, *Mark 1–8:26* (Word Biblical Commentary 34A; Dallas, Tex.: Word Books, 1989), xxix-xxxii; E. P. Sanders and Margaret Davies, *Studying the Synoptic Gospels* (London: SCM Press; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1989), 16–21.

The pertinence and reliability of patristic testimony are much in question, but in any event do not take us back much earlier than Clement of Alexandria and Irenaeus at the end of the second century.[6] The best place to begin is with the internal references. Several texts are routinely cited that point to a *relatively* early dating, but none of these permits us to narrow down the date to one side of 70 CE or the other. Mark 9:1 and 13:30 predict that some of Jesus' contemporaries will live to see the *parousia*, predictions that, given a mean life expectancy of forty years, would point to a date not too much later than 70 CE.[7] Such indications of date are not very strong, however, since Matthew, usually dated in the 80s, has taken over the two Markan predictions almost unchanged. If Matthew was able to tolerate failed or obviously failing predictions, then so might Mark.[8]

Likewise, details such as the explicit naming of Alexander and Rufus as the sons of Simon of Cyrene (15:21) or Mark's unelaborated references to "the high priest" (14:53) and Pilate (15:2), in contrast to Matthew and Luke, who

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[6] Patristic references are divided between reports that Mark wrote while Peter was yet alive but that Peter did not endorse the gospel (Clement, *Hypotyposeis* in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.14.5–7; Clement, *Adumbrationes ad. 1 Pet. 5:13* [*ANF* 2:573]) and those which claim that Mark was written after Peter's death (Anti-Marcionite Prologues; Irenaeus, *Adv. haer.* 3.1.1 [*apud* Eusebium, *Hist. eccl.* 5.8.2–4]), with Clement's Mar Saba letter to Theodore holding that Mark composed a first edition while Peter was in Rome, and a second "more spiritual Gospel" after his death (Morton Smith, *Clement of Alexandria and a Secret Gospel of Mark* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973], 446). The genesis of these confused reports appears to be attempts to reconcile the fact that a gospel associated with Peter was in circulation, but without any collateral tradition of Petrine endorsement (Clement in *Hypotyposeis* in Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.15.1–2 contradicts the statement in 6.14.5–7 by claiming that Peter became aware of Mark's work "by revelation" and "authorized the scripture for concourse in the churches"). The connection between Mark and Peter, however, goes back to Papias' "elder" (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 3.39.15), though Papias says nothing of the circumstances under which Mark wrote, and it is not even clear that Papias' "Mark" is the second gospel. It is not clear that the connection between Peter and Mark is based entirely on inferences drawn from 1 Pet 5:13, whose pseudepigraphical status renders any conclusions highly precarious. But the unlikelihood of any direct connection between Peter and the author of the gospel of Mark is manifest once one considers the unflattering manner in which Peter is depicted in Mark's gospel. For a careful discussion of the patristic evidence, see C. Clifton Black, *Mark: Images of an Apostolic Interpreter* (Studies on Personalities of the New Testament; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001).

[7] [Ed. note: While the mean life expectancy at birth may have been only 20–30 (Walter Scheidel, "Population and Demography," Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics [2006], 2–3), the mean life expectancy for a male who reached the age of 20 would have been about 46 years, and for a male who reached the age of 30 would be 53 years (Tim G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society* [Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992], 144). This is because of a high mortality rate in the 1–5 age range, which represented about 25% of the population. Since those to whom Jesus was supposedly speaking can be assumed to be 20–30, and because mortality rates increased sharply after 55, one can assume that most who were 20–30 in the 30s would be dead about 70 CE.]

[8] Moffatt, *Introduction*, 212.

identify the high priest as Caiaphas (Matt 26:3, 57; Luke 3:2) and Pilate as "the governor" (Matt 27:11; Luke 3:1), presuppose an audience that does not need explanations for these persons.[9] Or again, Mark's presentation of Jesus' opponents, [**422**] which, unlike Matthew's account, distinguishes between scribes and Pharisees (Mark 2:15) and, unlike Matthew (3:7; 16:1), restricts the Sadducees to the environs of Jerusalem, reflects a greater awareness of the religious topography of Judaea prior to the first revolt.[10] These data, however, point only to a *relatively* early date for the Gospel and do not permit any greater precision.

The key texts for the dating of Mark come down to Mark 13:1–2, the prediction of the temple's total destruction, and Mark 13:14, the cryptic remark about "the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not stand" (τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ).

Mark 13:14

The significance of Mark 13:14 for dating is made particularly difficult to gauge owing to the facts that (a) the verse is reusing a much older topos, and that (b) there is a strong possibility that Mark himself has redacted an earlier apocalypse of which Mark 13:14 was a part. The phrase τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως is clearly indebted to Dan 9:27, where Daniel described the erection of an altar to Ba'al Šemayim or Zeus Olympos by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 BCE (cf. 1 Macc 1:54–56). The author of this portion of Mark 13:14 is not rehearsing the events leading to the Maccabean revolt, but instead reuses Daniel's phrase to anticipate some event in his immediate future or to recall an event just past. The description of the θλῖψις in the next verses (13:15–20) makes clear that the events in question will be far more terrible and destructive than those following Antiochus's desecration of the sanctuary, and rather than Maccabean-style resistance, the author advises flight (οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φευγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὄρη).

Several authors have argued that the reference to the "abomination of desolation" betrays knowledge of the events of August 70 CE. S. G. F. Brandon put the case most trenchantly, arguing that while the parenthetical comment "let the reader take note" is designed to direct the reader's attention to a specific event, no such event matching Mark 13:14 is known to have occurred in Judaea prior to 70 CE.[11] Brandon accepted the thesis that Mark used an apocalyptic tract containing a prediction of the desecration of the temple (13:14), probably sparked by Caligula's plan to erect a statue of himself in the temple. Caligula's assassination on January 24, 41 ended the crisis for the moment. But the memory of the incident lived on and the continued Roman occupation of

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[9] Hengel, *Studies*, 9.

[10] Hengel, *Studies*, 9–10.

[11] S. G. F. Brandon, "The Date of the Markan Gospel," *NTS* 7 (1960): 126–41 (133).

Judaea would have raised the constant apprehension of a repetition of the threat to the sanctity of the temple. Mark's parenthesis suggests that the temple was [**423**] desecrated, and the only event that qualifies, according to Brandon, occurred in August 70, when the victorious legionaries of Titus erected their standards in the courtyard of the temple, sacrificed to them, and acclaimed Titus as *imperator*.[12] Brandon rightly points out that legionary standards were cult objects which bore the images of the gods and the emperor and hence constituted an abomination when placed in the courtyard.[13] Finally, Mark's curious use of the masculine participle ἑστηκώς rather than the expected neuter makes sense given the fact that it was Titus himself who stood in the courtyard.[14] [**424**]

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[12] Josephus, *Bell.* 6.316: "The Romans, now that the rebels had fled to the city and the sanctuary itself and all around it was aflame, carried their standards into the Temple (court) and setting them up opposite the eastern gate sacrificed to them, and with rousing acclamations hailed Titus as *imperator* (αὐτοκράτορα)." Brandon ("Date," 131–32) adds that Mark's account of the tearing of the temple veil (Mark 15:38) is unlikely as the creation of the early followers of Jesus, who were loyal to the Temple rather than hostile to it and would not have created a story that linked Jesus' death to the destruction of the Temple. Josephus (*Bell.* 7.162), however, indicates that curtains or tapestries from the Temple formed part of the spoils taken to Rome. It can be added that according to *Bell.* 6.388–91 Phineas ben Thebuthi, one of the priests, handed over to the Romans various sacred items including the veils and vestments of the chief priests (τὰ καταπετάσματα καὶ τὰ ἐνδύματα τῶν ἀρχιερέων) and the "scarlet and purple kept for the necessary repairs of the veil of the temple" (πορφύραν τε πολλὴν καὶ κόκκον, ἃ πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἀπέκειτο τοῦ καταπετάσματος). *b. Git.* 56b contains the legendary account about Titus: "This was the wicked Titus who blasphemed and insulted Heaven. What did he do? He took a harlot by the hand and entered the Holy of Holies and spread out a scroll of the Law and committed a sin on it. He then took a sword and slashed the curtain. Miraculously blood spurted out, and he thought that he had slain himself, as it says, 'Your adversaries have roared in the midst of your assembly, they have set up their ensigns for signs' [Ps 74:4]." Brandon suggests that for Markan Christians, "from seeing in the ruin of the Jerusalem Temple a divine proclamation of the abrogation of the vaunted spiritual superiority of Judaism, it was natural for the eye of faith to see further that this event had been anticipated by the Crucifixion – hence the Roman tearing down of the Temple veil must have been anticipated by the rending of that veil on the earlier and more awful occasion." Further Christian references to the tearing of the veil are found in interpolations in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, *T. Levi* 10.4; *T. Benj.* 9.4.

[13] 1QpHab 6.3–5: "Its interpretation [Hab 1:16a]: they [the Kittim] offer sacrifices to their standards and their weapons are the object of their worship." Tertullian, *Apol.* 16 remarks polemically, *sed et Victorias adoratis... religio romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa jurat, signa omnibus diis praeponit*, "But you also worship victories... The camp religion of the Romans is all through a worship of the standards, a setting the standards above all gods." On archaeological evidence of the use of weapons as objects of worship, see Ian Haynes, "Religion in the Roman Army: Unifying Aspects and Regional Trends," in *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Jörg Rüpke; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997), 113–26.

[14] Similarly, Lührmann, *Markusevangelium*, 222: "So wird vom Kontext des Markusevangeliums her nach [Vv.] 2 und 7f. auch hier an die Zerstörung der Stadt und des Tempels zu

Against this, Hengel raised two important objections. First, the perfect participle ἑστηκώς "points more to the beginning of a permanent state of affairs associated with a specific person." In fact, Titus left the temple area quickly, entering the upper city in September 70 (*Bell.* 6.409), and after the razing of the city departed for Caesarea Maritima and then Caesarea Philippi (*Bell.* 7.20, 23). Second, Hengel points out that Mark 13:14a is presented as a sign which ought to provoke flight (Mark 13:14b-17). But a summons to flee upon seeing the abomination of desolation would have made little sense if directed at those *inside* Jerusalem,[15] since Titus had by that time erected a circumvallation wall. Josephus's account, moreover, indicates that after the Romans breached the third and second walls, desertion and flight were just as likely to end in death and slavery as in escape, especially for Jews of little means.[16] The summons to flight makes just as little sense if it were directed at the inhabitants of the Judaean hills, whose land by that time had already been overrun. It should be noted additionally that by the time Titus occupied the Temple Mount, it would be impossible for anyone but Roman troops to "see" (ἴδητε, 13:14) a person standing in the court of the temple, since Mount Scopus was occupied by Legio V Macedonia, XII Fulminata and XV Apollinaris, and the Mount of Olives was the camp for Legio X Fretensis.[17] To these arguments Gerd Theissen adds:[18]

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denken sein: Jesu Voraussage erfüllt sich in der Gegenwart der Leser des Markusevangeliums. Gemeint ist mit dem 'Greuel der Verwüstung' in der mask. Form der römische Feldherr oder sein Heer als der 'greuliche Verwüster'." G. R. Beasley-Murray (*Jesus and the Future: An Examination of the Criticism of the Eschatological Discourse of Mark 13* [London: Macmillan & Co., 1954], 255–58) originally supposed that the reference was to Pilate's attempt to introduce standards into Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 18.55–57; *Bell.* 2.169–70), but now, citing Lührmann, states: "I would not now adhere to this interpretation, but I do see the association of the Roman army with its idolatrous ensigns as significant" (*Jesus and the Last Days: The Interpretation of the Olivet Discourse of Mark 13* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993], 415 n.112).

[15] Pesch (*Naherwartung*, 139–49) suggested that since Judaea is already in the hill country, the original reference in 13:14b was for those *in Jerusalem* to flee, and that Mark changed this to Judaea, since his congregation did not live in Judaea. In his later commentary, Pesch (*Markusevangelium*, 2:292) argues that οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ was in the pre-Markan apocalypse since "es [handelt] sich um eine Weisung der Jerusalemer Gemeinde (die ihre Flucht nach Pella vorbereitet) an die judenchristlichen Gemeinden Judäas (im Umkreis Jerusalems)."

[16] See Jonathan J. Price, *Jerusalem Under Siege: The Collapse of the Jewish State 66–70 C.E.* (Brill's Series in Jewish Studies 3; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1992), 135–41, 293–97.

[17] The hill to the south, Jebel el-Mukabber ("the Hill of Evil Council") is too distant from the temple Mount to permit a viewer to see a person standing on the platform.

[18] Gerd Theissen, *The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 132.

it is improbable that a flight that has already occurred is being concealed here in the form of a *vaticinium ex eventu*. In that case, we would tend to expect a prophecy formulated in the future tense: "But when the desolating sacrilege stands where it should not stand, those in Judaea *will* flee to the mountains."

Thus, it seems unlikely that Mark 13:14 was specifically formulated with the desecration of the temple area by Titus in view, since it so poorly fits the details.[19] [**425**]

It is possible, nevertheless, to assert a post-70 date for Mark by arguing that Mark was using a pre-Markan apocalyptic tractate or apocalypse in the composition of Mark 13, consisting of at least vv. 6–8, 12–13, 14–22, 24–27.[20] On this view, the anticipation of an "abomination of desolation" originally referred to an anticipated *desecration* (rather than destruction) of the temple, as it did in the case of Daniel, and was inspired either by the Caligula episode[21] or by a more general apocalyptic *topos* of the appearance of an anti-Christ (e.g., 2 Thess 2:4). In the wake of the destruction of the temple, however, Mark reused

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[19] Joel Marcus ("Jewish War," 454–55), who argues for a date of Mark after the end of the war (p. 460), nonetheless suggests that the 'abomination of desolation' referred to the occupation and defilement of the sanctuary by Eleazar b. Simon (*Bell.* 5.5–10, 98–104). He cites a number of expressions of horror at the Zealot's defilement of the temple: *Bell.* 4.182–83, 201, 388; 6.95. While it is difficult to judge just what events an apocalypticist might take to be a fulfilment of Danielic prophecy, is is unclear how Mark's description of the 'abomination of desolation' *standing* (ἑστηκώς) where it ought not could convey the defilement of the sanctuary by human blood, which Josephus describes.

[20] E.g., Pesch (*Naherwartung*, 207–18), who posits a three-part Jewish (not Jewish-Christian) flyleaf, consisting of (I) vv. 6, 22, 7b, 8, 12, 13b; (II) vv. 14–20a [18 is uncertain]; and (III) vv. 24–27. Later Pesch (*Markusevangelium*, 2:266–67) posited a pre-Markan Jewish-Christian apocalypse containing vv. 7–9, [10], 11–13, 14–22, 24–31. Pesch is influenced by Ferdinand Hahn ("Die Rede von der Parusie des Menschensohnes, Markus 13," in *Jesus und der Menschensohn: Für Anton Vögtle* [ed. Rudolf Pesch and Rudolf Schnackenburg; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1975], 240–66), who included vv. 7–8, 14–22, 24–31 and possibly 9–13 in a pre-Markan Jewish-Christian apocalypse.

The positing of an independent apocalypse goes back to T. Colani (*Jésus-Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps* [2e éd. revisé et augmentée; Strasbourg: Treuttel et Wurtz, 1864], 201–3), who argued that Mark 13:5–31 was an independent Jewish-Christian document used by the Synoptics. His thesis was adopted (with various modifications) by Carl Weizsäcker, *Untersuchungen über die evangelische Geschichte, ihre Quellen, und den Gang ihrer Entwicklung* (Gotha: Rudolf Besser, 1864), 120–22; Otto Pfleiderer, "Über die Composition der eschatologischen Rede, Mt. 24,4ff," *Jahrbuch für Deutsche Theologie* 13 (1868): 134–49; Gustav Volkmar, *Die Evangelien: oder, Marcus und die synopsis der kanonischen und ausserkanonischen Evangelien nach dem ältesten Text, mit historisch-exegetischen Commentar* (Leipzig: Ludwig Friedrich Fues [R. Reisland], 1870), 542; Hans Hinrich Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1886 [2. Aufl. 1901]), 15–21; Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Marci übersetzt und erklärt* (2. Aufl.; Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1909), 99–107 and many others. This thesis is elaborately defended by Theissen, *Gospels in Context*, 128–65.

[21] This view goes back at least as earlier as A. Piganiol, "Observations sur la date de l'apocalypse synoptique," *RHPhR* 4 (1924): 245–49.

this apocalypse, interpreting τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως now as the destruction of the temple itself.[22] In order to sustain this dating, it is also necessary to invoke the supplementary hypothesis that Mark barely edited his pre-Markan apocalyptic source, not bothering to adapt its details to what he knew of the events of 70 CE. Indeed, Pesch argues that Mark's was a conservative [**426**] editorial policy throughout the Gospel,[23] allowing him (apparently) to tolerate elements that did not clearly fit the events to which he wanted to refer.

The disadvantages of this solution mount, however, when one considers Mark's inclusion of the wish that the events leading to flight "not occur during the winter" (13:18). This fits well the Caligula crisis, which was escalating during the summer and fall of 40, just before the onset of the winter rains, but it hardly fits the events of August 70 CE.[24] Thus, once again it would be necessary to posit a negligent editor, who missed the fact that the desecration of the sanctuary by Titus and its subsequent destruction occurred before the winter of 70 CE. This is certainly possible – the redactors of the Gospels elsewhere are guilty of clumsy editing[25] – but it is not an entirely happy solution. Since both Matthew and Luke were quite capable of alleviating the tensions created by vv. 14 and 18 when read in a post-70 situation, it is odd that a post-70 Mark could not or did not.[26]

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[22] E.g., Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:292: "Im Kontext von V 2 und der ersten, red[aktionellen] gebildeten Jüngerfrage von V 4 deutet Markus V 14 auf die Tempelzerstörung selbst." Pesch does not explain how Mark's ἑστηκότα would make sense in this context.

[23] Pesch, *Markusevangelium*, 2:267.

[24] Lloyd Gaston (*No Stone on Another: Studies in the Significance of the Fall of Jerusalem in the Synoptic Gospels* [NovTSup 23; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970], 25, 61), citing G. Hölscher ("Der Ursprung der Apokalypse Mk 13," *ThBl* 12 [1933]: 193–202, at p. 201), dates the pre-Markan apocalypse to the winter of 40 CE, and Mark to slightly before 70 CE. Theissen (*Gospels in Context*, 161), though he dissents from a pre-70 dating for the gospel, agrees with Gaston's dating of the pre-Markan apocalypse: "The composition of the synoptic apocalypse would thus be dated to the year 40 C.E. We can limit the date even further: it would be in that period when the erection of one or several statues of the emperor in the temple was threatened.... Whether the threatened desecration of the temple was generally known at harvest time in May (Philo) or at the time of sowing in October-November (Josephus), in either case the winter was inexorably approaching. thus, the plea that the flight not occur in winter is understandable because it is especially difficult to secure food at that time of year."

[25] Mark S. Goodacre, "Fatigue in the Synoptics," *NTS* 44, no. 1 (1998): 45–58.

[26] While Mark treats the events of 13:14–20 as either in the immediate past or immediate future, Matthew makes it clear that 24:15–22 (‖ Mark 13:14–20) belongs to the more remote future: it follows the full evangelization of the nations (24:14). Moreover, Matthew treats τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως as an event foreseen by Daniel (τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιήλ τοῦ προφήτου), and though he expressly indicates that this desecration will occur ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ (on the destroyed Temple mount?), nothing suggests that he has the actual destruction of the Temple by Titus in mind.

Luke, by contrast, completely historicizes the prediction, treating it was a prediction of Titus' destruction of Jerusalem: he refers to the encircling of Jerusalem (21:20); he changes

Without abandoning the advantages of positing a pre-Markan apocalypse to account for the anachronistic reference to flight in winter,[27] several authors [427] have alleviated the tensions created by vv. 14 and 18 by arguing that Mark was composed prior to 70 CE. Accordingly, for the author of Mark, the expectation of a desecration of the sanctuary, either by the installation of a pagan altar similar to that used by Antiochus IV Epiphanes or by a cult image such as that planned by Caligula, was yet unrealized, but under the circumstances of an impending threat by the Romans, scarcely an unrealistic apprehension. The fact that Mark 13:14, in contrast to Luke, stresses not the *destruction* of Jerusalem but the desecration of the sanctuary, and the fact that Mark preserves the advice to flee, might imply a date relatively early in the revolt, probably before Titus's arrival in Jerusalem in Xanthikos (March/April) of 70 (Josephus, *Bell.* 5.40–49), and certainly before the erection of the circumvallation wall in Daisios (May/June) (*Bell.* 5.499–511) after which time flight would be nearly impossible.[28] Hengel dates Mark as late as winter 68/69 to winter 69/70, that is, before Titus's arrival in Jerusalem but in an atmosphere of speculation about a Nero *redivivus* who might desecrate the temple and inaugurate a period of messianic woes.[29]

But we are faced with a dilemma. Thanks to Mark 13:1–2 the overall framing of Mark 13 emphasizes the destruction of the temple, and it is this framing that in turn makes it possible to read 13:14–20 as a reference not merely to the desecration of the temple but to its complete destruction. The theme of the destruction of the temple is far from a footnote to Markan thought, but pervades much of Mark 11–15.[30] It first appears in the Markan unit formed by bracketing the disruption of the temple (Mark 11:15–19) with the cursing of

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τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως to ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς (scil. Jerusalem), drops ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ, so that the prediction is *limited* to the destruction of Jerusalem; to the warning to flee to the hills, he adds καὶ οἱ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς ἐκχωρείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς χώραις μὴ εἰσερχέσθωσαν εἰς αὐτήν to stress the danger within the city (21:21); and he omits the reference to winter (since presumably he knew that the final assault occurred in the summer).

[27] The warning about flight during winter also has a thoroughly pragmatic aspect. Pesch (*Markusevangelium*, 2:293–94) draws attention to another way of accounting for the reference to the winter: Josephus, *Bell.* 4.433–36 tells of Jewish refugees from Gadara attempting to flee east of the Jordan in 68 CE who were prevented from fording the Jordan because it was swollen from winter rains, and were slaughtered there by the pursuing Romans. Similarly, Gundry, *Mark*, 743.

[28] Price, *Jerusalem Under Siege*, 127–35, 143.

[29] Hengel, *Studies*, 28.

[30] See Werner H. Kelber, *The Kingdom in Mark: A New Place and a New Time* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 111–13; Donahue, *Are You the Christ?* 103–38; Burton L. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 290–97; Timothy J. Geddert, *Watchwords: Mark 13 in Markan Eschatology* (JSNTSup 26; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 113–47; Scott G. Brown, "Mark 11:1—12:12: A Triple Intercalation?" *CBQ* 64, no. 1 (2002): 78–89.

the barren fig tree (Mark 11:12–14, 19–21), a construction which implies doom for the temple. John P. Heil observes[31]:

> The Marcan audience realizes that the temple, like the fruitless fig tree, is condemned to destruction for failing to attain its purpose to be a house of prayer for all peoples. They must adopt Jesus' attitude toward the temple by rejecting it as a den of robbers, just as he has rejected it and left it twice with his disciples. [**428**]

A direct threat against the temple is attributed to Jesus at his trial (14:58) and, given the anti-temple theme developed in 11:12–21; 13:1–2 and 14:58, it is hard to read comment about the tearing of the temple veil at Jesus' death (15:38) as anything but an ominous sign portending the judgment of the temple by God and its eventual destruction.[32] The connection that Mark draws between Jesus' fate and the fate of the temple can be seen also in his editing of the parable of the Tenants, in which the narrative of the death of the "beloved son" is connected with the destruction of the wicked tenants, who act like the λῃσταί of Mark 11:17 (cf. 14:48) and whom Mark identifies with the priestly élite of Jerusalem (Mark 11:27; 12:12), i.e., with those who were killed during the First Revolt. Other anti-temple themes appear in Mark's treatment of the question about the greatest commandment, where Jesus' scribal interlocutor states περισσότερόν ἐστιν πάντων τῶν ὁλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν (12:33) and is congratulated for this; in Jesus' commentary on the rapacity of the scribes (whom Mark associates with the temple), who consume the "houses of widows"; and in the contrasting panel picturing the widow whose quadran is worth more *coram deo* than the large sums contributed by others to the temple. Obviously Mark's economics, if fully enacted, would have been disastrous for the operation of the temple.

Although component units of Mark 11–15 are undoubtedly early, Mark's framing of these chapters appears as a retrospective account that provides an aetiology of the events of 70 CE. Nevertheless, the particulars of Mark 13:14–20 fit better with a pre-70 date than with a date after 70. If precedence is given to the framing of Mark (11:14–12:44) 13:1–37 (14:1–15:39) and it is accordingly dated after 70 CE, we are then obliged to treat Mark as a rather careless redactor who did not bother to adjust the particulars of the discourse to fit the events to which he wished the predictions of vv. 14–20 to refer. Within the fabric of Mark 11–15 it is Mark 13:1–2, the *explicit* prediction of the dismantling of the temple, that conveys the clearest impression of knowledge of the events of August 70 – hence the retrospective cast to Mark's account. Thus,

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[31] John P. Heil, "The Narrative Strategy and Pragmatics of the Temple Theme in Mark," *CBQ* 59, no. 1 (1997): 76–100, at p. 78.

[32] The uses of ἐσχίσθη (*passivum divinum*) and ἀπ᾽ ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω points to God's judgment and action. The conjunction of σχίζειν and the confession of Jesus as 'son of God' (15:39), of course, recalls the baptismal scene (1:9–11). It is worth noting that the veil of the Temple had the heavens depicted on it, and thus Mark's tearing of the heavens at the baptism anticipates the later tearing of the Veil.

weight of a decision about the dating of Mark falls on an evaluation of the significance of Mark 13:1–2.

Mark 13:1–2

Mark's chria in 13:1–2, containing Jesus' response to an expression of wonder at the grandeur of the Herodian temple, forecasts the total destruction of [**429**] the temple. It is this chria that allows Mark 13:14 to be read as an oracle not about the desecration of the temple, as it might be in isolation, but about its destruction,[33] something that becomes patent in Luke's editing of Mark. The key question is: Does Mark 13:2 betray knowledge of the destruction of the temple by Titus?

Whereas one can perhaps resolve tensions between Mark 13:14–20 and a post-70 date for the composition of Mark by appealing to Mark's clumsy use of pre-Markan materials, this is not an option with Mark 13:1–2. There are ample signs of Mark's editorial hand.[34] Moreover, Mark 13:1–2 is rarely if ever ascribed to the putative pre-Markan apocalypse, which is normally thought to have begun at Mark 13:5.[35]

The fact that the framework of the chria concerns the buildings *of the temple*, but that Jesus' saying, βλέπεις ταύτας τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς; οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ, speaks only of the demolition of *large buildings* has encouraged the thesis that the original saying of Jesus (13:2b) is a variant of Luke 19:44, which concerned the destruction of the city rather than the temple specifically. On this view Mark has converted a more general prediction into one concerning the temple.[36] At this point it is not

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[33] Gaston, *No Stone on Another*, 64: "[Mark] has managed to give a completely new interpretation both to the saying of Jesus in Vs 2 and to the oracle concerning the appalling sacrilege in Vs 14ff. Whereas the original oracle spoke of the *desecration* of the temple, the later prophetic discourse referred to the destruction of *Jerusalem* as the herald of the last great tribulation of the end times. Mark gives his source quite a different aspect when he makes it refer by virtue of its position to the *destruction of the temple*" (emphasis original).

[34] See Jan Lambrecht, *Die Redaktion der Markus-Apokalypse* (AnBib 28; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), 89–91; Frans Neirynck, "Marc 13: Examen critique de l'interprétation de R. Pesch," in *L'Apocalypse johannique et l'Apocalyptique dans le Nouveau Testament* (ed. Jan Lambrecht and G.R. Beasley-Murray; BETL 53; Leuven: Leuven University Press; Gembloux: Duculot, 1980), 397–99.

[35] See above, n. 20. Pesch believes that Mark 13:1–2 was not part of the pre-Markan apocalypse, but part of a pre-Markan *passion source*, which began with 13:1–2, and continued with 14:1–2. Thus Mark used the chria about the Temple (13:1–2) in his passion source as the occasion to insert the apocalyptic discourse into his gospel (*Markus-evangelium*, 2:268–72).

[36] Gaston (*No Stone on Another*, 242, 424) argues that Mark secondarily applied the tradition preserved in Luke 19:44 (concerning the city) to the temple. "If Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai and Josephus and Jesus ben Hananiah could threaten the destruction of Jerusalem,

necessary for me to referee the debate concerning the origin and authenticity of Mark 13:2 or its relationship to Luke 19:42–44, Mark 14:58, John 2:19, or Acts 6:14, although at the end of this article I will suggest a connection with Q 13:35a.[37] What is clear [**430**] at this point is that whatever ταύτας τὰς μεγάλας οἰκοδομάς might have meant in its putative pre-Markan context, in Mark the "buildings" in question are those of the temple and the prediction concerns the destruction of the temple specifically.[38]

The problem presented by Mark 13:2 is not simply that it forecasts the destruction of the temple. The Tanak contains various predictions of the destruction of the temple or the ruin of Jerusalem, including the Deuteronomistic threat that if Israel is unfaithful, "this house will become a heap of ruins; everyone passing by it will be astonished" (1 Kgs 9:8).[39] *1 Enoch* 90:28–30

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there is no reason why Jesus could not also have done so. Thus there is no reason why Mk 13:2 should not be considered a genuine saying of Jesus, as long as it is recognized that it, like its parallel Lk 19:44, was directed against the city as a whole as a part of a political judgment" (424–25).

[37] Lars Hartman (*Prophecy Interpreted. The Formation of Some Jewish Apocalyptic Texts and of the Eschatological Discourse Mark 13 Par.* [ConB: New Testament Series 1; Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1966], 219–20) distinguishes between two variants of the saying: Mark 13:2 and Luke 19:44 treat only the destruction of the temple/city, while Mark 14:58; 15:59; John 2:19; Acts 6:14 present a longer two-part form. Hartman thinks that both versions could have "existed side by side from the beginning. Jacques Dupont, "Il n'en sera pas laissée pierre sur pierre (Mc 13,2; Luc 19,44)," *Bib* 52 (1971): 301–20 rejects any connection between Mark 13:2 and Mark 14:58 and argues that "le vrai parallèle de Mc 13,2 se trouve en Lc 19,44"; Luke 19:44 is not literarily dependent on Mark 13:2 but belongs to the source from which Luke took 19:43–44b, while Mark 13:2 is not the redactional work of Mark. Dupont raises, but does not answer, the question of whether the Markan version (destruction of the temple framed in the passive) or the Lukan version (destruction of the city, by enemies) is the more original. John R. Donahue (*Are You the Christ?* 107–9) argues that Mark 14:58 joins two originally separate sayings, a threat against the Temple (and related to Mark 13:2; Q 13:34–35) and a second that spoke of the building of another *naos*.

[38] Beasley-Murray (*Jesus and the Last Days*, 286) argues that the distinction that Gaston makes between 13:2 and Luke 19:44 does not hold: "[I]t may be doubted that Mark 13:2 related originally to the ruin of the city rather than the temple, and that such importance attaches to the issue as Gaston has implied, since neither city nor temple could be destroyed without the other. It is worth observing, nevertheless, that both Luke and Mark explicitly relate the word of Jesus to the stones of the temple, and Gaston is insistent that Luke is independent of Mark in this respect."

[39] See also Amos 9:1: "I saw the LORD standing beside the altar, and he said: 'Smite the capitals until the thresholds shake, and shatter them on the heads of all the people; and what are left of them I will slay with the sword; not one of them shall flee away, not one of them shall escape'"; Mic 3:12: "Therefore because of you Zion shall be plowed as a field; Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins, and the mountain of the house a wooded height"; Jer 7:13–14: "And now, because you have done all these things... 14 therefore I will do to the house... as I did to Shiloh"; 26:4–6: "You shall say to them, Thus says the LORD: If you will not listen to me, to walk in my law which I have set before you... 6 then I will make this house like Shiloh, and I will make this city a curse for all the nations of the earth...."

predicts the removal ("folding up") of the temple as a necessary preliminary to the establishing of a new city and temple[40]; Yoḥanan ben Zakkai is said to have pre[431]dicted the destruction of the temple by Vespasian, although this is part of a post-70 aetiology of the establishing of a rabbinic academy at Yavneh (*Lam. Rab.* 1:31)[41]; and Josephus relates the story of a peasant, one Jesus ben Ḥananiah (Ananias), who for nearly seven and one-half years proclaimed the ruin of the city and the temple, beginning at Sukkôt in 62 CE and continuing until he was killed by a ballista fired by Titus's troops (*Bell.* 6.300–309).[42] The problem with Mark 13:2, rather, is the *specificity* of the prediction: οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον. The fact that this seems to correspond so precisely to what occurred invites the conclusion that it was formulated (or reformulated) *ex eventu*.

According to Josephus, Titus ordered[43]

> the whole city and the temple to be razed to the ground... and all the rest of the wall encompassing the city was so completely leveled to the ground as to leave future visitors to the spot no ground for believing that it had ever been inhabited (*Bell.* 7.1, 3).

This is an exaggeration of course. As is well known, not all of the temple platform was destroyed – probably because dislodging the top courses created a rubble fill, at least on the southwestern and southern parts of the platform,

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[40] *1 Enoch* 90:28–30: "And I stood up to see until they folded up that old house and carried off all the pillars; and all the beams and ornaments of the house were at the same time folded up with it; and they carried it off and laid it in a place in the south of the land. And I looked until the lord of the sheep brought a new house greater and loftier than that first, and set it up in the place of the first which had been folded up; all its pillars were new and its ornaments were new and larger than those of the first, the old one which he had taken away, and all the sheep were within it." On this see George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 404–6.

[41] According to this tradition Vespasian granted Yavneh to Yohanan following the latter's acclamation of him as *imperator*: "R. Yohanan b. Zakkai came out and went among the soldiers of Vespasian. He said to them, 'Where is the king?' They went and told Vespasian, 'A Jew is asking for you.' He said to them, 'Let him come.' On his arrival he exclaimed, '*Vive domine Imperator!*' Vespasian remarked, 'You give me a royal greeting but I am not king; and should the king hear of it he will put me to death.' He said to him, 'If you are not the king you will be eventually, because the Temple will only be destroyed by a king's hand'; as it is said, 'And Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one' [Isa 10: 34]."

[42] Josephus (*Bell.* 6.301) reports his oracles as φωνὴ ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς, φωνὴ ἀπὸ δύσεως, φωνὴ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, φωνὴ ἐπὶ Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τὸν ναόν, φωνὴ ἐπὶ νυμφίους καὶ νύμφας, φωνὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν πάντα, "a voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the sanctuary, a voice against the bridegroom and the bride, a voice against all the people."

[43] Josephus, *Bell.* 7.1, 3: κελεύει Καῖσαρ ἤδη τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν καὶ τὸν νεὼν κατασκάπτειν... τὸν δ᾽ ἄλλον ἅπαν τα τῆς πόλεως περίβολον οὕτως ἐξωμάλισαν οἱ κατασκάπτοντες, ὡς μηδεπώποτ᾽ οἰκηθῆναι πίστιν ἂν ἔτι παρασχεῖν τοῖς προσελθοῦσι.

which eventually prevented more ashlars from being pried off. Thus, it might be argued that if Mark 13:2 refers to the entire temple complex, the very fact that Jesus' prediction was not literally fulfilled is an indication that it was not composed with the events of August 70 in view.[44] This argument, however, [**432**] seems needlessly pedantic. Titus's destruction of Jerusalem was thorough and Josephus's own statement suggests that Mark 13:2 would have served as a generally credible summary of what occurred. And if Mark 13:2 refers to the temple proper, as Theissen has urged,[45] the prediction is perfectly accurate.

The key question that this essay asks is whether, and under what circumstances, an observer of the events *prior* to destruction of the second temple might reasonably surmise that the fate of the temple was that it be razed. Walter Schmithals excludes this possibility entirely[46]:

> Does the narrator anticipate the destruction of the Temple, or does he look back on it? The latter is more probable; for the *total* destruction of the Temple of which verse 2 speaks corresponds more naturally to the reaction of the Romans after the capture of Jerusalem *that could not be foreseen*.... Accordingly the narrator is writing in or shortly after 70 CE.

Joel Marcus's contention is similar: "Although, admittedly, far-sighted people in the late sixties of the first century might have been able to guess that the

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[44] E.P. Sanders and M. Davis (*Studying*, 18) argue that Mark's prediction is technically inaccurate, and therefore cannot be *ex eventu:* "The temple was destroyed by fire, and many of the stone remained standing – some can be seen to this day. Here we probably have a genuine prediction, not a fake one written after the fact, since it did not come true in a precise sense." Later (p. 21) they concede that Mark may have been written after 70 CE, but in that case, one would have to suppose that Mark had only heard of the destruction of the Temple but knew nothing of the details of the destruction; "or possibly he knew and chose not to change the prediction that 'not one stone would be left on another'." But see below, n. 46, for Walter's response.

[45] Theissen, *Gospels in Context*, 259: "The restrictive ὧδε could be a hint that only the buildings of the temple platform, but not its foundation walls, would be destroyed." "The prophecy has been refined *ex eventu*." Pesch (*Markusevangelium*, 2:272) regards ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ as a "Verdeutlichung des *vaticinium* Jesu *ex eventu*": "Die Vorhersage ist jetzt so deutlich, daß man vermuten kann, der Evangelist habe schon Kenntnis von dem gehabt, das JosBell VII, 1, 1 (§1) so überliefert ist...."

[46] Schmithals, *Markus*, 558 (my translation; emphasis added). Nikolas Walter ("Tempelzerstörung," 42) stresses the complete agreement between Mark's prediction and the events of August 70 CE, rejecting any attempt to distinguish between what occurred (destruction by fire) and Mark's prediction, which implies dismantling (Schleifung): "Aber bald darauf [the burning of the Temple] gab Vespasian [sic!] den Befehl, Stadt und Tempel zu schleifen (bell. VI 250-266), der sogleich, also noch im Jahre 70, durchgeführen wurde.... "dem Zustand, der sich Ende des Jahres 70 darbot, entspricht die Beschreibung in Mc 13,2 durchaus." It is also now clear from excavations at the southwestern corner of the Temple platform that the ashlars were pried loose and toppled down from the platform, landing on *clean* Herodian pavement, which can only have occurred in 70 CE, not subsequently. [I owe this observation to Dan Bahat.]

Temple would be destroyed, the precision of the "prophecy" in 13:1–2 indicates that it has been written after the event."[47]

Brandon supplies a possible logic for the creation of 13:1–2:[48]

> From the abundant evidence which we have that the *Urgemeinde* continued to worship in the Temple it would appear that the repudiation of the charge that Jesus threatened to destroy it [Mark 14:58] must have come from those original Jewish Christians of Jerusalem. This then being the received tradi[**433**]tion for the author of Mark, he duly recorded it. Since he thus had the authority of the *Urgemeinde* for dissociating Jesus from a hostile attitude to the Temple, why did he then risk misunderstanding by attributing to Jesus the prophecy of xiii.1–3? There seems to be but one answer, and it has the merit of corresponding remarkably to the situation indicated by our other considerations. When the author of Mark wrote, the destruction of the Temple was 'news'; indeed for the Christians of Rome, as we have seen, the most impressive of 'news'. In the circumstances, for such a writer, it would surely have been difficult to believe that this signal event had gone unforetold by the Lord Jesus. Therefore, since eschatological hopes had been influenced by it and had to be dealt with in his work, a Dominical anticipation of the ruin of the Temple would clearly best introduce the subject.

Hengel, however, who dates the Gospel to the year of the Four Emperors, after the suicide of Nero and before Titus's assault on Jerusalem, argues that "Mark 13:2 in no way presupposes the catastrophe of 70. Mark may have formulated this sentence simply in view of the threatening situation in Judaea from the time of the sixties by using early tradition stemming from Jesus himself."[49]

Hengel's defense of a pre-70 date is based on the contention that there existed an "eschatological tradition about the καταλύειν of the temple"[50] even though apart from *1 Enoch* 90:28–30 and Josephus *Bell.* 6.300–309 the evidence is not copious.[51] He also points to a succession of political threats to the temple's existence that would have raised the apprehension that the temple might well be destroyed: the Seleucid general Nicanor's threat to "level the precinct of God to the ground and tear down the altar" (2 Macc 14:33); the advice proffered to Antiochus VII Sidetes to "take [Jerusalem] by storm and wipe out completely the race of the Jews" – which presumably would involve the destruction of the city and the temple[52]; and the burning of the porticoes of

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[47] Marcus, "Jewish War," 460.

[48] Brandon, "Date," 135.

[49] Hengel, *Studies*, 16.

[50] Hengel, *Studies*, 15.

[51] John K. Riches, "Apocalyptic – Strangely Relevant," in *Templum Amicitiae: Essays on the Second Temple Presented to Ernst Bammel* (ed. William Horbury; JSNTSup 48; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1991), 249–50: "If Jesus predicted or threatened the destruction of the Temple, that would have been certainly striking and unusual, but not without precedent or subsequent exemplars." The same applies whether or not Mark 13:2 is authentic; it is not a common prediction.

[52] Diodorus Siculus 34.1.1; Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Publications of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Section of Humanities; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–84), 1:181–83.

the temple by Roman troops as they suppressed disturbances that followed Herod's death (Josephus, *Ant.* 17.259–64).

But in the 60s Jerusalem was not being threatened by the Seleucids, and [434] so the old threats of Nicanor and Antiochus VII are not relevant. The last-mentioned incident involving the Romans was not a preplanned act against the temple but a spur-of-the-moment act of troops attempting to defend themselves. In general, Romans regarded themselves as the most pious people on earth; they respected cultic sites, even of their enemies and subject peoples and thought it a sacrilege to interfere with them. But under specific circumstances, temples could be destroyed systematically, not as part of the collateral or accidental consequences of conflict, but deliberately, and it is just such a destruction that Mark 13:2 has in view. It has to do with the Roman siege practice of *evocatio deorum* – the "calling out" of the tutelary deity or deities of a city prior to its destruction, the "devoting" of its inhabitants to death or, more usually, slavery, and the razing of its buildings and temples.[53]

The practice of *evocatio* was sufficiently well known and widespread to make it a reasonable surmise that any hostilities with Rome might well eventuate in the abandoning of the sanctuary by the deity and its consequent destruction. Thus, it is possible to imagine a pre-70 date for the creation of Mark 13:2. *Evocatio* as a *literary motif*, however, is usually retrospective, belonging to the historiographical techniques related to the recording of omens and portents.

Evocatio deorum

The earliest reported instance of *evocatio* concerns the Etruscan city of Veii, twenty km. north of Rome.[54] The Romans, under the command of Marcus

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[53] As far as I am aware, the only scholar of Christian origins to mention *evocatio* is Hengel (*Studies*, 14), who rejects any connection between Mark 15:38 and the *evocatio* of the deity from the sanctuary.

[54] On *evocatio* see Georg Wissowa, "Evocatio," *PW* 6 (1909): 1152–53; Vsevolod Basanoff, *Evocatio: étude d'un rituel militaire romain* (Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études. Sciences religieuses 61; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1947); Joel Le Gall, "Evocatio," in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine. Mélanges offerts à Jacques Heurgon* (Collections de la École française de Rome 27; Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1976), 519–24; Werner Eisenhut, "Evocatio," *Kleine Pauly* 2 (1979): 472–73; Gabriella Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum: Historical & Mythical Interpretations of Ritualised Conquests in the Expansion of Ancient Rome* (Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis Historia Religionum 16; Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2000); Alain Blomart, "Die *evocatio* und der Transfer ›fremder‹ Götter von der Peripherie nach Rom," in *Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Jörg Püpke; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997), 99–111; Hendrik S. Versnel, "Evocatio," *Der Neue Pauly* 4 (1998): 329.

Furius Camillus, conquered the city after a long siege in 396 BCE. Just before the final attack, Camillus is reported to have prayed[55]:

> Under your leadership, Pythian Apollo, and inspired by your will, I advance to destroy the city of Veii and to you I promise a tithe of its spoils. At the same time I beseech you, Queen Juno, who dwells now in Veii, to come with us [**420**] when we have obtained the victory, to our city – soon to be yours too – that a temple appropriate to your majesty may there receive you. (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.21.1–3).

Livy relates the legend that as Camillus's sappers were digging beneath the temple of Juno, they overheard the soothsayer tell the Veiian king that whoever cut up the entrails of the sacrificial victim would obtain the victory and, hearing this, broke through, seized the entrails, and conveyed them to Camillus (though Livy describes this as a story more fit for the theatre than it is to be believed [5.21.8–9]). After describing the looting of the city and the enslavement of its citizens, Livy adds that the temples were stripped and the cult images removed, "though more in the manner of worshipers than pillagers" (5.22.3: *sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo*) and that one of the young men charged with removing the image of Juno called out, "Will you go, Juno, to Rome?" to which the cult statue nodded assent. The statue was then borne to the Aventine where Camillus had commissioned a temple (5.23.7).[56]

By far the most famous case of *evocatio* is the transfer of Juno Caelestis – probably identified with the Phoenician goddess Tanit – from Carthage to Rome at the conclusion of the Third Punic War (146 BCE). The main historical sources for the war, Polybios and Appian, say nothing of an *evocatio*. But in the first century BCE Horace knew of the tradition that the tutelary deities of Carthage had departed and alluded to it in his *Odes* 2.25–28:

25 Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat impotens
tellure, uictorum nepotes
rettulit inferias Iugurthae.

Yes, Juno and the powers on high
That left their Africa to its doom,

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[55] 5.21.2–3: *"tuo ductu" inquit, "Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinc tus pergo ad delendam urbem Ueios, tibique hinc decimam 3 partem praedae uoueo. te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos uictores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat."*

[56] Plutarch (*Camillus* 5.4–6.2) relates, again with skepticism, the tale about the sacrificial entrails, and gives a version of Camillus' invocation of Zeus and the gods (but not vow to Apollo or his evocation of Juno). He does, however, relate a story of Camillus himself, while sacrificing in the temple of Juno and "praying the goddess to accept of their zeal," heard the statue say in low tones that she was ready and willing. Dionysios of Halicarnassus (13.3) relates Camillus' promise of a temple and "costly rites" for Juno, and says the he then sent one of the most distinguished of the *equites* to remove the statue and when one of the young men asked the goddess if she wished to go to Rome, the statue "answered in a loud voice that she did."

Have led the victors' progeny
As victims to Jugurtha's tomb. [**436**]

Two fourth-century commentators also knew the tradition: Servius, in his commentary on the *Aeneid* (12.841–42),[57] and especially Macrobius, who gives an account of the *carmen* used by Scipio Aemilanus to "evoke" the tutelary god of Carthage:

> To any god, to any goddess under whose protection are the people and the state of Carthage (*si deus si dea est cui populus civitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela*), and chiefly to you who are charged with the protection of this city and people, I make prayer and do reverence and ask grace of you all, that you abandon the people and state of Carthage, forsake their places, temples, shrines, and city, and depart therefrom; and that upon that people and state you bring fear and terror and oblivion; that once put forth, you come to Rome, to me and to mine, and that our places, temples, shrines, and city may be more acceptable and pleasing to you; and that you take me and the Roman people and my soldiers under your charge; that we may know and understand the same. If you shall so have done, I vow to you temples and solemn games (*si ita feceritis, voveo vobis templa ludosque facturum*). (Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.9.7–8)

After the prayer and vow were recited, the entrails of a sacrificial victim were inspected to determine whether the gods had accepted the invitation. Closely associated with the *evocatio*, says Macrobius, is another rite, the *devotio*, by which "cities and armies are devoted to destruction after the protecting deities have been evoked" (*urbes vero exercitusque sic devoventur iam numinibus evocatis* [3.9.9]). Famously, the *devotio* of Carthage left not one stone standing on another.

Although Macrobius is from the early fourth century CE, he claims to have found these formulae in a book of Sammonicus Serenus from the Severan period, who in turn was said to have used an older book by a certain Furius, probably L. Furius Philius, consul in 136 BCE and friend of Scipio Aemilianus, who prosecuted the siege of Carthage.[58] There are, nevertheless, several problems with Macrobius's account that lead to the conclusion that the rite was not as fixed as he implies. The fact that there is no evidence of the cult of Juno Caelestis in Rome before the time of Septimius Severus led Georg Wissowa to regard Macrobius's account as entirely legendary.[59] Others have argued that the tradition is essentially correct,[60] or, following Servius's comment, hold that

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[57] Servius, *Aeneid* 12.841–42: *sed constat bello Punico secundo exoratam Iunonem, tertio vero bello a Scipione sacris quibusdam etiam Romam esse translatam*, "but in fact Juno was exorated during the Second Punic War, and during the Third War was moved to Rome to her sacred precincts."

[58] Le Gall, "Evocatio," 521.

[59] Wissowa, "Evocatio," 374.

[60] R.E.A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire: Five Essays* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974), 47; Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: A History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 111: "The genuineness of these documents [Macrobius' *Saturnalia* 3.9.7–10 and his sources] has been questioned but there is no strong reason to doubt that these were the

Juno [437] was "exorated" ("mollified") during the Second Punic War and only transported after the third.[61] For my purposes the historicity of the *evocatio* at Carthage is less important than the fact that by the first century BCE Horace took for granted that Juno had been evoked, and in the Augustan era Virgil concluded that the gods of Troy had departed (*excessere omnes*), prompting Servius and Macrobius to assume that they had been evoked, thus accounting for the downfall of the city and the eventual move of Aeneas to Carthage and thence to Rome[62]:

> When I saw them in close ranks and eager for battle,
> I thereupon began thus: My men, vainly brave,
> if your desire is fixed to follow me in my final venture,
> you see what is the fate of our cause:
> from every altar and protecting fire all the gods
> on whom this empire was stayed, have gone forth (*excessere omnes*);
> the city you aid is in flames. Let us die and rush into the midst of arms.
> One safety the vanquished have, to hope for none.
>
> *Aeneid* 2.347-54

Slightly later, the elder Pliny reports that the ritual of *evocatio* was described in the writings of Verrius Flaccus, who died during the principate of Tiberius. According to Pliny:

> Verrius Flaccus cites trustworthy authorities to show that it was the custom, at the very beginning of a siege, for the Roman priests to call forth the divinity under whose protection the besieged city was (*evocari deum, cuius in tutela id oppidum esset*), and to promise him the same or even more splendid worship among the Roman people. Down to the present day this ritual has remained part of the doctrine of the pontiffs. (Pliny, *Hist. nat.* 28.18–19)

The logic of *evocatio*, Pliny adds, also explains why the true name of the Roman tutelary deity was kept secret, lest some enemy "evoke" it, thus leaving Rome subject to destruction.[63] Hence, whether or not Camillus or Scipio [438]

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formulae used in the 140s B.C.; if so, it is very significant that the same group of nobles were reviving them, using them, and recording them in their writings."

[61] Basanoff, *Evocatio*, 63–66.

[62] This is the text upon which both Macrobius and Servius are commenting when they discuss the *evocatio*. Servius (*Aeneid* 2.351–52) explains: *excessere quia ante expugnationem evocabantur ab hostibus numina propter vitanda sacrilegia*, "*excessere*, because before the conquest, [the gods] were called out by the enemies to avoid terrible sacrileges."

[63] Both Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.9.3–5) and Servius (*Aeneid* 2.351) also discuss the protection of the name of the Roman god. In the second century CE Sextus Pompeius Festus, who is also known to have epitomized the work of Verrius Flaccus, reports: "Foreign cults are those called, who either have been transferred after an evocation of the deities during the siege of the cities (*quae aut evocatis dis in oppugnandis urbibus Romam sunt conata*), or have been fetched in times of peace because of certain reasons, like the Magna Mater from Phrygia, Ceres from Greece, Aesculapius from Epidauros; and these (cults) are celebrated in the same way as among those from whom they have been taken" (translation by Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum*, 43). See the discussion by Gustafsson, and M. Van Doren, "Perigrina sacra: Offiziele Kultübertragungen im alten Rom," *Historia* 3 (1954–55): 488–97.

Aemelianus performed this rite, Roman writers in the first centuries BCE and CE assumed that they had and believed the rite to be part of current siege practices.

Macrobius proceeds to report that his sources contained lists of other towns that had been "devoted," i.e., razed, once their gods were evoked: Stonii, Fregelae, Gabii, Veii, Fidenae, all from Italy; Carthage, Corinth, and many towns in Gaul, Spain, Africa and other parts of the empire (*Sat.* 3.9.13). Nothing is known of Stonii – not even its location; but Fregelae was razed in 125 BCE by L. Opimius,[64] and both Horace (*Ep.* 1.11.7) and Propertius (4.1.34) use Gabii and Fidenae as examples of cities that were totally deserted. On Corinth and Carthage we are better informed: Carthage was destroyed so that, in the words of Orosius, not one wall in the city was left standing.[65] Two years earlier (146 BCE) Corinth was razed to the ground by L. Mummius after it had joined the Achaean confederacy against Rome (Strabo 8.6.23). It remained deserted until its refoundation as a Roman colony in 44 BCE.

This list of towns that were "devoted" to destruction (and their temples destroyed) is impressive. But much less is said of the actual practice of *evocatio* – so little, in fact, that earlier scholars such as Georg Wissowa doubted whether it was practiced at all.[66] In contrast, Hendrik Versnel was convinced on both historical and theoretical grounds that[67] [**439**]

every *devotio* of an enemy city – also that of Veii – was preceded by an *evocatio*. Therefore we cannot but conclude that the *devotio hostium* was definitely an ancient ritual, at any rate dating from far before 146 B.C., at least from about 400 B.C., and it is not probable that it was invented for the capture of Veii.

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[64] Hendrik S. Versnel, "Two Types of Roman *Devotio*," *Mnemosyne* 39 (1976): 380.

[65] Orosius, *Adversus paganos*, 4.23: *diruta autem Carthago omni murali lapide in puluerem conminuto*, "Now Carthage was destroyed, every stone wall being reduced to dust." Compare Appian, *Bellum punica* 135: οἳ Καρχηδόνος μὲν εἴ τι περίλοιπον ἔτι ἦν, ἔκριναν κατασκάψαι Σκιπίωνα καὶ οἰκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀπεῖπον ἅπασι καὶ ἐπηράσαντο, μάλιστα περὶ τῆς Βύρσης, εἴ τις οἰκήσειεν αὐτὴν ἢ τὰ καλούμενα Μέγαρα: ἐπιβαίνειν δ' οὐκ ἀπεῖπον. ὅσαι δὲ πόλεις συμμεμαχήκεσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιμόνως, ἔδοξε καθελεῖν ἁπάσας, "They [delegates of the Senate] decreed that if anything was still left of Carthage, Scipio should obliterate it and that nobody should be allowed to live there. Direful threats were levelled against any who should disobey and chiefly against the rebuilding of Byrsa or Megara, but it was not forbidden to go upon the ground. The towns that had allied themselves with the enemy it was decided to destroy, to the last one."

[66] Wissowa, "Evocatio," 1152 argues that the *evocatio* related only to the Etruscan and Latin cities and that the story of the evocation of Juno Caelestis was "apocryphal," belonging to the Severan period.

[67] Versnel, "Two Types of Roman *Devotio*," 382–83. Similarly, Le Gall, "Evocatio," 524, who argues that every *devotio* of a town was necessarily preceded by the *evocatio* of its god. "C'était [*evocatio*], bien au contraire, un rite banal du vieil arsenal religieux romain de la guerre, si banal que les auteurs n'y ont même pas fait allusion sauf dans les cas célèbres de Veies et de Carthage, pas plus qu'à d'autres, tout aussi courants, telle la lustration de l'armée au moment de l'entrée en campagne dont Tacite [*Ann.* 6.48.2] nous apprend incidemment qu'on la pratiquait encore en 37 ap. J.-C."

The discovery in 1970 of a granite block at Bozkir in the valley of the Çarşamba 10 km. west of Zengibar Kalesi suggests that Versnel is probably correct, at least to the extent that the practice of *evocatio* was neither legendary nor had it fallen from use. The block is probably from a temple[68] and dates from 75 BCE when the proconsul P. Servilius Vatia destroyed the Cilician town of Isaura Vetus (Sallust, *Histories* 2 fr. 87). The inscription reads[69]:

SERVILIUS · C(aii) · F(ilius) · IMPERATOR
hostibus · victeis · Isaura · vetere ·
capta · captiveis · venum · dateis ·
sei · deus · seive · deast · quoius · in ·
tutela · oppidum · vetus · Isaura ·
fuit *vac*. votum · solvit

Servilius, son of Gaius (Servilius), *imperator*,
having conquered the enemies when Isaura Vetus
was captured and sold the captives (into slavery).
Whether it was a god or goddess who was protecting
this town, Isaura Vetus
(Servius) fulfilled his vow.

The formula *sei deus seive deast quoius in tutela oppidum... fuit*[70] is the same as that quoted by Macrobius four centuries later in connection with the *carmen* used at Carthage (*si deus si dea est cui populus civitasque Carthagi*[**440**]*niensis est in tutela*).[71] This coincidence of wording suggested to the original excavator that Servilius had performed a rite similar to the *evocatio*.[72]

The nature of Servilius's vow is uncertain. There is no indication that the tutelary deity of Isaura Vetus – whoever it was – was promised a new temple in Rome or received one. The fact that the inscription is found on a block destined to be placed in a building (the back of the stone is undressed), suggests

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[68] Alan Hall, "New Light on the Capture of Isaura Vetus by P. Servilius Vatia," in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972* (Vestigia 17; München: C.H. Beck, 1972), 572: "The stone itself is a building block, and may have been part of an edifice which was promised in the vow." Similarly, Le Gall, "Evocatio," 523.

[69] *L'Année épigraphique* (1977) 816; *editio princeps:* Hall, "New Light". See also Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: A Sourcebook* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 248.

[70] I.e., *si deus sive dea (est) cuius in tutela oppidum... fuit*.

[71] Compare also Pliny's formulation (above, p. 476). The formula *sive deus, sive dea* is studied by Jaime Alvar, "Matériaux pour l'étude de la formule *sive devs, sive dea*," *Numen* 32, no. 2 (1985): 236–73.

[72] Hall, "New Light," 572. Le Gall ("Evocatio," 520) is more definite: "dans ces conditions il semble légitime d'admettre que l'opération à laquelle il a procédé devant *Isaura Vetus* a bien été une *evocatio* et pas simplement un rite analogue («similar») comme l'a suggéré le Professeur A. Hall." Similarly, Beard, North, and Price, *Religions of Rome: A History*, 133; *Religions of Rome: A Sourcebook*, 248. The most recent study, by Gustafsson (*Evocatio Deorum*, 61), affirms Hall's more cautious conclusion.

that Servilius had built a new temple to the deity at or near the site of the destroyed town.[73] This observation led Gabrielle Gustafsson, who has most recently commented on the practice of *evocatio deorum*, to conclude that the key element in the *evocatio* was not the transport of the deity to Rome, but[74]

> the necessity of dissolving the sacral bonds of the city to be conquered (and destroyed). In any case, the focus is on the *votum*, on the place to be conquered, and on the tutelary god of this place. An introduction into Rome of the deity in question should therefore not necessarily be regarded as a decisive element in a definition of *evocatio*.... In this perspective and with such a definition of *evocatio*, since the Isaura vetus inscription is the *only* known and reasonably certain trace of such a ritual, the inscription must be viewed not as support for the accurateness of other sources, nor as evidence for a "watering down" of the "traditional regulations" of the ritual (of which we know nothing). Instead, it should be regarded as an archaeological point of departure for the reasonable conclusion that the emphasis on destruction and conquest is correct and that the other sources have embroidered, theologically and historiographically, a ritual praxis that was perhaps well-known [**441**] to them but is unknown to us, a ritual practice that may well, for all we know, have varied considerably according to the particular situation.

Evocatio and Mark 13:2

The foregoing has shown that the ritual of *evocatio* as part of the toolkit of Roman siege tactics was well known. Although it likely existed in varied forms and did not always involve the transport of the deity to Rome, it is attested both in Italy and the western provinces and also in the East, and it was well known in the early imperial period. The question now is whether it is at all relevant to an understanding of Mark 13:1–2.

To the modern ear the prediction that "no stone will be left standing on another" might sound simply like a matter-of-fact prediction of the fate of this grand piece of Herodian architecture or as a pronouncement of divine judgment of the temple, its priesthood, and the élite families who controlled it. But to the ancient hearer, as the above discussion has suggested, the destruction of a

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[73] See Jörg Rüpke, *Domi militiae: Die religiöse Konstruktion des Krieges in Rom* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990), 164: "Im Verlauf der späten Republik kommt die Evozierung fremder Götter zum Stillstand. Die letzte, explizit als solche bezeichnete *evocatio*, die der Schutzgöttin Karthagos, führt nicht mehr zu einem Tempelbau in Rom. Das fast fünfundsiebzig Jahre jüngere Inschrift aus Isaura, unser letztes Zeugnis, erwähnt die Errichtung eines Tempels überhaupt nicht: Die *evocatio* ist zum gewöhnlichen *votum* geworden." Beard, North and Price (*Religions of Rome: A History*, 133–34) offer a somewhat different account: in the late republican period the 'evoked' god or goddess was no longer promised a temple in Rome, but instead was promised one in what had now become Roman provincial territory. Gustafsson (*Evocatio Deorum*, 62) interprets this not as a relaxation of earlier practices, but as pointing to the fact that the *evocatio* was not a "strict and clearly regulated ritual."

[74] Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum*, 80.

temple *entailed* the belief that the deity had departed, for in the words of Macrobius, unless the deity had departed,[75]

> the city could not be taken after all or... were the capture possible, [the Romans] held it to be an offense against the divine law to make prisoners of gods. (*Sat*. 3.9.2)

The notion that a temple could not be taken while the deities were present was not only a Roman belief, but is implicit and explicit in statements of the Tanak and Second Temple literature, which account for the destruction of the first temple by the Babylonians by the belief that the deity had departed.[76] The prediction of Mark 13:2, then, is not a statement about real estate or architecture, nor is it merely an expression of divine judgment, although it is that too. Implicit in the prediction of a destroyed temple is the belief that the deity has or will abandon the temple, for it is only under these conditions that it could be destroyed. [**442**]

1. An Evocatio performed by Titus?

Is a prediction of the utter destruction of the temple and the desertion by the divinity that this implies credible prior to the events of 70 CE or is it, as Schmithals has opined, something unforeseeable ("nicht voraussehbar") before the Roman conquest of Jerusalem, and hence a post-factum rationalization of the destruction that Titus wreaked on the temple? The simple answer seems to be that Schmithals is mistaken: one can surmise that anyone who had knowledge of the practices of *evocatio* and *devotio* or knew of the fates of Carthage, Corinth, Isaura Vetus, and other cities that had been "devoted" could have concluded from the events, say, of 66–69 CE, that the total destruction of the temple would not only be possible, but would be a nearly inevitable consequence of war. The same conclusion might have been drawn by someone such as Jesus ben Ḥananiah, who in the early 60s believed that conflict with the Romans was inevitable. The Synoptic Sayings Gospel Q, usually dated prior to the fall of Jerusalem,[77] has Jesus declare, ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν (13:35a), which, like Jesus ben Ḥananiah's ravings of 62 CE, suggests that the deity has abandoned, or is about to abandon, the temple. Thus, prior to the con-

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[75] Macrobius, *Sat*. 3.9.2: *quod aut aliter urbem capi posse non crederent, aut etiam, si posset, nefas aestimarent deos habere captivos*. Similarly, Servius, *Aen*. 2.351: *«excessere» quia ante expugnationem evocabantur ab hostibus numina propter vitanda sacrilegia* , "*excessere*, because before the conquest, [the gods] were called out by the enemies to avoid terrible sacrileges." Livy's account of the transport of Juno to Rome emphasizes the *pietas* of Camillus, while Appian's account of the siege of Carthage points out that soldiers who participated in the looting of the temple of Apollo were punished by Scipio Aemelianus (*Bell. punica* 127, 133).

[76] See below, n. 83.

[77] See John S. Kloppenborg, *Excavating Q: The History and Setting of the Sayings Gospel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), 80–87 for a discussion of the dating of Q.

clusion of the First Revolt, we have expressions of a key element of the theology of *evocatio*, framed, to be sure, not from the standpoint of the conquering Romans but from the standpoint of certain Jews who were presumably anxious to raise warnings regarding the precarious political situation of Jerusalem in the early 60s and/or the conduct of the élite of Jerusalem, whom Q accuses of "killing the prophets" (Q 11:49–51; 13:34–35).

We do not know whether Titus performed the ritual of *evocatio* at the beginning of the siege since neither of our two principal sources, Tacitus and Josephus, mentions this (Tacitus never mentions this ritual at all in his *Histories*). Nevertheless, both represent as a credible scenario that the siege proceeded on the supposition that the deity had abandoned the temple prior to August 70 and hence that a Roman victory was assured – the key element in the theology of *evocatio*.

This belief surfaces in Josephus's account in several ways. First, just after the Roman capture of the second wall in May, Josephus describes himself exhorting the defenders to surrender and to recognize that "fortune had indeed from all quarters passed over to [Rome] and God, who went the round of the nations, bringing to each in turn the rod of empire, now rested over Italy" (*Bell.* 5.367). He recalls that "our forefathers" – presumably he means Jews under Herod the Great and his successors – , though by far superior to the Romans, [443] nonetheless submitted to Rome, knowing that "God was on the Roman side" (*Bell.* 5.371). Thus far, Josephus's argument evokes only the notion of *providentia*. But he concludes much more dramatically, with the key element of the *evocatio*[78]:

> My belief, therefore, is that the Deity has fled from the holy places and taken his stand on the side of those with whom you are now at war.

John of Gishala took the opposite view, even after the cessation of the *tamid* in early August, claiming that he did not fear capture, "since the city was God's."[79]

According to Josephus's account Titus held the same view as Josephus: upbraiding John for polluting the sanctuary with blood, Titus declared that the deity had departed. Titus then invoked as a witness to his own innocence in this regard both his own ancestral gods and "any deity who watched over this place – for now I believe that there is none" (*Bell.* 6.127: καὶ εἴ τις ἐφεώρα ποτὲ

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[78] *Bell.* 5.412: ὥστε ἐγὼ πεφευγέναι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων οἶμαι τὸ θεῖον, ἑστάναι δὲ παρ᾽ οἷς πολεμεῖτε νῦν.

[79] *Bell.* 6.98: οὐκ ἄν ποτε δείσειεν ἅλωσιν: θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπάρχειν τὴν πόλιν. *B. Sot.* 49b preserves the aphorism that the Jerusalem could not be taken while the *tamid* was being offered: "Our Rabbis taught: When the kings of the Hasmonean house fought one another, Hyrcanus was outside and Aristobulus within. Each day they used to let down denarii in a basket, and haul up for them [animals for] the continual offerings. An old man there, who was learned in Greek wisdom, spoke with them [the Romans] in Greek, saying: 'As long as they carry on the Temple-service, they will never surrender to you'."

τόνδε τὸν χῶρον, νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἴομαι), the latter phrase bearing a striking similarity to the beginning of the *evocatio carmen*, "*si deus sive dea est cuius in tutela oppidum est....*" After the defenders had fled to the upper city, Titus invoked the memory of destroyed Carthage (*Bell.* 6.323) and pointed out that with the temple destroyed, the defenders were now without protection (6.348).

As is well known, Josephus tries to absolve Titus of the responsibility for the destruction of the temple, claiming that the fire that destroyed it was set by an impulsive legionary against Titus's express intentions but evidently "moved by some supernatural impulse" (*Bell.* 6.241, 252). Josephus states that Titus had decided, in violation of the "laws of war" (οἱ τοῦ πολέμου νόμοι, *Bell.* 6.239, 346), to preserve the temple as an "ornament to the empire" (ὥσπερ καὶ κόσμον τῆς ἡγεμονίας [*Bell.* 6.242]) and heroically tried to extinguish the fire (6.260–66).[80] Such a claim is almost surely false, as numerous commentators agree.[81] [**444**] The destruction of the temple was deliberate and part of Roman strategy. But behind Josephus's strained apologetics *and* Titus's actions in ordering the destruction of the temple lies the basic belief necessary elements of conquest are the separation of the conquered from their tutelary deity and the destruction of the cultic site. That is, in attempting to absolve Titus of responsibility and to portray him as a man of great *pietas* (also a theme of the *evocatio* narrative of Livy), Josephus betrays knowledge of precisely what was *normal and expected* in any scenario involving war with the Romans.

As a parenthesis, it is worth pointing out that Josephus's mention of the legionaries erecting their standards in the court of the temple and their acclaiming Titus as *imperator* (αὐτοκράτωρ, *Bell.* 6.316) has a possible relevance to the question of whether Titus indeed performed an *evocatio*. Macrobius notes that *only* an *imperator* had the power to "evoke" the tutelary deity and to "devote" a city (*Sat.* 3.9.9) and it is noteworthy that the inscription from Isaura Vetus expressly identifies P. Servilius Vatia as *imperator*, that is, as a commander with *imperium*.

Hence, without actually describing the *evocatio* ritual, Josephus leaves sufficient hints in his account that it probably was performed. Josephus is not

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[80] There are numerous expressions of this theme throughout *Bell.* 5–6. E.g., *Bell.* 5.456; 6.128; 6.239–41: Josephus describes a debate about what to do with the Temple, with some proposing that it should be destroyed under the "law of war" (τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει χρῆσθαι τῷ τοῦ πολέμου νόμῳ), others arguing that it should be spared provided that the Jews do not keep weapons in it. Titus announced that he would not destroy the Temple, but would wreak vengeance on men rather than inanimate objects, "nor under any circumstances burn down so magnificent a work," which it would be "an ornament of the empire if it stood." Titus claims again (6.346) to have ignored "the laws of war" and instead pleaded that the rebels spare the shrines and preserve the Temple.

[81] Ingomar Weiler, "Titus und die Zerstörung des Tempels von Jerusalem – Absicht oder Zufall," *Klio* 50 (1968): 139–58; Gedalyahu Alon, *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World: Studies in Jewish History in the Times of the Second Temple* (trans. Israel Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1977), 252–68; Price, *Jerusalem Under Siege*, 170–71.

likely to have referred directly to the ritual, since he would scarcely wish to convey the notion that the Romans were able to provide enticements for the Jewish deity to leave the temple. According to Josephus the deity's departure was due instead to the impious conduct of the "tyrants" who had seized control of the city and temple and who were responsible for the catastrophe of the First Revolt.

2. *The Evocatio* as a Literary Topos

As the preceding survey indicates, sufficient evidence exists to warrant the supposition that the *evocatio* and, related to this, the "devoting" of enemy towns, continued to be practiced as battle rituals. Naturally, the ritual of the *evocatio* and, related to this, the inspection and interpretation of the omens by the *haruspices*, necessarily preceded the siege. But it goes without saying that the effectiveness of the *evocatio* and the correctness of the interpretation of sacrificial entrails could be known *and narrated* only in retrospect, after the successful completion of a siege. In this sense, then, the *evocatio* and related motifs belonged not only to the lexicon of Roman battle rituals but also to *literary and historiographic topoi* found in literary accounts of the triumph of Rome in conflict with its enemies. The evoking of enemy deities and all that [**445**] went with it thus belong to the wider field of prodigies used by Roman writers in their historical accounts.[82]

The motif of the desertion of the temple by the Jewish deity occurs precisely in the sections of Tacitus and Josephus that deal with prodigies. Both list the omens and prodigies that occurred prior to the destruction of the temple, which, with hindsight, should have alerted those involved to the coming desertion of the temple by the deity. Tacitus states:

> There had been seen hosts joining battle in the skies, the fiery gleam of arms, the temple illuminated by a sudden radiance from the clouds. The doors of the inner shrine were suddenly thrown open, and a voice of more than mortal tone was heard to cry that "the gods were departing (*excedere deos*)."

Although these signs were sufficiently ominous to serve as dire warnings, Tacitus explains that the normal expedient – to propitiate the deity immediately – was not taken, because Jews "hated all religious rites, and did not deem it lawful to expiate by offering and sacrifice" (*Hist.* 5.13). Tacitus's claim is absurd, but it illustrates the historiographic use to which prodigies and omens are put in later accounts of successful sieges: the losing side typically neglects, misunderstands, or fails to act on omens, just as occurred at the capture of Veii.

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[82] I am indebted to the work of Eve-Marie Becker, *Das Markus-Evangelium im Rahmen antiker Historiographie: Ein Beitrag zur Erforschung von Quellen, Redaktion und Gattung des frühesten Evangeliums* (WUNT 194; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 2006) at this point. On prodigies and omens, see Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1879–82), vol. 4; Bruce MacBain, *Prodigy and Expiation: A Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome* (Latomus 177; Brussels: [S.n.], 1982).

Josephus has an even more elaborate list of omens that he regarded as self-evident in their meaning – a sword-shaped star, a comet, and a series of omens at festivals prior to the onset of the revolt: at Passover a bright light in the temple, an unnatural birth within the temple precincts, and the opening of the eastern gate of the temple on its own. A few months later, he reports a vision of celestial armies, and at the following Shevu'ot a commotion in the temple and a voice saying, "We are departing hence" (*Bell.* 6.290–300).[83] Most, Josephus [**446**] claims, were oblivious to the import of these omens or even thought them to be signs of good fortune, but a few of the scribes saw them for what they were. Jesus ben Ḥananiah's ravings starting in 62 CE likewise belong to Josephus's set of omens (*Bell.* 6.301–9).

It is in this context that Tacitus's and Josephus's accounts of the departure of the deity should be seen: as one of the omens that (supposedly) occurred prior to the capture of the city and the temple, which should have been (but was not) understood at the time, and whose interpretation became clear only *following* the siege. Eva-Marie Becker concludes:[84]

> Die im engeren Sinne historiographische Literatur *historisiert* die Prodigien, d.h. sie bringt sie in Verbindung mit geschichtlichen Ereignissen und deutet sie nachträglich explizit von diesen her. Gerade in der *Synthese* historischer Darstellung mit den Mitteln einer an sich esoterischen literarischen Konvention liegt das innovative Potential historiographischer Literatur im Umgang mit Prodigien.

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[83] The motif of the departure of God from the sanctuary or land is attested in connection with the destruction of the first Temple in Jer 12:7; Ezek 8:12; 9:9; *1 Enoch* 89:56: "I saw how [God] left that their house and their tower and cast all of them into the hands of the lions"; *Liv. Pro.* 2.11–12: "[Jeremiah], before the capture of the Temple, seized the ark of the Law and the things in it and made them to be swallowed up in a rock. And to those standing by he said, 'The Lord has gone away from Zion into heaven and will come again in power'"; *Pss. Sol.* 7.1–2 [a prayer]: "Do not move away from us O God, lest those who hate us without cause should attack us. For you have rejected them O God; do not let their feed trample your holy inheritance" [cf. 2.2, 19]; *LAB* 19.2 *et irascetur Deus in vobis, et derelinquet vos, et discedet de terra vestra*; *2 Bar.* 6:1 – 8:2 describes a vision in which, prior to the Babylonian destruction of the Temple, an angel descended to remove the veil, the ark and its cover, the two tablets of the Law, the priestly vestments, altar, precious stones and vessels. Then a voice was heard saying, "Enter you enemies of Jerusalem, and let her adversaries come in: for he who kept the house has abandoned it" (8.2); *2 Bar.* 64.6 [of the time of Manasseh]: "And the impiety of Manasseh increased to such a degree that the glory of the Most High removed itself from the sanctuary." See further, Otto Michel and Otto Bauernfeind, *De bello judaico: Der jüdische Krieg* (München: Kösel Verlag, 1962–69), 2.185; Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors*, 2.60–61.

It is a standard trope of rabbinic literature that the Shekinah went into Exile with Israel during the Babylonian captivity (*Lam. Rab.* 1.19–20 §54) and that Jeremiah saw the Temple destroyed and the Shekinah depart: *Lam. Rab.* Proem 23; *Qoh. Rab.* 12.7 §1: "When Jeremiah saw Jerusalem destroyed, the Temple burnt, Israel sent into exile, and the Holy Spirit departed, he began to say over them, *Vanity of vanities*."

[84] Becker, *Das Markus-Evangelium*, 180 (emphasis original).

This raises a crucial distinction between omens and rituals that (allegedly) occurred before the events, and their *literary and historiographic use in narrative*. Gustafsson, who defends the existence of the *evocatio* as a battle ritual, also points to its literary use in what she terms the "mythical historiography" of Livy. In historiographic narrative the ritual became part of a systematic theology of history that placed Rome at the centre of the world, to which foreign gods were moved to find their "natural" home. It is not irrelevant that Livy's depiction of Camillus emphasizes certain of *Augustus*' characteristics, with the result that the expansion of Roman power in the first centuries BCE and CE are connected to the much earlier solidification of the power of the State within Italy. Gustafsson concludes:[85]

> The historiographical, ideological, theological and mythical aspects of *evocatio*, in Livy's narrative, are concentrated on certain particularly important [**447**] themes. Together, they present a mythical spatial tension, the effect of which is an emphasis on importation, on the mutual interests of the Roman state and the gods of the enemies, and on destruction and deprivation as intimately related to the positive aspects of Roman expansion. Furthermore, in all of this, piety is connected with power and divine favour and support even for the expansion and, what is more, even from the foreign gods. Finally, the symbolic and mythical functions of places are strongly emphasized, as well as the relation of these functions to power.... The expansion of early Rome is given religious legitimacy through the emphasis on what Livy may have regarded as ritual "correctness", intimately connected with the concept of piety. At the same time, the decisive even in Roman history of the conquest of Veii is associate with mythical themes and given a theological explanation, and the temple of Juno Regina is given an etiology that fits well into a coherent, historico-theological scheme.

3. Mark 13:2bc as an Allusion to the Evocatio

Is the substance of Mark 13:1–2 imaginable as a saying that circulated prior to August 70 CE? Given knowledge of the Roman ritual of *evocatio* and given conditions in which conflict with Rome seemed likely or inevitable, it is indeed conceivable that someone could conclude that the deity would depart and the utter demolition of the temple would result. Whether Mark 13:1–2 in its details represents that saying is another matter. It is widely conceded that the [**448**] framework of 13:1–2ab is due to Markan redaction,[86] and that the saying itself,

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[85] Gustafsson, *Evocatio Deorum*, 124–28, at 128.

[86] V. 1 belongs to Mark's overall framework of Jesus' movement in and out of Jerusalem: 11:11: ὀψίας ἤδη οὔσης τῆς ὥρας, ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν... 15 καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν... 19 καὶ ὅταν ὀψὲ ἐγένετο, ἐξεπορεύοντο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως... 27 καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι... 13.1 καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ... 13.3 καὶ καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ὄρ ος τῶν Ἐλ αιῶν... 14.26 καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν. Specific details are also Markan: (a) the opening genitive absolute (καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ) duplicates a Markan introduction in 10:17; (b) dialogues formed by introducing the interlocutor's question or comment with the historic present λέγει, followed by Jesus' reply with εἶπεν αὐτῷ can be see also at 2:18–19; 4:38, 40; 7:5–6 (with ἐπερωτῶσιν... εἶπεν), and 7:28–29; (c) the vocative διδάσκαλε appears frequently

οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ, could not have been transmitted apart from a concrete indication of its context. Thus Rudolf Bultmann treated Mark 13:2c as a Markan construction, created from a traditional saying (such as Mark 14:58) and formulated in a manner consistent with the framework in 13:1–2a.[87] Others have suggested a version of the saying found in Luke 19:43–44a as the source of Mark 13:2b.[88] The latter suggestion is predicated on the supposition that Luke 19:43–44a is pre-Lukan rather than a Lukan construction based on Mark 13:2 and his redaction of Mark 13:14–20, as seems more probable. A third possibility, mooted by Jan Lambrecht and John R. Donahue, is that Mark 13:2c is derived from Q 13:35a, ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὑμῖν ὁ οἶκος ὑμῶν.[89] This latter suggestion has in its favor not merely the verbal coincidence of the use of ἀφίεσθαι in two sayings that pronounce doom on the temple – which had initially drawn Lambrecht's and Donahue's attention –, but a more substantive convergence: Mark 13:2 presupposes what Q 13:35a states expressly, that the deity has abandoned the "house" (= temple).[90]

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in Mark (The formulation of dialogues by introducing the interlocutors question or comment with the historic present λέγει, followed by Jesus' reply with εἶπεν αὐτῷ can be see also at 2:18–19; 4:38, 40; 7:5–6 (with ἐπερωτῶσιν... εἶπεν), and 7:28–29; and (d) the vocative διδάσκαλε appears frequently in Mark. See Lambrecht, *Markus-Apokalypse*, 68–72; Pesch, *Naherwartung*, 84–85; Dupont, "Pierre sur pierre," 304–6; Neirynck, "Marc 13," 397–99.

On v. 2ab, Pesch (*Naherwartung*, 86–87) observes that Mark frequently anticipates the content of sayings of Jesus in the introduction: 7:18–19; 8:11–12; 10:17–18; 12:14–15.

[87] Rudolf K. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition* (rev. ed.; trans. John Marsh; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 36: "Vv. 1, 2a may well be a scene constructed for a prophecy handed down in the Church, as it manifestly was in a variety of forms.... If this be the case the form (v. 2b) would be determined by its context.... There is little here to encourage us to think that this is the oldest form of the prophecy handed on to us complete with this setting; the address in v. 1 sounds far too much as if made for the specific purpose of evoking the prophecy." Similarly, Willi Marxsen, *Der Evangelist Markus: Studien zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Evangeliums* (FRLANT 67; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956 [2. Aufl. 1959]), 113–15; Pesch, *Naherwartung*, 83–96. Pesch reversed his view his commentary (*Das Markusevangelium* [HTKNT 2; Freiburg, Basel and Wien: Herder, 1976–1977 [2. Aufl. 1977–1980]], 2:269): "Da Jesu Weisung (V 2c) nicht als von 14,58 abgeleitete red Bildung erklärt werden kann..., ist auch der Rahmen des Wortes nicht als mk Bildung vorzustellen."

[88] Johannes Bihler, *Die Stephanusgeschichte im Zusammenhang der Apostelgeschichte* (Münchener Theologische Studien, 1. Historische Abteilung 16; München: M. Huebner, 1963), 13–16; Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, 220; Dupont, "Pierre sur pierre"; Gaston, *No Stone on Another*, 66. K. Paesler (*Das Tempelwort Jesu: Die Traditionen von Tempelzerstörung und Tempelerneuerung im Neuen Testament* [FRLANT 184; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999]) argues that 13:2c reflects an authentic saying of Jesus, formulated in Aramaic and transmitted as an unfulfilled prophecy until Mark used it.

[89] Lambrecht, *Markus-Apokalypse*, 77–78; Donahue, *Are You the Christ?* 108.

[90] Lambrecht (*Markus-Apokalypse*, 76) suggests that "die ursprüngliche Bedeutung von οἶκος ist hochstwahrscheinlich 'die Stadt'." Gaston draws the same conclusion (*No Stone on Another*, 244), on the supposition that Luke 19:44 (which concerns Jerusalem rather than the

Although it is still conceivable that οὐ μὴ ἀφεθῇ ὧδε λίθος ἐπὶ λίθον ὃς οὐ μὴ καταλυθῇ, ultimately adapted from Q 13:35a and furnished with a suitable introduction, might have circulated prior to the war, it seems to me more likely that it was Mark who recast a saying such as Q 13:35a, knowing of the Roman practice of *evocatio* and drawing out what it implied concretely regarding the fate of the temple. Still, a pre-Markan and pre-70 version of Mark 13:1–2 can hardly be dismissed out of hand. As an element in Mark's historical narrative, [449] however, Mark 13:1–2 is better seen as a *retrospective* comment on that destruction, just as the uses of omens, portents, and reports of the desertion of towns by their tutelary deities serves as *topoi* of Roman historiography. Of course Mark does not express Rome's ideology of Empire – that foreign deities are either transported to Rome, where they find their proper home, or honored in *Roman* temples built for them in territory that has now become a Roman possession.[91] Instead, Mark 13:2 reflects the distinctive perspective of Mark, who created a "dual narrative" which related the fate of Jesus at the hands of his priestly opponents and Pilate's soldiers, and the fate of the temple and its city, destroyed, as Mark 11:15–19 and 12:1–12 suggests, *because of* the actions of the priests, who would not recognize John or Jesus and who had turned the temple into a den of bandits.

Thus the prediction of the destruction of the temple in 13:1–2, when combined with 11:12–21, 27–34; 12:1–12; 13:5–37; and 15:33, 37–39, becomes part of a historiographic narrative with a dual focus: the fate of Jesus and the fate of the temple, in which Jesus' death, at the instigation of the officials of the temple (12:1–12), is directly connected to the eventual destruction of the temple. The death scene contains two prodigies of the coming destruction of the temple – the darkening of the sky and the tearing of the temple's veil (15:33, 38). Mark's bracketing the story of Jesus' disruption of the temple (11:15–19) with the evidently symbolic story of the cursing and

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Temple specifically). Beasley-Murray, however, comments: "it may be doubted that Mark 13:2 related originally to the ruin of the city rather than the temple, and that such importance attaches to the issue as Gaston has implied, since neither city nor temple could be destroyed without the other" (*Jesus and the Last Days*, 286).

[91] Mark 13:2, if understood as implying a statement about the departure of the deity, does not of course imply the new location of the deity. From the Roman standpoint, as Gustafsson has shown (above p. 479), the *evocatio* did not necessarily imply transport to Rome (though Josephus reports that some of the temple furnishings were take to Rome and placed in the newly refurbished Temple of Pax [Εἰρήνη; *Bell.* 7.158]). Rabbinic tradition takes for granted that while the divine presence abandoned the Temple, it remained nearby. "R. Isaac b. Samùel says in the name of Rab: The night has three watches, and at each watch the Holy One, blessed be He, sits and roars like a lion and says: 'Woe to the children, on account of whose sins I destroyed My house and burnt My temple and exiled them among the nations of the world'" (*b. Ber.* 3a) and quotes R. Yosé (I CE) as entering one of the ruins in Jerusalem and reporting: "I heard a *bath qol*, cooing like a dove, and saying: 'Woe to the children, on account of whose sins I destroyed My house and burnt My temple and exiled them among the nations of the world!'" (*b. Ber.* 3a).

destruction of a barren fig tree (11:12–14, 21) turns the unit into another omen of coming destruction. His introduction of a pre-Markan apocalyptic discourse which featured, among other things, a prediction of the desecration of the temple, by a chria that shifts the focus to the destruction of the temple also underscores Mark's interest in the destruction of the temple. In this way Mark creates a narrative in which the fate of Jesus is correlated with the destruction of the temple. If there was a pre-Markan tradition of Jesus' oracle against the temple alluding to the Roman ritual of *evocatio*, Mark has historicized and narrativized this oracle, using it retrospectively in his account of the dual fates of Jesus and the temple. [**450**]

Conclusion

The extraordinary prediction made in Mark 13:2 – the complete and final demolition of the temple – should be regarded not as a fortunate guess about the accidents of war. It presupposes awareness of Roman siege tactics and, in particular, the ritual of *evocatio* and the separation of an enemy from its protective deity preliminary to the razing of a town and its temples. Mark's forecast of the destruction of the temple is thus not merely a statement about real estate but entails a claim that the divine presence is no longer there; accordingly Mark 13:2 should be read in concert with Q 13:35a and the oracle of Jesus ben Ḥananiah, both uttered before the revolt. But as an element in Mark's narrative, Mark 13:1–2 is best seen as a historiographic effort to provide a retrospective account of the dual fates of Jesus and the temple where his allusion to the Roman ritual of *evocatio* is treated as another of the prodigies (along with darkness at midday and the tearing of the temple veil), analogous to those catalogued by Tacitus and Josephus, of the temple's destruction by Titus.

Addendum

On the dating of Mark, see (in addiition to those discussed in this article), Brian J. Incigneri, *The Gospel to the Romans: The Setting and Rhetoric of Mark's Gospel* (Biblical Interpretation; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2003) who argues for a date after 70 CE on the grounds that Mark would not have risked making a prediction of the destruction of the Temple if he did not already know it to have occurred. James G. Crossley, *The Date of Mark's Gospel: Insights from the Law in Earliest Christianity* (JSNTSup 266; London and New York: T. & T. Clark, 2004) argues for a much earlier date, in the late 30s to mid 40s, on the grounds that Mark makes assumptions about Sabbath observance, and laws relating to divorce and remarriage that Matthew and Luke, writing much later, had to clarify and explain. This, in Crossley's view,

suggests an early date and that Mark represents Jesus as Torah-observant. Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 11–14 provides a careful and nuanced discussion of dating which leans heavily on Mark 13:14, which is difficult to reconcile with the events after 70 CE. Accordingly, she argues for a date "after Menachem began to exercise a messianic role in 66 CE, or more likely, after 68 or 69 when Simon son of Gioras emerged as the major messianic leader of the revolt" (14).

Further discussions of Josephus and an allusion to the *evocatio deorum*: David Kaden, "Flavius Josephus and the *Gentes Devictae* in Roman Imperial Discourse: Hybridity, Mimicry, and Irony in the Agrippa II Speech (Judean War 2.345–402)," *JSJ* 42, no. 4 (2011): 481–507 (506–507).

For other dicussions of the relation of Q 13:35 to Mark 13:1–2, see Dennis R. MacDonald, *Two Shipwrecked Gospels: The* Logoi *of Jesus and Papias' Exposition of the Logia About the Lord* (Early Christianity and Its Literature 8; Atlanta, Ga.: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012) 299–301.

Chapter 17

Agrarian Discourse in the Sayings of Jesus[1]

In current research on the discourse of the early Jesus tradition, in particular parabolic discourse, there are several competing approaches.[2] Few nowadays would defend the proposition that Jesus was an allegorist, speaking in one discursive realm but in fact intending to evoke other discursive realms, for example, salvation history or the care of the soul. Of course it is clear that allegorical meanings were soon imputed to the parables. Matthew took parabolic discourse in this direction, turning the story of the Great Supper into an allegory of the fate of Jerusalem. Much later Origen read the Good Samaritan as an account of salvation history from Adam to Christ.

Some argue that Jesus told stories which deliberately evoked certain cultural codes found in ancient Judaean literature, such that his parables functioned as oblique commentary on current events. Parables that featured vineyards thus evoked the trope of Israel as God's vineyard and served to comment on the current standing of Israel in her covenantal relationship to God.[3] Parables about [105] shepherds might be seen to evoke the various shepherds of the Hebrew Bible – David, Cyrus, or the incompetent shepherds of Jeremiah and Ezekiel – and thus to offer a commentary on current leadership. Without rejecting such approaches outright, this paper begins with the methodological insistence that we ought to get clear on the most basic meanings of the images in question before moving to abstract, symbolic, or allegorical meanings. It is also important to consider the possibility that in some cases, a vineyard or a shepherd in a parable of Jesus is just a vineyard or a shepherd.

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[1] First published as "Agrarian Discourse in the Sayings of Jesus." Pages 104–28 in *Engaging Economics: New Testament Scenarios and Early Christian Interpretation*. Edited by Bruce Longenecker and Kelly Liebengood. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2010. © Wm. B. Eerdmans 2010. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved. This paper was written with the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

[2] It uses the standard abbreviations for papyri found in John F. Oates, Roger S. Bagnall, and William H. Willis, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 5th ed, BASP Supplements 9 (Oakville, CT: American Society of Papyrologists, 2001).

[3] E.g., Klyne R. Snodgrass, *The Parable of the Wicked Tenants* (WUNT 7; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983) and those authors discussed in John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine* (WUNT 195; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), chap. 4.

What is routinely neglected in discussions of the sayings of Jesus, or given only fleeting consideration, is an understanding of the social and economic *realia* invoked in Jesus' sayings and parables. Exegetes are often satisfied to assume on the basis of contemporary cultural knowledge that they understand how vineyards were operated and why tenants might revolt, or the economics and social aspects of transhumance, without significant inquiry into what ancient sources can tell us. They assume, wrongly as it turns out, that ancient vineyards operated pretty much in the same way that modern vineyards do (except of course for the lack of mechanization) and that contemporary practices of shepherding can be assumed. Consequently, they miss key aspects of the social roles of ancient shepherding.[4] The result is often anachronistic and ethnocentric readings of the sayings of Jesus.[5]

In this essay I wish to explore a single instance of agrarian discourse, Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24, and track how this expression of balanced reciprocity is employed at various levels of the Jesus tradition. In this I am concerned with both *verbal continuity* and *ideological discontinuity* and to account for the ideologically-freighted reshaping of agrarian discourse in the literature of the later Jesus movement. [**106**]

The particular kind of exchange under investigation involves reciprocity, a characteristic of agrarian societies. It is now common to invoke the typology of reciprocity advocated by Marshall Sahlins. *General reciprocity* is an open exchange typical of the relationships between close kin and friends. Exchange generates general obligations for reciprocation, but reciprocation is left indefinite both in terms of its timing and its quality. *Balanced reciprocity*, by contrast, is a *quid pro quo* exchange that aims at equivalence and timeliness. Market exchange is a form of balanced reciprocity that involves strict equivalence of exchange.[6] In other forms of balanced reciprocity, patron-client relationships for example, the exchange is not goods for goods or goods for currency, but rather public displays of gratitude and loyalty in exchange for various

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[4] See especially Brent D. Shaw, "Bandits in the Roman Empire," *P&P* 105 (1984): 5–52; Thomas Grünewald, *Räuber, Rebellen, Rivalen, Rücher: Studien zu Latrones im römischen Reich* (Forschungen zur Antiken Sklaverei 31; Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999). The transition from shepherd to bandit and back again was sufficiently common that the identification of shepherds with *latrones* was common. An inscription from Caria orders local officials to "flog shepherds who commit their accustomed acts of banditry" (*MAMA* IV 297). The porous boundary between banditry and shepherding can still be seen. See Gabriela Vargas-Cetina1, "Our Patrons Are Our Clients: A Shepherds Cooperative in Bardia, Sardinia," *Dialectical Anthropology* 18, no. 3–4 (1993): 337–62.

[5] I have outlined and analyzed the history of exegesis of Mark 12:1–12, showing how anachronistic and ideologically guided assumptions have distorted the reading the parable. Kloppenborg, *Tenants*.

[6] On the relationship between Sahlin's model of reciprocity and Karl Polanyi's distinctions between reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange, see Alan J. Kirk, "Karl Polanyi, Marshall Sahlins, and the Study of Ancient Social Relations," *JBL* 126, no. 1 (2007): 182–91.

benefits. The expectation of reciprocity, nonetheless, is not left diffuse and its timing is not left entirely open. Whereas in general reciprocity exchange serves to cement social relationships, in balanced reciprocity there is a greater concern to secure self-interest. The supplying of goods or benefits generates the expectation of an equivalent return, normally within a limited temporal framework. *Negative reciprocity* is fundamentally exploitive, "the attempt to get something for nothing with impunity, the several forms of appropriation, transactions opened and conducted toward net utilitarian advantage."[7]

These are not air-tight categories but exist on a spectrum of social exchanges. All three types of exchange may exist within a single social group and certain exchanges may straddle general and balanced reciprocity. The degree to which overt self-interest is at stake in exchange also varies, especially since certain forms of balanced reciprocity (patron-client relationships) and negative reciprocity often presented themselves in the language of friendship or kinship (general reciprocity) in order to mask the fundamentally unbalanced and exploitative nature of the exchange.

To anticipate the conclusion of this paper, appeals to principles of reciprocity are commonplace in ancient society, and constituted the basic logic of social exchange. While *quid pro quo* exchange forms of exchange nowadays might be regarded as too mercantile in structure to rise to the level of genuine moral action, ancient morality was deeply rooted in reciprocity. In this essay I shall [**107**] argue that a classical expression of balanced reciprocity was employed in the early Jesus tradition as the anchor for the articulation of a more adverturesome ethic.

The Measure for Measure Aphorism: Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b

The measure-for-measure aphorism, which is part of Mark's cluster of sayings concerning the revelation of the kingdom (Mark 4:21–25) and which in Q and *1 Clement* 13 serves to buttress admonitions against judging and in support of kindness (Q 6:37–38a; *1 Clem*. 13.2), is not often treated as an authentic saying of Jesus. It is not that it is routinely rejected as non-authentic; more often than not it is simply not discussed at all.[8]

In one of the few substantial treatments of the saying, Michael Steinhauser concluded that as a bit of conventional wisdom, Mark 4:24b–25 contributes little to our understanding of the historical Jesus.[9] The Jesus Seminar argued

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[7] Marshall D. Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (New York: Aldine, 1972), chap. 5 (here 191).

[8] John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1991), 438 inventories the saying as a triply attested saying at the "first stratum of tradition," but does not discuss it further.

[9] Michael G. Steinhauser, "The Sayings of Jesus in Mark 4:21–22, 24b-25," *Forum* 6, no. 3–4 (1990): 197–217.

that Mark 4:24b was common wisdom, though placing at a "gray" rather than "black" rating. The Seminar argued that "without some modification the saying appears inimical to Jesus' fundamental announcement of God's unlimited love and expansive mercy."[10] That is, the saying expressed a *quid pro quo* logic. Members of the Seminar assumed both (1) that the saying was in the first place about values such as mercy, and (2) that characteristic of Jesus' authentic sayings was an articulation of God's unlimited mercy. Consequently, the Jesus Seminar decided that a *quid pro quo* statement about mercy was fundamentally unworthy of Jesus' discourse. Beyond that, few others even comment on the saying and its possible authenticity.

As long as sayings such as Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b are treated atomistically, and as long as the criterion of dissimilarity implicitly or explicitly controls the discussion of the historicity of sayings ascribed to Jesus, it is easy to see why Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b is not ranked highly among authentic sayings. Examples abound of maxims which express a symmetry between action and reaction, whether that relation is deemed to be a matter of natural law, of hu[**108**]man justice or of divine recompense. Both Proverbs and Hesiod state that evil deeds produce their own punishment.[11] So Prov 22:8: "Who sows injustice will harvest calamity." In Hesiod (frag. 286), the saying appears as "If one sows evils, let him also reap evils; if he suffers what he did, true justice may occur. Other formulations articulate principles of human or divine justice, the *lex talionis*: "As one does, so let it be done to him" (Lev 24:19). Still other sayings turn the 'law' of human action into an admonition: "Expect from another what you have done to him. (Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae* 2). The same is true for Q 6:31: "As you wish that people to do to you, do also to them. On the principle of dissimilarity, Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b scarcely rises above common wisdom and fails to meet the bar of distinctiveness routinely expected of Jesus.

If one privileges not dissimilarity, however, but multiple attestation, the case for the authenticity of Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24 improves. There are at least three independent attestations of the admonition:

Q 6:37–38 (see also Matt 7:2; Luke 6:37–38):
μὴ κρίνετε, … μὴ κριθῆτε· ⟦ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε,⟧ [38] ⟦καὶ⟧ ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.
"Do not judge… You will not be judged… By the measure that you measure, it will be measured back to you).

Mark 4:24 καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς, Βλέπετε τί ἀκούετε. ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.
And he said to them, "Pay attention to what you hear; the measure you give will be the measure you get, and still more will be given you."

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[10] Robert W. Funk and Roy W. Hoover, *The Five Gospels: What Did Jesus Really Say?* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1993), 57, cf. 297.

[11] For more examples, see John Pairman Brown, "From Hesiod to Jesus: Laws of Human Nature in the Ancient World," *NovT* 35, no. 4 (1993): 330–43.

1 Clem. 13:2: οὕτως γὰρ εἶπεν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν· ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν· ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεσθε· ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν· ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν. [**109**]

For He said this: "Show mercy, that you may receive mercy; forgive, that you may be forgiven. As you do, so shall it be done to you. As you give, so shall it be given to you. As you judge, so shall you be judged. As you show kindness, so shall kindness be shown to you. With the measure you use, it will be measured to you.[12]

To this might be added Polycarp, *Philippians* 2.3:

μνημονεύοντες δὲ ὧν εἶπεν ὁ κύριος διδάσκων· μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε· ἀφίετε, καὶ ἀφεθήσεται ὑμῖν· ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε· ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἀντιμετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν· καὶ ὅτι μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοὶ καὶ οἱ διωκόμενοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ.

…but instead remembering what the Lord said as he taught: "Do not judge, that you may not be judged; forgive, and you will be forgiven; show mercy, that you may be shown mercy; with the measure you use, it will be measured back to you"; and, "blessed are the poor and those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of God."

Polycarp's version of the saying, however, is so close to Clement's that it seems likely that Polycarp is dependent upon *1 Clement*, perhaps with some influence of Matthew's (or Q's) "do not judge in order that you no be judged" (μὴ κρίνετε, ἵνα μὴ κριθῆτε).[13] In the case of *1 Clem.* 13.2, however, the consensus, as confirmed most recently by Andrew Gregory, is that Clement "refers there to a collection of sayings that is independent of and earlier than the broadly similar sayings of Jesus that are preserved also in Matthew and/or Luke."[14]

Assuming, then, that Mark is not dependent on Q – Mark's usage of the maxim is completely different from Q's – and that *1 Clement* is not directly dependent upon Q, we have three independent attestations of the measure-for-measure saying. This datum should at least provide a caution against too quick a dismissal of Q 6:38c from potentially authentic sayings of Jesus. [**110**]

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[12] Michael W. Holmes, *The Apostolic Fathers*, in *Apostolic Fathers* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich: Baker Book House, 2007).

[13] Michael W. Holmes, "Polycarp's *Letter to the Philippians* and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 191–92 considered various possibilities – direct dependent of Polycarp on 1 Clement; dependence on 1 Clement corrected against Matthew or Luke; citation of 1 Clement from memory with the influence of Matthew and/or Luke; dependence on a catechism influenced by Matthew and which formed a source for 1 Clement; use of Q or a similar document; and dependence on oral tradition – but concludes that there are insufficient grounds for deciding.

[14] Andrew Gregory, "*1 Clement* and the Writings That Later Formed the New Testament," in *The Reception of the New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (ed. Andrew Gregory and Christopher M. Tuckett; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 134, referring to A.J. Carlyle's contributions to *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1905), 59–61 and Donald A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome* (NovTSup 34; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1973), 151.

The Measure for Measure Aphorism in Judaean and Mediterranean Contexts

It is usual in discussing Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b to quote Mishnaic and Targumic parallels.[15] For instance, *m. Soṭa* 1:7 cites the principle "in the measure with which a man measures, they measure it to him" (ממדה שׁאדם מודד בה מודדין לו) in the context of a discussion of the particular punishments appropriate to an adulteress.[16] Similarly, *Tg. Neophyti* I to Gen 38:25 cites the same principle in an expansion of the story of the imminent execution of Tamar on the charge of harlotry. As she was being taken away she declared that the things Judah had given her would serve as witnesses and cause Judah to exonerate her. When she produced these articles Judah indeed understood that it was he who had slept with Tamar and declares:

> I beg you brothers and men of my father's house, listen to me: it is better for me to burn in this world with extinguishable fire, that I may not be burned in the world to come whose fire is inextinguishable. It is better for me to blush in this world that is a passing world, that I may not blush before my just fathers in the world to come. And listen to me, my brothers and house of my father: In the measure in which a man measures it shall be measured to him, whether it be a good measure or a bad measure. (במכלותא כאינשׁ מיכל בה מיתכל ליה בין מכלותא טבא בין מכלותא בישׁא).[17]

In later discussions the principle is simply abbreviated as "the rule of measure for measure (מדה כנגד מדה)."[18]

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[15] Extensively discussed by Hans Peter Rüger, "»Mit welchem Mass ihr meßt, wird euch gemessen werden«," *ZNW* 60 (1969): 174–82.

[16] *m. Soṭa* 1:7: "In the measure with which a man measures it is measured to him. She adorned herself for a transgression; the Holy One, blessed be he, made her repulsive. She exposed herself for a transgression; the Holy One, blessed be he, held her up for exposure. She began the transgression with the thigh and afterwards with the womb; therefore she is punished first in the thigh and afterwards in the womb, nor does all the body escape." *b. Sota* 8b: "R. Joseph said: Although the measure has ceased, [the principle] *in the measure* has not ceased. For R. Joseph said, and similarly taught R. Hiyya: From the day the Temple was destroyed, although the Sanhedrin ceased to function, the four modes of execution did not cease. But they did cease! – [The meaning is:] The judgment of the four modes of execution did not cease. He who would have been condemned to stoning either falls from a roof [and dies] or a wild beast tramples him [to death]. He who would have been condemned to burning either falls into a fire or a serpent stings him. He who would have been condemned to decapitation is either handed over to the [Gentile] Government or robbers attack him. He who would have been condemned to strangulation either drowns in a river or dies of a quinsy."

[17] Alejandro Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1. Targum Palestinense MS de la Bibliotheca Vaticana. Tomo 1: Genesis* (Madrid and Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, 1968), 225 Translation: Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (The Aramaic Bible 1A; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992), 177.

[18] E.g., *Gen. Rab.* 9.11: "R. Simeon b. Abba said: BEHOLD, IT WAS VERY GOOD alludes to the dispensation of good; AND BEHOLD, IT WAS VERY GOOD, to the dispensation of punishment. Is then the dispensation of punishment very good? It means that he considered well how to bring it. R. Simon said in R. Simeon b. Abba's name: All measures have ceased,

While the rabbinic *talion* principle remains a possible context for the interpretation of Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b || *1 Clem.* 13.2, there is another interpretive clue supplied by papyri that can be dated much earlier than the third century CE. As B. Couroyer pointed out nearly forty years ago, grain loans from Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt regularly use a formula which required the borrower to repay the loan using the same measuring vessel [111] (μέτρον) that had been used to dispense the loan in the first place.[19] This practice was natural: in the absence of standardized weights and measures, it was the obvious way to ensure fairness in borrowing practices. Couroyer's case, which was based on a few second century BCE Greek and Demotic papyri, can now be supplemented with a wealth of papyri from both earlier and later periods.

This point is crucial since, as will become clear, the logic of Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b rests not on an abstract principle of moral exchange (mercy, judgment, etc.) but on the very concrete practice of economic exchange. *Metron* in the first instance means 'measuring vessel' or 'measuring scoop'. If one loses sight of the fact that Q 6:38c begins as a *metaphor* which invokes an ordinary practice of exchange, the rhetorical force of the saying is lost.

1. Μέτρον as a Measuring Vessel

From well before the common era, loans of seed grain regularly acknowledged the amount of grain loaned and contained an undertaking that the borrower would repay the loan at a specified time, normally following the next harvest, using the same grain vessel that had been used to dispense the loan. For example, *P.Amh.* II 46 from 113 BCE stipulates:

> In the month of Pachon of the 5th year the borrower Thaësis shall repay to Naomsesis what has been loaned, clean, fresh grain, delivered to her at her house at her (Thaësis') own expense, *by means of the measure by which she also had received it* (μέτρῳ ᾧι καὶ παρείληφεν).

The same formula can be found in a series of Demotic and Greek papyri dating from the third century BCE to the early first century BCE.[20] [112]

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yet the rule of measure for measure (מדה כנגד מדה) has not ceased. R. Huna said in R. Jose's name: From the very beginning of the world's creation the Holy One, blessed be He, foresaw that man will receive measure for measure (מדה כנגד מדה); therefore Scripture said, AND, BEHOLD, IT WAS VERY GOOD, meaning, behold, there is a fitting dispensation."

[19] Bernard Couroyer, "De la measure dont vous mesurez il vous sera mesuré," *RB* 77 (1970): 366–70.

[20] *BGU* III 1005.6 (III BCE); *P.Adl.* G15.14 (100 BCE); *P.Amh.* II 47.9–10 (113 BCE): μέ(τρῳ) ᾧι καὶ παρείληφεν; *P.Grenf.* I 10.14 (174 BCE); *P.Grenf.* I 18.18 (131 BCE); *P.Grenf.* I 23.13–14 (118 BCE); *P.Grenf.* I 28 (108 BCE); *P.Lond.* II 218.8 (111 BCE); *P.Lond.* II 225.10–11 (118 BCE). The same formula is attested in Demotic agreements: "And I will give you your wheat 45 artabae of wheat... by your measure whereby you have measured it to me (*n t3.t mḏ‘.t*)" (Field Papyrus, ll. 9, 12–13, see N.J. Reich, "The Field Museum Papyrus [A Promissory Note of the Year 109/8 B.C.]," *Mizraim* 2 [1936]: 35–51 + 1 plate); *P.Adl.* D3.5 (116/15 bce): 'by the measure with which you measured it to me' (*n t mḏ‘ a.ḥy-k n-y m’m-s*); *P.Adl.* D5.11–12(108–7 BCE): 'by the measure with which you measured it to me' (*n t m‘d.t*

By the early Imperial period we find a slightly different formula, but the sense remained the same. *P.Berl.Möller* 4 (13 CE) records a loan of barley of the brand of Hermophantos, stipulating that it be repaid with the same brand and using the same measuring container that had been used for the initial loan:

> ... paying it back in new unadulterated barley of the brand of Hermophantos, measuring it out to the representative of Herakles, by the fourth measure of the merchants (μέτρῳ τετάρτῳ [ἐ]νπόρων τῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέ[ους]), with fair measure and strickle, at the village granary, paying the granary fee himself.

Similar formulae are attested well into the third century CE.[21] In some instances both the granary to which repayment was to be made and the precise grain vessel (μέτρον) were stipulated, as in *P.Mich.* XII 634.12–15 (25/26 CE):

> ...the entire forty artabae of wheat measured by the four-choinix measure (μέτρον) of the granary of Julia Augusta and the children of Germanicus Caesar.

That Luke understood Q 6:38c to refer to the measurement of agricultural products is indicated by his expansion of Q. Luke prefaces his measure-for-measure saying with "give and it will be given to you, a good measure (μέτρον καλόν), pressed down, shaken together, running over, will be put into your lap." The phrase "a good measure" is probably an equivalent for the phrase "with a just measure," encountered frequently in provisions for repaying loans or paying rent.[22] The remainder of Luke's expansion refers to the pressing and shaking of grain in the measuring container to ensure the [113] fullest measure possible (a practice which benefits the lender), and Luke even adds "overflowing" even though this does not accord with the principle of the equality of exchange, which is the ostensible point in the measure-for-measure maxim.

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a.ḥy[-k] n-y n'm-s); *P.Adl* D6.10 (107 BCE); *P.Adl.* D11.10 (100–99 BCE).

[21] See *BGU* II 538.13 (100 CE); *BGU* XI 2033.14 (94 CE); *BGU* XIII 2330.14 (89 CE); *BGU* XIII 2331.12 (91 CE); *P.Athens* 14.14, 25 (22 CE); *P.Dubl.* 7.5 (I/II CE); *P.Fay.* 89.15 (9 CE); *P.Lond.* II 216.15 (94 ce); *P.Mert.* 6.21 (77 BCE); *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2118.8 (107 CE); *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2874.29 (108 CE); *P.Oxy.* XLVII 3352.2 (68 CE); *PSI* I 2189.39 (220 CE); *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2874.29 (108 CE); *PSI* VIII 921.10 (143/4 CE).

[22] *BGU* VI 1268.16 (III BCE): μ̣ἑτ̣ρῳ̣ι δικαίῳ̣ι μετρή[σει δικαίαι; *BGU* X 1951.4 (221–203 BCE): μέτρωι [δικαίωι μετρήσει δικαίαι; *P.Amh.* II 43.9 (173 BCE): μ̣ἑτ̣ρῳ̣ι δικαίωι τῶι πρὸς τὸ βασιλικὸν χαλκοῦν μετρήσει; *P.Lille* I 24 Fr. 4.9 (III BCE): μέτρωι δικαίωι καὶ σκυ[τάληι δικαίαι; *P.Tebt.* III/1 824.16 (171 BCE): [μέ]τ̣ρῳ̣ι δικαίωι κ̣[αὶ σκυ]‖[τάληι δικαίαι; *P.Yale* I 51 B.23 (184 BCE): μέτρωι δικαίωι μετρήσει δικαίαι, etc.

In rabbinic texts the "perfect and just measure" appears in the context of a discussion of the regulation of shopkeepers: *b. B.B.* 88b, 89a: "A perfect and just measure [you shall have];" citing Deut 25:15, אֶבֶן שְׁלֵמָה וָצֶדֶק יִהְיֶה־לָּךְ אֵיפָה שְׁלֵמָה וָצֶדֶק יִהְיֶה־לָּךְ לְמַעַן יַאֲרִיכוּ יָמֶיךָ עַל הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ נֹתֵן לָךְ: στάθμιον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἔσται σοι, καὶ μέτρον ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἔσται σοι, ἵνα πολυήμερος γένῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἧς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι ἐν κλήρῳ. The term 'good measure' and 'bad measure' appear in *Deut. Rab.* 11.9 in a complaint against the divine: "In all your acts [one sees] measure for measure; [then why do you repay me] a bad measure for a good measure, a short measure for a full measure, a grudging measure for an ample measure?"

Indeed, each of the Gospel performances of the measure-for-measure aphorism suggests that what is in view is the ordinary agricultural practice of repaying loans with the same vessel used to dispense them.[23] The context in Q is a series of admonitions concerning love of enemies (6:27–28), non-retaliation (6:29), lending without expectation of return (6:30), and treating persons in ways that one also would wish to be treated (6:31), asserting that in this way "[you] become children of your Father, for he raises his sun on bad and ⟦good and rains on the just and unjust⟧" (Q 6:35). The smaller unit of which Q 6:38c is part features a binary contrast between the admonition to be merciful (⟦γίν⟧εσθε οἰκτίρμονες ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν, 6:36) and the contrasting prohibition of judging.[24] In such a context the buttressing measure-for-measure aphorism probably does not appeal to the *lex talionis*, since the majority of the imperatives concern the encouraging of *positive* practices which spark reciprocal treatment rather than avoiding certain proscribed behaviors. The well-known agrarian practice of equality of exchange was a perfectly appropriate way to buttress these admonitions.

In *1 Clem.* 13.2 it is even clearer that the argument is not based on the principle of *lex talionis*, since the measure-for-measure admonition is pre-[114]faced by the entirely positive admonition, "as you show kindness, thus kindness will be shown to you" (ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν).

The fit of the measure-for-measure aphorism with the logic of Mark's unit is not especially good, since Mark's next aphorism, "for whoever has, to him will be given; and from the one who lack, even what he has will be taken away," stresses not *equality* of exchange but the privilege afforded to those who have and the perils of those who do not. Nevertheless, Mark's point in 4:24b appears

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[23] Couroyer, "La measure," 370: "Il ne s'agit pas de talion, encore que, dans les deux cas, on retrouve la stricte égalité: «mesure pour mesure» comme «oeil pour oeil». Le logion de Jésus, sous le forme où nous le livrent les synoptiques, pouvait déjà avoir cours de son temps comme, s'il en est l'auteur, il a pu le formuler en s'inspirant de stipulations juridiques dont la stabilité est proverbiale. Prêteurs et emprunteurs de grains devaient avoir, de son temps, les mêmes exigences que celles qu'on retrouve dans les contrats cités plus haut. L'interdiction de juger était au mieux justifée par le rappel de cette loi des échanges. C'était non une menace, mais une mise en garde par le rappel d'une coutume bien connue."

[24] While Matthew uses Q 6:36 as the conclusion to Matt 5:43–48 (ἔσεσθε *οὖν* ὑμεῖς τέλειοι) and introduces Q 6:37 without a connecting particle (Matt 7:1: μὴ κρίνετε...), Luke uses anacoluthon to introduce Luke 6:36 (γίνεσθε οἰκτίρμονες), indicating the beginning of a new unit, and continues v. 37 with καί. The IQP follows Luke by constructing Q as ⟦γίν⟧εσθε οἰκτῖρμονες... (Q 6:36) and [ ] μὴ κρίνετε... (Q 6:37), where the open bracket indicates agreement with Luke's καί, though at a {D} level of certainty, since it is possible to imagine some other connective between v. 36 and 37 (James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* [Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000], 74).

to be that cultivation of a positive response to Jesus and his proclamation of the kingdom will be repaid in kind by further divine revelation. Mark's supplementation of the basic form with "and more will be added to you" moves the logic beyond one of strict equality of exchange to one of divine beneficence. Still, it is not the *lex talionis* that best accounts for the logic of Mark 4:24b, but the agricultural practice of measuring out and repaying loans with the same vessel.

Considerations of dissimilarity notwithstanding, Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b || *1 Clem.* 13.2 present a reasonable case for authenticity based, on (1) multiple attestation and, (2) contextual plausibility. For its imagery and compelling rhetoric, the saying is dependent on an agrarian practice that we know to have been a contemporary practice of lending in late Ptolemaic and early Imperial Egypt. We have every reason to suppose that similar practices were in use in Jewish Palestine. Palestine, after all, was in the third century BCE under the control of Egypt, which introduced various economic and political practices that were simply taken over by the Seleucids and eventually by the Hasmoneans and Herodians. At those points where we are in a position to examine specific economic practices connected with leases and loans, Jewish documents imitate the forms more fully known from Egypt.[25] Other [115] sayings and parables ascribed to Jesus take for granted a wide range of ordinary practices in agrarian society, for example, owners' worries about being defrauded by their estate managers, hiring practices at harvest time, absenteeism as a standard feature of large-scale viticulture, and the practice of communicating with tenants via slave-agents.[26] We presume that such images were ready-to-hand because Jesus and the earliest Jesus movement in Galilee was thoroughly embedded in the agrarian economy of village and small town life.

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[25] (a) The form of leases in Jewish Palestine correspond to the forms of those in use in Egypt: see Johannes Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-ägyptischen Papyri* (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 41; München: C.H. Beck, 1958) and John S. Kloppenborg, "The Growth and Impact of Agricultural Tenancy in Jewish Palestine (III BCE – I CE)," *JESHO* 51, no. 1 (2008): 33–66. (b) The details of the leases from Muraba'at bear many resemblances to Graeco-Egyptian loan contracts, requiring that the rent be paid in 'good quality and uncontaminated wheat' 'measured out at the top of the granary' (מודד על גג אוצרה, see *P. Mur.* 24C.17). (c) The use of a 'leveler' (מחק, מחוק), equivalent to the Greek σκυτάλη, points to common practices. See *t. Šabb.* 1:7 "R. Eliezer says, 'On that day they overfilled the *se'ah* measure'. R. Joshua says, 'On that day they leveled (מחקו) the se'ah measure. For so long as the measure is full and one puts more into it, in the end it will give up part of what [already] is in it'." See further, Benzion Rosenfeld and Joseph Menirav, *Markets and Marketing in Roman Palestine* (trans. Chava Cassel; Journal for the Study of Judaism, Supplements 99; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2005), 79–81. On the σκυτάλη, see below n. 46.

[26] See Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, chap. 9.

2. Point of View: Borrower or Lender?

At this point it is important to inquire more deeply into the logic and the perspective of the measure-for-measure admonition. All three performances of the aphorism agree in framing it as a second person plural, in contrast to the usual framing of the *lex talionis*, which is a third person principle. We also find a second person formulation of an admonition concerning 'measuring' along with the use of both the verb "measure" (μετρεῖσθαι) and the noun "measuring vessel" (μέτρον) in Hesiod (*Opera et Dies* 349–51)[27]:

> Take fair measure (μετρεῖσθαι) from your neighbour, and pay him back (ἀποδοῦναι) fully by the same measure (αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ), or more, if you are able; so that when you are in need you will find him someone to rely on.

Hesiod's phrase "by the same measure" (αὐτῷ τῷ μέτρῳ) appears to refer to the same practice later described in documentary papyri, of paying back loans with the same measuring vessel. What should be noted in Hesiod's formulation is that it is framed from the point of view of the borrower. It recommends a borrowing practice designed to ensure easy access to loans in the future. Borrowing 'fairly' (i.e., by means of an accurate measure) and returning the loan in the same way will assure the lender of the borrower's absolute honesty, and will, Hesiod believes, encourage future generosity on the part of the lender. Hesiod implicitly assumes a social practice where borrower and lender are more or less of the same status and that the care in measurement and the equivalence of borrowing and repayment are voluntary rather than being [**116**] imposed by the specific terms of the debt instrument. This will not be the case with the documents to which we now turn.

3. The Uses of μετρεῖν in Legal Documents

In Graeco-Egyptian documentary papyri, μετρεῖν and μέτρον (sometimes in combination) are found in several specific contexts. First, in *sitologoi* receipts, the *sitologos* acknowledges receipt of grain in payment of rent or taxes.[28] For example *BGU* XIII 2299.4–8 (Tebtynis, 162 CE):

> We, [names indiscernible], partners and *sitologoi* of the village of Tebtynis have had measured out [μεμετρή(μεθα)] to us, by the smoothed public measure [μέτ[ρ]ῳ δη(μοσίῳ) ξυστ(ῷ)] of wheat, from the produce of the same year, to the credit of Paopis son of Psoiphis, by Apia, 17 artabae of wheat for the rent (of public land); for transportation, 1 artaba of wheat, making 18 artabae.[29]

In such receipts μετρεῖν is typically a first-person (sing. or plural) perfect passive, μεμετρήμαι or μεμετρήμεθα and sometimes found in abbreviated form

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[27] See M.L. West, *Hesiod: Works & Days* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 244.

[28] The *sitologos* was an official in charge of a local granary, responsible for receiving and documenting revenues and for various disbursements.

[29] For similar papyri, see *BGU* XIII 2300–2303; *P.Fay*. 81 (115 CE); 82 (145 CE), 83 (163 CE), 84 (163 CE) and those cited in *BGU* XIII 2299.

(μεμετρη). It was the *sitologos* who measured the grain, or at least the *sitologos* supervised the measuring.

Orders issued to *sitologoi* or other officials to make payments to certain persons provide us with a second type of document in which "measure" frequently appears. Such orders normally use the imperative μέτρησον, "measure out." When a superior official made such an order it was probably not necessary to stipulate the type of measure to be used, since it would automatically be assumed that some standard measure was in use. For example, in *P.Lond.* III 1213 (65–66 CE), a superior orders a *sitologos* to measure out a four-month ration of grain for a fellow slave, without any indication of the measure to be used.[30] In the case of orders from a scribe to a [117] *sitologos* to transfer a rental payment to the account of the lessor or owner, however, the measure is given, presumably as a way to ensure that the lessor is receiving her or his full share of the produce. This can be seen in *P.Fay.* 16 (Arsinoites, I BCE)[31]:

> Ptolemaios the scribe, to Ptolemaios the *sitologos* of Autodike, greetings. Measure out (μέτρησον) to Posidonios son of Didymos, against the account of Herakleides son of Zenobios, the rent on Posidonios' plot which he (Herakleides) has cultivated in the vicinity of Kerkeësis in the division of Polemon, 45 artabae by the dromos measure [δρό(μῳ)]; total: 45 (artabae) drom. Year 1 Pauni 19.

A third type of document where "measure" typically occurs is the lease agreement. In such documents it is usual to stipulate not only that the lessee is obliged to pay a certain quantity of rent (in kind), but also to pay it using a specific measure. For example, a lease from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Amst.* I 42.7–13; III–IV CE) states:

> Let the lessee pay each year in the month of Pauni at the threshing floor in the farmstead of the lessee in the vicinity of the same Mermertha wheat that is clean, unadulterated, unmixed with barley, new, sifted, with the measure that is customary in the lands of the lessor P[....], *the measurement being made by her (the lessor's) agents* without delay (τῆς μετρήσεως γινο-μέ|[νης ὑπὸ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐ]τῆς ἀνυ^{π}ε[ρθέτως]), from which the lessee shall measure out the public charges in grain at his own expense....

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[30] *P.Lond.* III 1213 (65-66 CE): Διόδοτος Νωρβανᾶς Κλαρᾶς | ἐπακολουθοῦντος Γαίου Ἰουλίου Σαλουίου | Μητόκῳ σιτολόγωι χ(αίρειν): μέτρησον | Σόφῳ συνδούλῳ ὑπὲρ μηνὸ[ς Σ]εβαστοῦ | καὶ Φαῶφι καὶ Νέου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Χοιὰχ | μηνῶν $\overline{δ}$ πυροῦ ἀ[ρ]τάβας τέσσαρας (γίνονται) $\overline{δ}$. | L $\overline{ιβ}$ Νέρωνος Κλ[α]υδίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | Γερμα[νικοῦ] Αὐτοκράτορος μηνὸς Χοιὰκ κ.

In *P.Hib.* I 74 (250 BCE), however, an official commands his agent to measure out olyra to two minor officials, stipulating the measures to be used, probably because two different measures were in use at the time. See B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and Eric G. Turner, eds., *The Hibeh Papyri* (Egypt Exploration Fund. Graeco-Roman Memoirs 7; London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1906–55), 1:227–30. The papyrus mentions both the δοχικόν measure and the ἀνηλωτικόν measure, the ratio between the two being approximately 1 art. δοχ. = 1.05 art. ἀνηλ.

[31] See also *P.Fay.* 18a, 18b (I BCE).

Here, and in other leases, the lessor's agents supervise and even perform the measuring.[32]

P.Athens 14 (22 CE) involves both a lease of agricultural land and a loan of seed grain. The contract stipulates that the seed grain be measured out to the lessee by the one-quarter artaba measure and that the rent (including the loan) had to be returned by the same measure:

> ... as a rent, including the 4½¼ (i.e., 4¾) artabae of seed grain that the lessee has received from Kastor each year, in all, for the first year 53 artabae, the second **[118]** year, 43 artabae, and the last year (of the lease) 25 artabae, all by the one-quarter (artaba) measure (πάσας δὲ μέτρῳ τε[τάρ]τῳ).... (the lessee) repaying it with new wheat, free of all contaminants and unadulterated, by the (same) measure indicated earlier (μέτρῳ τῷ προκειμένῳ)....

Finally, it is in *loans* for wheat, barley and other agricultural products that the most attention is paid to the repayment provisions. For example, in *P.Mert.* I 14 (Oxyrhynchus, 103 CE) the precise measure is not stipulated, but the borrower was required to repay the loan at the local public granary where the loan had originally been made. One must assume that the lender knew the measuring system:

> I acknowledge that I have received and have had measured out (to me) by you one hundred seventy artabae of wheat, making 170, which I shall measure (back) (μετρήσω) to your account to the public granary and will deliver this to you on deposit, free of all expenses in the month of Pauni of the present 7th year of Trajan, Caesar and Lord, without any excuse; but if I should not measure out (this grain) I shall pay in addition the added half, and you shall have the right of execution on both me and all my possessions, as if by a judicial judgment....

The first person acknowledgement formula is customary in such loans: "I acknowledge that I have received and have had measured out by you" (ὁμολογῶ ἔχειν καὶ [παρα]μεμετρῆσθαι παρὰ σοῦ). Also customary is a statement concerning the way in which the loan is to be repaid. A slight variation on this formula appears in *P.Sarap.* 16 (Hermopolis, 105–6 CE) where "receive" (ἔχειν) alone appears in the *homologia* portion, and the verb "measure" (μετρήσω) is used in the declaration of repayment:

> Achilleus son of Anoubion to Sarapion son of Eutychides greetings. I acknowledge ([ὁ]μ̣[ο]λογῶ) that I have received (ἐσχηκέν̣α[ι) from you a loan of wheat with interest, of twenty artabae, making with interest 20 artabae, which I shall also measure back to you (μετρήσω σοι) in the month of Epeiph of the current 9th year of Trajan, Caesar the Lord, by the Athenian one-sixth measure, transporting (the wheat) to Hermopolis to you at your house, without postponement or excuses.

In this case a specific measuring vessel is stipulated by the contract.

The same practice is attested in *P.Lond.* III 975 (Oxyrhynchus, 314 CE), a loan of chickling from one woman to another: **[119]**

> I acknowledge that I have had measured out (to me) by you (ὁμολογῶ [μ]εμετρῆ[σθ]αι παρὰ σοῦ), by a direct payment from your house an interest-bearing loan, for a total, with interest: three artabae of chickling and 1½ artabae of choice (chickling)... I have had measured out both

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[32] See also *P.Athens* 19.13 (154 CE).

types at the same time, 4½ artabae. I shall measure back (to you) by your measuring vessel in the month of Epeiph (ϙ[οι μετ]ρ̣[ήσω] μέτρῳ [σῷ ἐ]ν τῷ Ἐπειὶφ μηνὶ)....

P.Oxy. VI 910 (Oxyrhynchus, 197 CE) combines a lease and a loan agreement from the end of the second century CE. It repeats the same formula that had been used in much earlier loan agreements, such as *P.Amh.* II 46 cited above (p. 496): "by the measuring vessel by which he had received it." *P.Oxy.* VI 910 involves a standard lease of agricultural land in which the lessor also advances seed grain to the tenant. The lease is framed not as a first-person declaration, but in the third person:

The lessee acknowledges that he has received and has had measured out (παραμεμετρῆσθαι) here by the farmer, as an advance payment for seed grain, for the land of the single current year, seven artabae of wheat, the same amount which he (the lessee) shall necessarily pay back to him together with the rent of the land, in the mouth of Pauni of the same current year, by the measuring vessel with which he received it (μέτρῳ ᾧ παρείληφεν), free of all risks....

The final clause (ll. 34–36), with the details of the rental payment, is then elaborated:

...by the four-choinix measure brought by the farmer, with the measuring being done by his agents (μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ παραλημ|πτικῷ τοῦ γεούχου, τῆς μετρήσεως | γ[ε]ινομένης ὑπ̣[ὸ τῶν] παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ).

Of all the documents compounding the verb "to measure" and the noun "measure," it is Graeco-Egyptian agricultural loans that offer the closest conceptual and verbal parallels to the measure-for-measure aphorism of the Jesus tradition. There is, nevertheless, a crucial difference between the loan documents just examined and Q 6:38c ‖ Mark 4:24b. The loan documents are typically framed as first- or third-person *homologiae* of the borrower: "I have had *x* measured out to me, and I will measure it back...." Hesiod's advice is likewise framed from the borrower's perspective. The measure-for-measure aphorism, however, is framed with the *lender* in view – the one who "measures out" (μετρεῖτε) and to whom the loan is 'measured back' (μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν). Had the aphorism wished to take the [120] perspective of the borrower, one would expect the following formulation: "with the measure that you have received, with the same measure measure (it) back" (ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ εἰλήφητε, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ μέτρησον). Instead, consistently in the Jesus tradition the measure-for-measure aphorism is distinctive in addressing the lender, not the borrower.

The Measure-for-Measure Aphorism in the Jesus Tradition

As an independent aphorism there are two possible applications for a saying that addresses the topic of borrowing with the *lender's* actions in view. The first possibility is that it is a subtle threat: taking "it shall be measured out (to you) (μετρηθήσεται) as a *passivum divinum* the saying might warn the wealthy,

i.e., those in a position to make loans, that their lending practices are under divine scrutiny and, consequently, they are in danger of divine judgment. Crossan treats Mark 4:24b || Q 6:38c as an "isolated apocalyptic sanction" (what Käsemann called a "sentence of holy law"[33]), where the agent of apocalyptic sanction (God) is implied by the passive voice.[34] Crossan treats Mark 4:24b is a version of the *lex talionis* whereby "earthly act begets eschatological reaction."[35] Although Crossan does not appreciate the concrete agrarian context of the saying or speculate on the discursive situation in which such an aphorism might be effective, it would appear that the saying might be voiced in circumstances where there was a perceived disparity between what privileged persons gave and what they expected back in return. The problem of dishonest weights and measures was a common one in the marketplace[36]; but the saying might be used metaphorically of other [121] kinds of reciprocal exchange where hypocrisy or double standards threatened the integrity of exchange.

There are at least two potential difficulties with the interpretation of Mark 4:24b || Q 6:38c || *1 Clem.* 13.2 as a threat. In the first place, agrarian discourse as evidenced by the contracts and other documents cited above already overwhelmingly favored the interests of the wealthy, the lender, the creditor, the landowner. This is the case even when weights and measures were not distorted in the lender and lessor's favour, since we typically encounter the insistence on sifting, pressing, and leveling grain only when *repaying* the loan, not when dispensing it in the first place. Moreover, the lender typically "measured out" the loan and his agents "measured it back," thus controlling the process.

Contracts typically contained provisions against default, permitting execution on the borrower's person and property. Virtually all the mechanisms of law functioned to sustain and protect the interests of the propertied and monied sectors against the interests of those dependent on those classes. The way in which the measure-for-measure principle was applied in the law of contracts,

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[33] Ernst Käsemann, "Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament," in *New Testament Questions of Today* (trans. W. J. Montague; London: SCM Press, 1969), 66–81.

[34] John Dominic Crossan, *In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 175–76.

[35] Crossan, *In Fragments: The Aphorisms of Jesus*, 175.

[36] See, e.g., *P.Tebt.* I 5.85–92 (Tebtynis, 118 BCE): "And since it sometimes happens that the *sitologoi* and *antigrapheis* use larger measures than the correct bronze measures appointed in each nome... in estimating dues to the state, and in consequence the cultivators are made to pay (more than the proper number of choinikes?), they have decreed that the *strategoi* and the overseers of the revenues and the *basilikoi grammateis* shall test the measures in the most thorough manner possible in the presence of those concerned in the revenues of ... and the priests and the cleruchs and other owners of land *en aphesei* ..., and the measures must not exceed (the government measure) by more than the two ... allowed for errors. Those who disobey this decree are punishable with death." (I owe this reference to Giovanni Bazzana). For rabbinic concerns about weights and measures, see Rosenfeld and Menirav, *Markets and Marketing*, 76–80.

moreover, reinforced the belief (whether or not it was a distortion of what actually happened) that the system of economic exchange aimed at strict equity and fairness. Loan and lease contracts were written in such a way to suppose that if there were any breach of the terms, it would not be on the part of the lender or lessor; it would be on the part of the borrower or the tenant, who might default on a loan, fail to deliver the rent, abandon the lease, pilfer the crop, or otherwise defraud the lessor/lender.[37] The persistent rhetoric of lease and loan contracts constructed the lender and lessor as honest and fair, and the borrower and the lessee as persons whose desires and actions required supervision, surveillance, and the discipline of law to keep in check. This, of course, does not reflect reality as much as it reflects the power arrangements of the ancient world. But for precisely this reason, to use the measure-for-measure aphorism as a subtle threat against the monied and propertied sectors would likely be ineffectual, since they *already* believed themselves to be abiding strictly by principles of equity in exchange. The fact that they also benefited hugely by "compliance" with those principles would probably have gone unnoticed.

In the second place, it is worth noting that none of the earliest independent attestations of the saying in Mark nor Q nor *1 Clement* understood the measure-for-measure saying as a threat to the elite. It is not impossible, of [122] course, that all three have textualized the saying in a way other than the way it had functioned in earlier oral Jesus tradition. But on the other hand, compelling reasons would have to be found to read the aphorism differently from its earliest three interpreters. To do otherwise would be to make the criterion of dissimilarity not only a historiographical criterion, but an exegetical one!

A second way in which to read the measure-for-measure aphorism is the way in which Q and *1 Clement* have read it. As indicated above, Q deployed the maxim in the second panel of a unit (Q 6:27–35) which, as Alan Kirk has shown, extends the conventional Greek and Roman ethic of helping friends-/harming enemies and lending to those who will repay, to benefiting enemies, the indigent, and the morally unworthy. For conventional Greek and Roman ethics, χάρις epitomizes the notion of reciprocal exchange, denoting both the "benefaction" offered to another and the "gratitude" which the recipient was expected to show. As is clear from Q 6:27–35, the notion of χάρις is not abandoned, but the framework within which reciprocal exchange occurs is redefined. Χάρις is no longer limited to exchange among those who can reciprocate. Rather than abandoning reciprocity, "the passage [6:27–35] rejects the adequacy of the conventional reciprocity ethic by subjecting its core concept, χάρις, to reevaluation and urging the abandonment of the evaluative framework

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[37] *P.Cair.Zen* V 59851 (Philadelphia, mid III BCE) is a fascinating account of iron tools lent to a cultivator, some of which were broken and replaced with lighter, cheaper implements. For a discussion, see Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 439–42.

that normally accompanies it."[38] The golden rule (6:31) with its articulation of balanced reciprocity has often been viewed as incompatible with the ethic enunciated by Q 6:27–30, 32–35. It has been understood as an articulation of *quid pro quo* unworthy of the sayings which surround it. But, Kirk argues, far from being inconsistent with or expressive of a "lower form" of morality than the love of enemies admonition, reciprocity is the engine that lifts love of enemies from empty sentimentality to become a definite social vision. It is[39]

> a 'starting mechanism' that stimulates the kind of interaction necessary to bring into existence the envisioned social relations. Without the reciprocity motif [of Q 6:31] the command to love enemies remains orphaned from a social context; it is just an emotive slogan, not the inaugural note of a comprehensive social vision.

The principle of balanced reciprocal exchange in Q 6:31 is the mechanism which helps the addressee to imagine *how* love of enemies and giving without [**123**] expectation of return might work: to engage in such practices, *by the very logic of Q 6:31*, will generate a new mode of social exchange that moves dramatically beyond the limits of conventional ethics. If principles of balanced exchange sustain the conventional ethic of helping friends and benefiting those within a narrow social circle, then the principle of balanced exchange will *also* sustain a broader, more adventuresome ethic of helping enemies and benefacting outsiders, precisely because benefaction creates the obligation of reciprocity. It is important to note that like Q 6:38c, Q 6:31 is framed from the point of view of the one who *initiates* action: it invites one to imagine largesse by the other, but directs the subject to engage in just this action, thus initiating a cycle of reciprocity. Q 6:25–35 imagines a very different world from the world of conventional, limited exchange, and Q 6:31 is key to its logic.

The unit that follows Q 6:27–35 works on a similar logic. It begins with a call to imitate God's mercy, "be merciful just as your father in merciful" ([[γίν]]εσθε οἰκτίρμονες ὡς .. ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν οἰκτίρμων ἐστίν, 6:36),[40] perhaps developing the *imitatio Dei* motif that was already in the conclusion of the first unit (Q 6:35). This general admonition is then illustrated by an admonition against judging (6:37), and the two are buttressed by the measure-for-measure aphorism (6:38b). The measure-for-measure maxim, far from expressing a conventional morality, functions as does Q 6:31, to underscore the 'payoff'. Should one engage in the socially adventuresome behaviour of imitating divine mercy or refusing to judge peers, one can also expect a commensurate benefit, precisely on the logic of ordinary agrarian exchange. "The measure you measure out will be the measured back." The focus is on the one who *initiates* action, not on the one who reacts. Acting with supererogatory mercy and withholding judgment will, by the logic of Q 6:38c, redound to the subject's

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[38] Alan Kirk, "'Love Your Enemies,' the Golden Rule, and Ancient Reciprocity (Luke 6:27–35)," *JBL* 122, no. 4 (2003): 667–86 (684).

[39] Kirk, "Love Your Enemies," 686.

[40] On Q 6:36 as the beginning of this textual unit, see above, n. 24.

benefit. Just as Kirk has observed *a propos* of Q 6:27–35, Q 6:36–38 also calls for a re-evaluation of conventional exchange, and it uses the logic of agrarian lending practices to persuade that socially transgressive ventures will be repaid in kind.

The logic of *1 Clem.* 13.2 is similar. It is even clearer that what is being proposed is a socially adventuresome posture, but one that is supported by an appeal to the conventionality of reciprocity expectations. Specific appeals to mercy and forgiveness are buttressed by a general *quid pro quo* aphorism, 'as you do, so also it will be done to you'. Then, using the structure of this aphorism, three more specific appeals are made, to generosity, careful judgment, and kindness, now buttressed by the measure-for-measure aphorism. [124]

Specific admonitions:
α ἐλεᾶτε, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε·
β ἀφίετε, ἵνα ἀφεθῇ ὑμῖν·
Appeal to reciprocity:
γ *ὡς ποιεῖτε, οὕτω ποιηθήσεται ὑμῖν·*
Specific admonitions:
δ ὡς δίδοτε, οὕτως δοθήσεται ὑμῖν·
ε ὡς κρίνετε, οὕτως κριθήσεσθε·
ζ ὡς χρηστεύεσθε, οὕτως χρηστευθήσεται ὑμῖν·
Appeal to reciprocity:
η *ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε, ἐν αὐτῷ μετρηθήσεται ὑμῖν.*

As with Q 6:36–38, there is a strong appeal to self-interest. *1 Clement* 13.2 is not framed by a general admonition to imitate the divine, but the logic of the two expressions of general reciprocity (γ, η) implies that the greater the expression of mercy, generosity, and kindness, the greater will be the reciprocation. The saying thus allows one to imagine an escalating practice of benefaction and kindness.

Although it is precarious to claim that either Q 6:36–38 or *1 Clem.* 13.2 goes back to Jesus in these forms, it is nonetheless striking that both deploy the measure-for-measure maxim to help the auditor imagine how generosity, kindness, forgiveness, and mercy could be instantiated as a social practice. Both sayings illustrate an aphoristic inversion of the language of lending practices that insisted on strict equivalence of exchange (unlike the later performances of this saying). The social vision of Q 6:36–38 (and 6:27–35) is not unlike that articulated by other sayings regularly ascribed to Jesus, such as Q 11:4, "remit us our debts *as we remit the debts of those who owe us*," and Q 14:14–26, the parable of the Great Supper, where the host abandons the norms of balanced reciprocity to pay the host those who could not repay him. All of these sayings focus on how agency that ventures to move beyond conventions modes of exchange will in the end benefit. One might even endorse the interesting suggestion of Douglas Oakman that these sayings, which focus on agency of the lender, the lessor, and the host, reflect Jesus' appeal to retainers such as tax

collectors and the middling wealthy to imagine an alternate social praxis aimed at overall debt reduction, a praxis which, on Q's logic, would also redound to the honour of those agents.[41] [**125**]

Later Applications of Measure-for-Measure

Although Mark's formulation of the maxim is virtually identical to Q's in wording, his deployment of the aphorism no longer concerns the inauguration of a counter-ethic, but rather articulates a 'rule' to define a counter-society. It is a society based on the reception of special revelation. Mark is not satisfied with the principle of equity enunciated by the measure-for-measure maxim and so adds "and still more will be given you" (καὶ προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν, Mark 4:24). It is at this point that we see the aphorism being lifted from its original context and re-framed. Mark no longer appeals to the principle of equality of exchange that it fundamental to Q and *1 Clement*. Now, those who give a little get much more in return – a fantasy (and perhaps a reality) of the monied and propertied class, but a "text of terror" for the non-elite.[42] The following saying continues this train: those who have will get more, and those who lack will have what they possess taken away. Mark can reframe the saying in this way, probably because he is wholly uninterested in the original agrarian context and logic of the measure-for-measure saying. For Mark the equality of economic exchange is irrelevant; rather, it is 'poverty' and 'wealth' in respect of revelation that interests him and hence, he can celebrate the *incommensurability* of initial investment and final outcome. Mark thus relocates the measure-for-measure aphorism into another discursive realm, where it appeals not to reciprocity but to *acquisitiveness*, at least as far as revelation and knowledge are concerned. An aphorism that originally served to encourage those with resources (moral and material) to dispense them on the calculable promise of equivalent return, has now become focussed on the fantasy of unforeseen gain.[43]

Luke too is concerned not with the absolute equality of exchange but with surplus. Unlike Mark, however, his interest is much closer to the original use of the aphorism. Luke's expansion of Q 6:37 focuses on generosity and puts the emphasis not on refraining from certain actions ("Do not judge, and you will not be judged; do not condemn, and you will not be condemned," probably taken or adapted from Q); instead, the culminating emphasis rests on positive

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[41] Douglas E. Oakman, *Jesus and the Peasants* (Matrix: The Bible in Mediterranean Context; Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2008), 280–97.

[42] See Richard L. Rohrbaugh, "A Peasant Reading of the Parable of the Talents/Pounds: A Text of Terror?" *BTB* 23, no. 1 (1993): 32–39.

[43] A similar shift in the social register of discourse can be seen in Mark's treatment of the parable of the Tenants (Mark 12:1–12; *GThom* 65–66), where Mark's editing and apocalypticizing of the parable has made it much more compatible with dominant class interests than is the case with Thomas' version. See Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, chaps. 1–2, 9.

actions: "Forgive, and you will be forgiven; give, and [**126**] it will be given to you."[44] Luke anticipates the measure-for-measure saying in 6:38b ("a good measure [μέτρον καλὸν], pressed down, shaken together, running over [ὑπερεκχυννόμενον] will be put into your lap"), clearly indicating that he understands the agrarian origins of the measure-for-measure aphorism. But his promise of the good measure "running over" (ὑπερεκχυννόμενον) is probably aimed at encouraging benefaction (as he does elsewhere).[45] Loan and lease contracts are normally at pains to stipulate that measuring be done "with fair strickle" (σκυτάλῃ δικαίᾳ) as a way to guarantee strict equivalence of loan and repayment.[46] Luke's promise of *extra* return suggests that he has already lifted the aphorism out of its original context and applied it to another discursive domain, where one could imagine benefactions being repaid with even greater rewards.

It is Matthew who has moved the unit most strongly in the direction of the *lex talionis*. First, he added to the measure-for-measure maxim another phrase, formulated on the model of the measure-for-measure aphorism: "For with the judgment that you make you will be judged" (ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε κριθήσεσθε) (Matt 7:2). Second, by relocating Q 6:39–40 to points later in his gospel, Matthew brought forward the warning about correcting a 'brother' (Q 6:41–42 = Matt 7:3–5). The elaboration of 7:2 and the juxtaposition of 7:1–2 with 7:3–5 thus emphasizes the forensic aspect of the sayings, and shifts the focus from agricultural practice to the realm of law and punishment. Matthew's deployment of Q 6:38c moves the saying in the direction of the later rabbinic principle, "in the measure with which a man measures, they measure it to him" (ממדה שאדם מודד בה מודדין לו).[47] Naturally, Matthew had no need for Mark's

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[44] François Bovon, *Luke 1: A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke 1:1–9:50* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002), 241–42.

[45] Halvor Moxnes, "Patron-Client Relations and the New Community in Luke-Acts," in *The Social World of Luke-Acts: Models for Interpretation* (ed. Jerome H. Neyrey; Peabody Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1991), 241–68.

[46] E.g., *BGU* IV 1142.7 (25/24 BCE); *BGU* VI 1271.6 (180–145 BCE); *BGU* VIII 1742.12 (64/63 BCE); *BGU* XIV 2390.33 (160/59 BCE); 2391.9 (250 BCE); 2392.7 (250 BCE); *P.Amh.* II 43.10 (173 BCE); *P.Dion.* 17.24 (108 BCE); 19.18 (105 BCE); 20.20 (105 BCE); P.Freib. III 34.37 (174/3 BCE); *P.Heid.* VI 369.15 (197 BCE); *P.Hib.* I 98.19 (252 BCE); *P.Lille* I 21.26 (155–144 BCE); I 23.25 (155–144 BCE); I 24.iv.9 (III BCE); *P.Tebt.* 3/1 815.iii.2.13 (228–221 BCE); 823.25 (185 BCE); 824.16 (171 BCE); *SB* V 8754.12 (49/48 BCE). See also *P.Cair.Isid.* 32.5–7 (279 CE): ἐμετρ(ήθησαν) ἡμῖν ἐν θης(αυρῷ) κώ(μης) Πτολ(εμαίδος) Νέας μέτρῳ δη(μοσίῳ) ξυστῷ σκυτάλης ἐπικειμ(ένης) ὑπὲρ γενή(ματος), "they measured out to us at the village granary of Ptolemais Neas, by the raked off public measuring vessel, the strickle having been laid across the produce...." The phrase μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ ξυστῷ also appears, e.g., in *BGU* XI 2025.7 (144 BCE); XV 2556.15 (202 CE); *P.Amh.* II 120.14 (204 CE); *P.Fay.* 84.7 (163 CE), etc.

[47] Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1982), 121.

expansion, "and still more will be given you," nor would Luke's idea of surplus have served his purposes. [127]

Conclusion

On the basis of multiple attestation and contextual plausibility, the measure-for-measure aphorism offers a good case for authenticity. It invokes the standard and widespread practice of agricultural marketplaces in which loans are repaid using the same measuring vessel with which they were originally dispensed. The peculiarity of the formulation of Q 6:38c || Mark 4:24b || *1 Clem.* 13.2 is that it is framed not from the point of view of the borrower, but from that of the lender – surprising, perhaps, if one were to suppose that Jesus' audience was restricted to the nonélite. This framing suggests that the aphorism was employed to encourage those with resources to distribute them more widely, on the understanding that the more they gave, the more they would recoup – an adventuresome though not wholly unrealistic expectation. This social strategy is consistent with a series of other sayings and admonitions which, on the one hand, counsel against hoarding (Q 12:16–21), and on the other, encourage forgiveness (including debt forgiveness) on the understanding that this will redound to the agent's benefit (Mark 11:25; Q 11:4).

Insofar as the "measure for measure" principle was integral to the operation of the economy of Jewish Palestine, there is little problem in imagining that Jesus might have employed it – in fact, shifted its point of view – in order to appeal to those who were in a position to lend. By citing the very principle of market exchange by which they benefitted in loans and lease agreements, Jesus could suggest that other forms of exchange could be conceived along the same lines: generous actions, mercy, forgiveness would *also* redound to their benefit. Of course one did not need to be a lender to understand how the application of this market principle might work in forms of human action.

As the aphorism was deployed in the literature of the early Jesus movement, we can see both continuities and discontinuities. Both *1 Clement* and Q use the aphorism to encourage the re-evaluation of conventional expectations of social exchange, nudging the hearer to imagine social experimentation in the interaction with enemies, debtors, and fellows and the creation of a new ethos of reciprocity. Luke's deployment continues this usage, but has in view the cultivation of benefactors with promises of surplus gain.

But the aphorism was also shifted in two other ways and made to serve different social interests. On the one hand, Mark evidences a process of *abstraction* whereby the original agrarian exchange is eclipsed and its register is shifted from simple agricultural exchange to the acquisition of knowledge, [128] where the importance of surplus and accumulation replace the principle of

equity of exchange. The other transformation is that of Matthew, where the aphorism has been relocated to another discursive realm, that of law and retribution, where the aphorism through verbal imitation is assimilated to the *lex talionis*.

In the history of deployment of the measure-for-measure aphorism verbal continuity is strong. At the level of the discourse of Jesus – best represented I think by Q and *1 Clement* – the aphorism strongly reflects the realities of agrarian exchange in Jewish Palestine, even if Jesus shifted the point of view of the principle from that of the borrower to that of the lender. But the witnesses of Luke, Mark, and Matthew indicates how a single saying was serviceable in other discursive situations and was refashioned to serve very different conceptual and ideological interests

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Addendum

For other literature see Timothy A. Friedrichsen, "The Measure: Mk 4,24cd and Q 6,38c; 12,31b: A Note on Its Independence from Q," *ETL* 81, no. 1 (2005): 186–186, responding to Harry T. Fleddermann, *Mark and Q: A Study of the Overlap Texts* (BETL 122; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1995), 85–87. While Fleddermann argues that Mark 4:24cd (the measure-for-measure aphorism) is Mark's redactional of Q 6:38c and Q 12:32 (καὶ πάντα ταῦτα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν) (and hence dependent on Mark), Friedrichsen observes that Fleddermann's argument requires Mark to have removed both of the Q sayings from their respective contexts, and to have used them "rather uncomfortably" in his gospel, passing over other sayings in Q that would have served his argument better.

On the use of the rabbinic "measure-for-measure" saying, see G. Bissoli, "'Metron'-misura in Mt 7,2, Lc 6,38 e Mc 4,24 alla luce della letteratura rabbinica," *Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus* 53 (2003): 113–122 and especially Ishay Rosen-Zvi, "Measure for Measure as a Hermeneutical Tool in Early Rabbinic Literature: The Case of Tosefta Sotah," *JJS* 57, no. 2 (2006): 269–286.

Part IV
Parables

Chapter 18

Jesus and the Parables of Jesus in Q[1]

Contemporary scholarship has discovered in the parables of Jesus paradigms of brilliance and wit, exemplifying Jesus' verbal acumen, his narrative skill, and his incisive commentary on the human situation before God. The parables are commonly regarded as a distinctive, if not the most distinctive, feature of the speech of the historical Jesus,[2] and, hence, the most promising avenue of historical Jesus research. At the same time, the fate of the parables in Christian tradition illustrates what has been imagined as a more general shift from the message of the Kingdom in its original freshness to its domestication in the language of the Church, from proclamation to dogma, from metaphorical language to theology. Books on the parables regularly cite the elaborate allegorical exegesis of the Good Samaritan by Origen or Augustine to illustrate how far from the "original" sense patristic writers strayed. But one does not have to look as far as the third or fourth centuries to detect such deviations. It is clear from the editing of the parables by the Synoptic evangelists themselves that they did not treat the parables as fresh and lively narratives, combining the everydayness of Palestinian village society with playful inversions and resonant metaphors; instead, the parables offered mere surfaces upon which to inscribe instructions on salvation history, christology, ecclesiology and morals.

The subject of this essay is not the parables at the level of oral performance by Jesus, but their literary appearance – perhaps the [276] earliest literary appearance – in the Sayings Gospel Q and the way in which the "Jesus of the parables" becomes the "Jesus of Q."

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[1] First published as "Jesus and the Parables of Jesus in Q," in *The Gospel Behind the Gospels: Current Studies on Q* (ed. Ronald A. Piper; NovTSup 75; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995), 275–319. ©E.J. Brill 1995. Reprinted with permission.

[2] For explicit statements to this effect, see Adolf Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (2. Aufl.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1888–1899 [repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963, 1976]), 1:149; C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (Rev. ed; London: James Nisbet & Co., 1961), 1; Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (Revised edition [based on 8th 1970 German ed.]; trans. S.H. Hooke; London: SCM Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 12; Norman Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom: Symbol and Metaphor in New Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 199; Robert H. Stein, *The Method and Message of Jesus' Teachings* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978), 34; John R. Donahue, *The Gospel in Parable: Metaphor, Narrative, and Theology in the Synoptic Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 2.

From Parable to Didactic Narrative and Back

Even before the attention of scholarship turned to the poetic character of the parables, they were regarded simultaneously as key to the understanding of the kingdom proclaimed by Jesus and as showcase examples in the history of exegesis. In a devastating *tour de force* Jülicher had shown how from Clement of Rome to his own day parables had been treated as allegories, and how allegorical exegesis had resulted in a plethora of interpretations, none of them particularly convincing.[3] *Simplex sigillum veri* was the alternative and for Jülicher this meant that parables ought to be interpreted in a way that acknowledged that they were framed in simple, vivid and everyday language.[4] From the imagery (*das Bild*) of the parable the *tertium comparationis* had to be determined and applied to the real matter (*die Sache*) under discussion, the kingdom.[5] Jülicher discovered in the parables a kingdom of God characterized by "a fellowship in God ..., a fellowship of brothers and sisters under the protection of their father ...," a kingdom "in which spiritual effort and endeavour is demanded of all its members, not one in which preference is given to high birth or standing or intellectual capacity, but to reconciliation, humility, love, trust, patience, vigilance, prudence, self-denial, faithfulness...."[6] The parables illustrated these virtues, and, hence, for Jülicher the parables functioned in an essentially didactic manner. His view of Jesus as a teacher of humane morals, indeed, as the "apostle of progress,"[7] epitomized the German liberal view later articulated in Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*.[8] [277]

Even though Jülicher's liberal Protestant view of the kingdom of God as the product of spirit-guided human efforts was soon supplanted by the apocalyptic kingdom of Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer – a kingdom not made with hands[9] – Jülicher's rejection of allegory continued to serve as a benchmark of

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[3] Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:202–322: "Geschichte der Auslegung der Gleichnisreden Jesu."

[4] Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 1:322.

[5] Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 1:149: "Sie [die Gleichnisse] beschäftigen sich zum grossen Teil mit dem Himmelreiche, diesem Grund- und Hauptbegriffe in Jesu Gedankenwelt, der neuerdings denn auch allgemein in die Mitte des «Lehrsystems» Jesus gerückt wird; wie Christus das Reich Gottes sich gedacht hat, würden wir aus einer andern Quelle, wenn die Parablen uns fehlen, nur schlecht ersehen."

[6] Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 1:149.

[7] Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:483.

[8] ET: Adolf von Harnack, *What is Christianity?* (trans. T.B. Saunders; London: Williams & Norgate, 1901 [repr. Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1957, 1978]).

[9] For Weiss and Schweitzer, the parables of the Mustard and the Leaven, for example, were not about "the certainty that with the kingdom of heaven the period of perfection would the period of incompleteness," as Jülicher (*Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:581) held, but instead dramatized the apocalyptic character of the kingdom by contrasting the inconspicuousness of the cause with the overpowering result. See Johannes Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1892), 82–83; Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of*

parables research. So too did the view he popularized concerning the use of parables by early Christians: later usage departed from the freshness and vigor of Jesus' vision of the kingdom and overlaid it with dogmatic concerns. To put it somewhat differently, the parables, properly explained, put the interpreter in contact with the pre- and nondogmatic Jesus. In this sense Jülicher and those who followed him imagined the task at hand to be one of removing the later editorial and dogmatic accretions in order to arrive at a nondogmatic Jesus – a quest as old as Reimarus and Schleiermacher.

Jeremias' epoch-making *Parables of Jesus*, though it disagreed with Jülicher's view of the kingdom and with Schweitzer's notion of *konzequent Eschatologie*, concurred with their general approach in two crucial respects. First, parables remained didactic and illustrative in function. The Prodigal Son, the Lost Sheep, the Lost Drachma, and the Vineyard Workers, for example, defended Jesus' proclamation to sinners,[10] the Mustard, the Leaven, the Sowers and the Seed Growing Secretly provided assurance and consolation,[11] while the Treasure, the Pearl, and the Good Samaritan illustrated self-sacrifice and the "law of love."[12] [**278**] Second, Jeremias accepted the view that this message was gradually obscured and overlaid. More than those before him, Jeremias saw that this process had already begun with the editing of the Synoptic gospels. Alterations were not restricted to minor changes resulting from the translation of the parables into Greek; they included more substantial alterations occasioned by changes in the audience, changing ecclesial situations (e.g., the delay of the Parousia) and the introduction of allegory.[13] Jeremias, nevertheless, was quite sanguine that the "return to Jesus from the Primitive Church" – the title of his second chapter – could be accomplished once the "laws of transformation" were understood. For this reason, he remained per-

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the Historical Jesus: A Critical Study of Its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede (trans. William Montgomery, with a preface by F.C. Burkitt, new edition 1968) with a new introduction by James M. Robinson; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1910), 356: "In these parables it is not the idea of development, but of the apparent absence of causation which occupies the foremost place. The description aims at suggesting the question, how, and by what power, incomparably great and glorious results can be infallibly produced by an insignificant fact without human aid.... What the parables emphasize is, therefore, ... the in-itself negative, inadequate, character of the initial fact, upon which, as by a miracle, there follows in the appointed time, through the power of God, some great thing. They lay stress not upon the natural, but upon the miraculous character of such occurrences."

[10] Jeremias, *Parables*, 131, 136, 139.

[11] Jeremias, *Parables*, 149, 151, 153.

[12] Jeremias, *Parables*, 200–201, 205–6. Perrin (*Language of the Kingdom*, 105–6) observes that despite Jeremias' rejection of Jülicher's moralizing interpretation of the parables, he continued to relate the parables to the "message of Jesus" and thus reduced them to illustrations of that message rather than treating them as texts in themselves, with their own integrity and power to "give rise to thought" (Dodd's phrase).

[13] Jeremias, *Parables*, 23–114.

suaded that the parables afforded an unsurpassed route to the message of the historical Jesus.[14]

Although the notion of allegorical and dogmatic "overlays" and "accretions" has endured, the view of Jülicher and Jeremias that the parables are essentially didactic in function has not. The major reevaluation occurred when Amos Wilder in the United States and in Germany, Ernst Fuchs and his two students, Eta Linnemann and Eberhard Jüngel, challenged the prevailing view of the function of the parable. The parables were not didactic, illustrative of Jesus' message; they were revelatory and verbalized Jesus' own vision of the kingdom.

While C. H. Dodd, like his contemporaries, treated the parables as didactic stories, commending, defending and illustrating Jesus' gospel, Dodd's famous definition of the parable already provides the antecedents for Wilder's and Fuch's view. For Dodd the parable was[15]

> a metaphor or simile drawn from nature or common life, *arresting the hearer by its vividness or strangeness,* and leaving the mind in sufficient doubt as to its precise application to *tease it into active thought.*

The parables combine realism with surprize and thereby confront the hearer with a new vision and therefore, a choice. Wilder stressed both the realism of the language of the parables and their "focus and depth." He distinguished between parables which illustrate particular points – example stories such as the Good [279] Samaritan and the Rich Farmer – and symbolic narratives like the Lost Sheep. The latter, far from enjoining a particular course of action, provides "an extended image – the shepherd's retrieval of the lost sheep and his joy – a narrative image which reveals rather than exemplifies."[16] In parables such as the Lost Sheep, the Sower, the Mustard Seed, the Leaven, the Pearl and the Treasure what is revealed is Jesus' own vision. "For us, too, to find the meaning of the parable we must identify ourselves with that inner secret of Jesus' faith and faithfulness."[17] They do not merely illustrate, but rather present a challenge and a personal appeal. One might add that although the editorial "tags" such as "Listen" and εἴ τις ἔχει ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω are doubtless later additions, these features recognize and underscore this dimension of challenge and appeal.

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[14] Jeremias, *Parables*, 11.

[15] Dodd, *Parables*, 5 (emphasis added).

[16] Amos Niven Wilder, *The Language of the Gospel: Early Christian Rhetoric* (New York: Harper & Row; London: SCM Press, 1964), 80. There are some precedents to this view: e.g., Günther Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* (trans. Irene McLuskey and Fraser McLuskey, with a preface by James M. Robinson; 1956; repr., New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 69: "The parables are the preaching itself and are not merely serving the purpose of a lesson which is quite independent of them."

[17] Wilder, *Language of the Gospel*, 93.

For Fuchs and Linnemann the parable is a "language event." It does not merely provoke thought; it mediates Jesus' understanding of existence and creates the possibility for the hearer to share that understanding.[18] In the case of the parable of the mustard seed, for example,[19]

> the parable indicates that God in his coming accommodates himself to our circumstances, so that we are the seed from which the Kingdom will miraculously spring up, and spring up it will.... But the parable is no longer a pious discourse, nor even a toying with irony; instead, it acts like a lightning flash, illuminating the night. The parable is now irresistible and self-sufficient. It is now a text, a preaching-text. It provides people with a context for which they could *not* hope and with which they could *not* reckon. This is what is miraculous: what no one sees, he already hears: his *call* by God.

Jüngel invested parables with similar significance. The parables are not *about* the Kingdom and hence the search for a *tertium comparationis* is doomed from the outset. Rather, "the Kingdom [**280**] comes to speech *in* the parable *as* a parable."[20] Viewed from the vantage of the beginning, a mustard seed is nothing. But when seen from the vantage of the result, the power of the result is seen to be at work in the beginning. Analogously,[21]

> the power of the coming Kingdom of God already defines the present. The parable in which the present is expressed is related to the unseen beginnings of Kingdom. But the power of the coming Kingdom of God is there in the parable.... Confident in the power of the Kingdom that is already at work in the unseen beginning, Jesus can venture to gather people with the parable of the mustard, to call them for the kingdom, with the result that those who have been called themselves belong to the beginning of that miraculous end.

While the New Hermeneutic advocated by Fuchs and his students did not find a permanent footing, the view that the parables function as autonomous preaching or revelatory texts became part of the *sensus communis*. Robert W. Funk crystallized this consensus when he described the parables as *metaphors*. Jülicher was right to reject allegorical interpretation, and Dodd and Jeremias were correct in resisting the reduction of the parables to a single moralizing point and in asserting the provocative and argumentative character of parables. But for Jülicher, Dodd and Jeremias, the parables nonetheless were thought to yield *ideas*. This search for the *tertium comparationis* of the parable presupposes a logic of predication, not the logic of metaphor. "Metaphor," writes

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[18] Ernst Fuchs, *Studies of the Historical Jesus* (SBT 1/42; London: SCM Press, 1964), 220–21; Eta Linnemann, *Parables of Jesus: Introduction and Exposition* (trans. John Sturdy; London: SPCK, 1975), 30–33.

[19] Ernst Fuchs, "Was wird in der Exegese des Neuen Testaments interpretiert?" in *Zur Frage nach dem historischen Jesus* (Gesammelte Aufsätze 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1960), 290–91 (emphasis original).

[20] Eberhard Jüngel, *Paulus und Jesus: Eine Untersuchung zur Präzisierung der Frage nach dem Ursprung der Christologie* (5., durchgesehene Aufl.; HUT 2; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1979), 135: "Die Basileia kommt *im* Gleichnis *als* Gleichnis zur Sprache" (emphasis original). For this reason, Jüngel refuses to distinguish between the imagery (*Bildhälfte*) and the subject (*Sachhälfte*).

[21] Ibid., 153–54.

Funk, "raises the potential for new meaning. Metaphor redirects attention, not to this or that attribute but, by means of imaginative shock, to a circumspective whole that presents itself as focalized in this or that thing or event."[22] Since Funk's initial discussion, scholarship has identified the several ways in which Jesus' parables depart from conventional patterns of plot[23] or use imagery in unusual ways.[24] It is precisely these [**281**] unusual features that resist any ideational reduction and which constitute the "parabolic" dimension of parables. Funk concludes[25]:

> the parables as pieces of everydayness have an unexpected "turn" in them which looks through the commonplace to a new view of reality. This "turn" may be overt in the form of a surprising development in the narrative, an extravagant exaggeration, a paradox; or it may lurk below the surface in the so-called transference of judgment for which the parable calls. In either case the listener is led through the parable into a strange world where everything is familiar yet radically different.

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[22] Robert W. Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God: The Problem of Language in the New Testament and Contemporary Theology* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 138.

[23] For example, John Dominic Crossan (*Finding is the First Act: Trove Folktales and Jesus' Treasure Parable* [Semeia Supplements 9; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1979], 89) notes that the parable of the Treasure departs from plot conventions of other trove stories by locating the treasure on someone else's land. See also Robert W. Funk, "Participant and Plot in the Narrative Parables of Jesus," in *Parables and Presence: Forms of the New Testament Tradition* (by Robert W. Funk; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 35–54; idem, "Parable, Paradox, and Power: The Prodigal Samaritan," in *Parables and Presence: Forms of the New Testament Tradition* (by Robert W. Funk; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 55–65.

[24] See, e.g., Bernard Brandon Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 379–87, who argues that the Mustard Seed associates the kingdom of God with something small, insignificant and unclean. In regard to the same parable, Douglas E. Oakman (*Jesus and the Economic Questions of His Day* [Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 8; Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986], 127–28) notes that the mustard seed was a weed and hence the parable creates the spectre of a threat to the current order of production. See also Robert W. Funk, "Beyond Criticism in Quest of Literacy: The Parable of the Leaven," *Int* 25 (1971): 149–70.

[25] Funk, *Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God: The Problem of Language in the New Testament and Contemporary Theology*, 161. The recent literature recognizing the metaphoric character of parables is vast. See, e.g., John Dominic Crossan, *In Parables: The Challenge of the Historical Jesus* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973); idem, *The Dark Interval: Towards a Theology of Story* (Niles, Ill.: Argus Communications, 1975); Dan Otto Via, *The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967); McFague, Sallie [Teselle], *Speaking in Parables: A Study in Metaphor and Theology* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975 [new edition, London: SCM, 2002]); Madeleine Boucher, *The Mysterious Parable: A Literary Study* (CBQMS 6; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1977); Amos Niven Wilder, *Jesus' Parables and the War of Myths: Essays on Imagination in the Scripture* (ed. James Breech; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982); James Breech, *The Silence of Jesus: The Authentic Voice of the Historical Man* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*.

Between Jesus and the Parables in Q: Three Puzzles

1. If one accepts the current assessment of the nature and function of Jesus' parables, a number of puzzles present themselves when we turn to the gospels and Q. First, the "parabolic" character of the parables of Jesus was lost, overlooked and overlaid with other meanings almost immediately. It did not take several generations for these lively and subversive stories to be allegorized or converted into example stories; this happened in the Synoptic gospels themselves. This means, of course, that in order to use the parables to reconstruct the "original" message of Jesus one must [**282**] be prepared to posit a kind of resilience and resistance on the part of the parables that allowed them to be put to other uses without their original nature being thereby irretrievably lost.

It is not much of an exaggeration to say that *none* of the parables in the Synoptics or – as will be seen below – in the Sayings Gospel Q is presented *as* a parable, i.e., "parabolically." Thus while Mark reports the tradition that "Jesus spoke in parables" (4:2, 11, 33–34), he construes the parables as riddles, in need of decoding. Burton Mack comments[26]:

> The odd thing about the collection of parables in Mark 4 is that, with the exception of the explanation that the parables refer to the kingdom of God, Jesus' teaching according to Mark consisted only of parables. This indicates more than astute observation on Mark's part. He was not taking up the parables because he was impressed with the effective function of parabolic discourse as modern parable theory purports. He was not suggesting that Jesus' parables inaugurated the kingdom. The parables were about the kingdom, but they did not function "parabolically." Their "secret" was known only to those already on the "inside" of the kingdom by means of explanation. For those outside, the meaning of the parables remained a mystery.

For the Sayings Gospel comprehension of the parables does not serve as a test to divide insiders from outsiders, although Q also bases a distinction between insiders ("the simple") and outsiders ("the sages") on the communication of secret revelation (Q 10:21–22). But like Mark, the Sayings Gospel apparently remembers that Jesus was (among other things) a parabler and seeks to incorporate parables into its discourses. Q does not elevate discourse in parables to the programmatic level of Mark 4:11, 33–34. And while two pairs of parables are found in Q (13:18–19, 20–21; 15:4–7, 8–10), they are not grouped into a parabolic discourse paralleling Mark 4 or Matthew 13. In fact, Q does not single out "parables" or any other genre of sayings as especially characteristic of Jesus' discourse. Nevertheless, while Q treats parables somewhat differently than Mark, it is also true that just as in Mark, Q's parables do not maintain their putative original "parabolic" function. Instead, they function for the most part as demonstrative "proofs" and ornaments with both exemplary and allegorical features.

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[26] Burton L. Mack, *A Myth of Innocence: Mark and Christian Origins* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 156–57.

2. This is not the only curiosity concerning the parables in Q. A second notable fact concerns the term παραβολή itself. This is [**283**] nowhere securely attested in Q. Although the term occurs in Q contexts, it is redactional in most. Matthew's introduction of the Mustard and the Leaven with the formula ἄλλην παραβολὴν παρέθηκεν/ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς (λέγων) (13:31, 33) is probably due to Matthew rather than to Q.[27] This formula is the same as that used to introduce the preceding Parable of the Weeds in 13:24 and is perhaps partially influenced by Mark's πῶς ὁμοιώσωμεν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἢ ἐν τίνι αὐτὴν παραβολῇ θῶμεν; (4:30). While Luke takes over Mark's use of παραβολή in Luke 8:4, 9, 10, 11 (Mark 4:2, 10, 11, 13), he does not use the term when introducing the parables of the Mustard and the Leaven in chap. 13 – in a Q context. The only other Q parable introduced by Matthew as a παραβολή is the Great Supper (22:1–10 [11–14]) where, again, the Lukan parable lacks the term.[28] Matthew's placement of the parable directly after the parables of the Two Sons (21:28–32) and the Tenants (21:33–45) suggests that his introductory formula, ὁ Ἰησοῦς πάλιν εἶπεν ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λέγων, is a redactional connection.[29]

Luke also uses the term παραβολή in connection with Q materials, but as with Matthew, the use of the term is suspect. Q scholarship is nearly unanimous that Luke 6:39a (εἶπεν δὲ καὶ παραβολὴν αὐτοῖς), found in the middle of a sequence in Q's opening speech, is due to Lukan redaction.[30] The same is [**284**] true of the question interjected by Peter in Luke 12:41: εἶπεν δὲ ὁ Πέτρος, κύριε, πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγεις ἢ καὶ πρὸς πάντας; Since this

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[27] Cf. Matt 21:33, where Matthew has transformed Mark's καὶ ἤρξατο αὐτοῖς ἐν παραβολαῖς λαλεῖν (12:1) into ἄλλην παραβολὴν ἀκούσατε. See the convincing analysis by Jack Dean Kingsbury, *The Parables of Jesus in Matthew 13: A Study in Redaction-Criticism* (London: SPCK, 1969), 12–13; also Rudolf Laufen, *Die Doppelüberlieferungen der Logienquelle und des Markusevangeliums* (BBB 54; Königstein: Peter Hanstein, 1980), 174; Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1982), 263, 265, 268; W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–97), 2:411, 417, 422.

[28] Luke 14:7, however, introduces the hortatory material preceding the parable of the Great Supper with the formula, ἔλεγεν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κεκλημένους παραβολήν, ἐπέχων πῶς τὰς πρωτοκλισίας ἐξελέγοντο, λέγων πρὸς αὐτούς.

[29] Siegfried Schulz, *Q: Die Spruchquelle der Evangelisten* (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1972), 392. Gundry (*Matthew*, 432) notes that "in parables" is a stereotyped Matthaean formula but suggests that the terms might "have been suggested by the omitted material leading up to the parable (see Luke 14:7)."

[30] See Shawn Carruth's database on Q 6:39 and the responses by Rees Conrad Douglas and James M. Robinson, prepared for the International Q Project (James M. Robinson, "The International Q Project Work Session 16 November 1991," *JBL* 111, no. 3 [1992]: 500–508). Among the most important arguments is the fact that the phrase also occurs redactionally at Luke 5:36; 20:9, 19; 21:29 and in non-Markan contexts at 4:23; 12:6, 41; 13:6; 14:7; 15:3; 18:1, 9; 19:11. δὲ καὶ is also Lukan: see Henry J. Cadbury, *The Style and Literary Method of Luke* (HTS 6; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1920 [New York: Kraus Reprint Co. 1969]), 146.

question does not appear in the parallel Matthaean passage (Matt 24:45–51) and because it betrays various Lukanisms, it too is normally treated as editorial.[31] Luke introduces the parable of the Lost Sheep with the formula εἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν ταύτην λέγων (15:3) where the Matthaean parallel employs a completely different introduction (18:12: τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ;). A similar introduction is found in Luke 12:16 (εἶπεν δὲ παραβολὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων), introducing the story of the Rich Farmer, which some ascribe to Q.[32] But the presence of clearly Lukan features, such as the use of a verb of speaking followed by πρός[33] and εἶπεν δέ,[34] makes it extremely precarious to ascribe either introduction to Q.[35] Finally, the word "parable" appears in the introduction to the Parable of the Entrusted Money (Luke 19:11). But as was the case with the other Lukan Q parables, the Matthaean parallel lacks a corresponding introduction that mentions parables.[36] It is obvious that this verse is replete with Lukanisms, including the use of the genitive abso[285]lute,[37] an articular infinitive as object of a preposition,[38] and the journey motif. Thus Luke 19:11 cannot be ascribed to Q.[39]

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[31] For a tabulation of arguments, see Philip Sellew, "Reconstruction of Q 12:33–59," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1987 Seminar Papers* (ed. Kent H. Richards; SBLSP 26; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 636; John S. Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels: Synopsis, Critical Notes, & Concordance* (Foundations and Facets: New Testament; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1988), 140.

[32] See below, n. 83 and Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 128 for a tabulation of opinion.

[33] See Cadbury, *Style*, 202–3; Joachim Jeremias, *Die Sprache des Lukasevangeliums: Redaktion und Tradition im Nicht-Markusstoff des dritten Evangeliums* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 33.

[34] εἶπεν δὲ αὐτῷ/οἷς/πρὸς αὐτόν is redactional at Luke 6:9, 39; 8:25; 9:9, 14, 20, 50; 11:2, 39; 18:19; 20:41; 22:67 and is found in unparalleled material at 1:13, 34; 4:26; 7:48, 50; 9:61, 62; 10:18, 28; 12:15, 16, 20; 13:7; 16:31; 17:1, 22; 19:9; 22:36; 24:17, 44. It appears in Q contexts at 4:3 (Matt 4:3: καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ πειράζων εἶπεν αὐτῷ); 12:22 (diff Matt); and 15:3. See also Jeremias, *Sprache*, 33.

[35] Thus, with regard to Luke 15:3: Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 387. On both formulations, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28–28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981–85), 599, 973, 1076; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster Press; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978), 523, 600; Jeremias, *Sprache*, 215, 245.

[36] Matthew has ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος (25:14).

[37] Cadbury, *Style*, 133–34.

[38] This is a favourite Lukan construction, appearing at 1:8,21; 2:4, 6, 21, 27, 43; 3:21; 4:10; 5:1, 12, 17; 6:48; 8:5 [=Mark], 6 [=Mark], 40, 42; 9:7, 18, 29, 33, 34, 36, 51; 10:35, 38; 11:1, 8, 27, 37; 12:5, 15; 14:1; 17:11, 14; 18:1, 5, 35; 19:11, 15; 22:15, 20; 23:8; 24:4, 15, 30, 51; Acts 1:3; 2:1; 3:19, 26; 4:2, 5; 7:4, 19; 10:41; 11:15; 12:20; 15:13; 18:2, 3, 28; 19:1, 21; 20:1; 23:15; 27:4. Only twice is it taken from Mark.

[39] Thus Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 882; Marshall, *Luke*, 703 (who regards εἶπεν παραβολήν as Lukan but thinks that other portions of v. 11 may be pre-Lukan); Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1231. Jeremias (*Sprache*, 277–78) notes that ἀκούω in the absolute genitive is only attested in the Lukan corpus; προστίθημι is a favourite Lukan word; εἶπεν παραβολήν is Lukan, as are the articular infinitive, the form Ἰερουσαλὴμ, and παραχρῆμα.

We conclude, therefore, that the term "parable" was probably not used by the Sayings Gospel to designate any of its sayings. Even though Q represents Jesus as speaking in parables, it does not call attention to them as "parables" (or anything else for that matter). In the Synoptic tradition – which has forty-eight of the fifty occurrences of παραβολή in the New Testament – the strongest influence was Mark. Matthew's usage was influenced by Mark's, and even though Luke displays greater scope in his use of the term, there is no evidence that this was due to the Sayings Gospel; his usage too derives ultimately from Mark. It could be noted additionally that our other principal source of parables, the *Gospel of Thomas*, lacks the term entirely.

This raises a methodological point. What materials should be treated as "parables" in Q? Only those stories that modern parables research has identified as parables? In Q this would mean the Slave Left in Charge, the Mustard, the Leaven, the Feast, the Lost Sheep, the Entrusted Money, and possibly the Rich Farmer and the Lost Drachma.[40] Or should we include other materials as well? Modern definitions of parables are usually much more restrictive than ancient usage. In fact "parable" is not a discrete genre at all. If one views the Sayings Gospel through the lens of ancient literary and rhetorical theory, it clearly contains more than just eight "parables" even if it refrains from the use of any technical designations. [**286**]

Marsh McCall observes that for Aristotle "the identifying features of the παραβολή do not ... seem to include a particular genre. This is indicated both by the careless phrasing of the illustration of παραβολή [in *Rhet.* 2.20.1393b4–8] and by the similar form given to the surrounding illustrations of historical examples and fables (λόγοι)."[41] "Comparisons" (or "parables") belong to the larger class of παραδείγματα (examples), subdivided into παραδείγματα (historical anecdotes)[42] and manufactured examples, the latter group being further divided into "comparisons" (παραβολαί) and fables (λόγοι).[43] Quintilian's discussion of *similitudo*, the usual Latin translation for παραβολή, makes it clear that these need not entail full narratives and may be nonmetaphorical in

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[40] Bernard Brandon Scott's definition of a parable as "a *mashal* that employs a short narrative fiction to reference a transcendent symbol" ("Essaying the Rock: The Authenticity of the Jesus Parable Tradition," *Forum* 2, no. 1 [1986]: 3–53 [3]; similarly, *Hear Then the Parable*, 34) excludes not only the Tower Builder (Luke 14:30) and the King going to War (Luke 14:31–32) but apparently also the Builders (Q 6:47–49) and the Children in the Agora (Q 7:31–32).

[41] Marsh H. McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison* (Loeb Classical Monographs; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), 27.

[42] Both Aristotle and Quintilian use the terms παραδείγματα or *exempla* both in the broad sense of examples and in the narrower sense of historical anecdotes.

[43] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.20.1393a28–29. Similarly, Quintilian 5.11.1: *Tertium genus ex iis, quae extrinsecus adducuntur in causam, Graeci vocant παράδειγμα, quo nomine et generaliter usi sunt in omni similium adpositone et specialiter in iis, quae rerum gestarum auctoritate nituntur.*

character.[44] While the contemporary definition of parable, which excludes non-narrative comparisons, may be appropriate to a discussion of the parables of Jesus insofar as they were orally performed and had to be capable of oral transmission, when it comes to documents like Q (or the Synoptic gospels), we enter the realm of literary composition where no such restrictions apply. It is Aristotle's or Quintilian's broader literary and rhetorical definition that should be employed.

Strictly speaking, this broader definition would quality the comparison of the Q "workers" with sheep going among wolves (Q 10:3) as a "parable."[45] Nevertheless, there is some warrant for distinguishing between brief similes and longer, more nearly narrative, comparisons,[46] the latter more closely approximating [287] historical anecdotes and thus having greater force as proofs. In Q, in addition to the eight fully narrative parables listed above, at least the Builders (6:47–49) and the Children in the Agora (7:31–32) would also seem to belong.

The consequences of this expansion of the list of parables of Jesus should not be underestimated. Not only are authentic parables of Jesus presented in a way that does nothing to underscore their revelatory (Wilder) or kerygmatic (Bornkamm, Fuchs) or extravagant (Funk) character; they are also placed alongside other "parables" – the Builders and the Children in the Agora or the simile of sheep among wolves – which are anything but extravagant or shocking. A new discursive context has been achieved in Q.

3. The third puzzle has to do with the connection of Q's parables with the kingdom of God. Since Jülicher it has been taken as virtually self-evident that parables were about the kingdom. Yet the kingdom is mentioned in only two Q parables, the Mustard (13:18–19) and the Leaven (13:20–21); it is missing in the other eight.[47] There is little doubt that Jesus' activity had in some way to do with the kingdom of God. Yet it is remarkable how few of the parables – not only in Q but parables in general – directly invoke the kingdom.

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[44] Quintilian (5.11.22–24) restricts *similitudo* to a nonmetaphorical analogy where the subject matter closely approximates the subject of the proof and prefers this to the most common usage of the term, which allows for more disparate comparisons, sometimes metaphorical in character. On this, see McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories*, 197–99.

[45] Quintilian (8.3.74–75) classifies brief similes as the comparisons (*similitudines*) usable in ornamentation: "as the soil is improved and rendered more fertile by culture, so is the mind by education" and "as physicians amputate mortified limbs, so must we also lop away foul and dangerous criminals, even though they be bound to us by ties of blood."

[46] Demetrius (*On Style* 89) distinguishes between παραβολή and the briefer εικασία, advising that the former is poetic and should be used in prose only with care. Quintilian may reflect the same distinction when he refers to brief similes (sunt et illae breves) that can be used in ornamentation (8.3.81). See McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories*, 148, 227.

[47] I.e., the Builders (6:47–49); the Children in the Agora (7:31–32); the Rich Farmer (12:16–20); the Stewards (12:42b–46); the Feast (14:16–24); the Lost Sheep (15:4–7); the Lost Drachma in (15:8–10); and the Entrusted Money (19:12–26).

The association of the kingdom with parables, like the use of the term "parable" itself, is due in part to the construction of Mark 4. The entire discourse of Mark 4, which contains three of Mark's six parables, is controlled by the statement ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται (4:11). With this Mark problematizes parabolic discourse as he problematizes Christology and the reception of the kingdom. Parables become riddles, just as the kingdom and the identity of Jesus become mysteries for insiders alone to grasp. Even though the parable of the Sower (4:3–9) lacks an introductory formula like Mark 4:26 and 4:30 which associates the parable with the kingdom, the framing of chap. 4 nevertheless makes the association patent. [**288**]

Matthew in particular reinforces Mark's connection between parables and the kingdom. He takes over and enhances the terminology of Mark 4.[48] When he introduces parables elsewhere in the gospel, it is with the "kingdom formula" (18:23; 20:1; 22:2; 25:1). Or, he inserts parables into contexts where the Kingdom is discussed.[49] In fact, so strong is Matthew's association of parables with the Kingdom that all of the "M" parables – i.e., those for which he does not depend upon written sources (the Planted Weeds, the Treasure, the Pearl, the Fishnet, the Vineyard Workers, the Unmerciful Servant and the Ten Maidens) – are introduced with some variation of the formula ὡμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ. Only the parable of the Children in the Agora (11:16–17) is not directly linked with the kingdom, although in this case too, the kingdom is mentioned in the immediately preceding verses (Matt 11:12–13).

Luke, by contrast, suffers under no compulsion to associate parables with the Kingdom. He takes over Mark 4:11 (Luke 8:10) and Q's introductions in Luke 13:18–19 and 13:20–21. Elsewhere, however, he is content to introduce the parables with a range of formulae, none of them mentioning the kingdom. If there is an association of the parable with the kingdom at all, it is by way of

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[48] Matthew takes over the βασιλεία vocabulary from his sources at 13:11 (Mark 4:11); 13:31 (Mark 4:30; Q 13:18); 13:33 (Q 13:20), but adds it at 13:19, 38, 41, 43, 52, introducing parables with the formula ὡμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (13:24) or ὅμοία ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν (13:44, 45, 47).

[49] The parable of the Builders (7:27–29) in interpreted by Matthew as an illustration of who will "enter" the kingdom (Matt 7:21). The parable of the Lost Sheep (Matt 18:10, 12–14) is directly related by Matthew to the ecclesiological discussion of greatness in the Kingdom (18:1, 3, 4, 23); the application parable of the Two Sons (21:28–32) mentions entry into the Kingdom (21:31) and immediately precedes the parable of the Tenants, to which Matthew has added a statement about the Kingdom (21:43); and the parable of the Ten Maidens (25:1–13) is placed immediately after the parable of the Slave left in Charge (24:45–51) and immediately prior to the parable of the Talents (25:14–30). The latter begins with a formula that links it with 25:1–13 (ὥσπερ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος) and concludes with the motif of exclusion into outer darkness (25:30), a phrase used earlier with respect to exclusion from the kingdom (8:11–12). It is followed by the story of the last judgment, which refers to inheriting the kingdom (25:34).

contrast. The parable of the Rich Farmer (12:16–21), for example, epitomizes conduct which is just the opposite of "seeking the kingdom" (Luke 12:31); the parable of the Great Supper is told in response to – and as a warning about – the enthusiasm implicit in Luke 14:15; and the parable of the Entrusted Money functions to correct the *Naherwartung* implied in Luke 19:11. [289]

Were it not for the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*, one might suspect that the connection of parables with the kingdom was based on an extrapolation from the occurrence of the kingdom formula in two Q parables, the Mustard and the Leaven, the first of which Mark used. The *Gospel of Thomas*, however, introduces eight of its fourteen parables with the kingdom formula: the Mustard Seed (20); the Planted Weeds (57); the Pearl (76); the Leaven (96); the Empty Jar (97); the Assassin (98); the Lost Sheep (107) and the Treasure (109). The appearance of the formula in Thomas' version of the Planted Weeds, the Pearl and the Treasure suggests that the formula may not be entirely the work of Matthew in Matthew 13.[50] While the *Gospel of Thomas* agrees with the Sayings Gospel in interpreting the Leaven as a kingdom parable, and with Q and Mark with respect to the Mustard Seed, it is also worthwhile noting that Q and the *Gospsel of Thomas* concur in *not* using the Kingdom formula for the Rich Farmer (Q 12:16–20; *Gos. Thom.* 63) and the Feast (Q 14:16–24; *Gos. Thom.* 64) on the one hand, and that Q lacks the kingdom formula used in the *Gospel of Thomas*' version of the Lost Sheep (Q 15:4–7; *Gos. Thom.* 107).

In view of the above tabulation, it does not seem likely that the kingdom formula was original to every parable even if it is securely attested in the case of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven. This does not mean that other (or all?) parables were not in some way about the kingdom at the stage of their earliest oral performance. But it does imply that this connection with the kingdom would have had to be part of the larger linguistic framework of oral performance. At any rate, when the parables are encountered in Q (as well as Mark 12–13 and Luke), most of this framework, if it ever existed, has been lost.

The Function of "Parables" in Q

Each of the ten parables of Q displays signs of having been coopted to serve the compositional ends of the document. The parables that belong to the formative layer of Q have been sub[290]ordinated to the mainly didactic thrust

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[50] It is common to argue that in the Fishnet (*Gos. Thom.* 8), ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ("the man") replaced an original "kingdom." Thus Jeremias, *Parables*, 101 n. 56, 201; Stevan L. Davies, *The Gospel of Thomas and Christian Wisdom* (New York: Seabury, 1983), 9. Against this, Ron Cameron ("Parable and Interpretation in the Gospel of Thomas," *Forum* 2, no. 2 [1986]: 29) argues that the Fishnet is rather a wisdom parable "told about the discovery of one's destiny."

of this stratum,[51] while those belonging to the second main redaction have been employed as allegorical illustrations of the failures of "this generation" or to embellish and dramatize the destabilizing of the cosmos by the Day of the Son of Man (hereafter, "the Day").

1. Parables in the Redactional Layer

Four parables belong to this layer, Q 7:31–32; 12:42b–46; 14:16–24 and 19:12–26 and in each case, the parable has become part of a more extended argument.

The Children in the Agora

What is initially striking about the parable in Q 7:31–32 is that the introductory formula, τίνι (δὲ) ὁμοιώσω τὴν γενεὰν ταύτην, καὶ τίνι εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι; resembles the introductory formulae to the parables of the Mustard (Q 13:18–19; Mark 4:30) and the Leaven (Q 13:20–21). But whereas those parables are about the kingdom, Q 7:31–32 offers a polemical commentary on "this generation." The parable itself is cleverly conceived, as Wendy J. Cotter has shown, depicting the children (παιδία) incongruously as *seated* in the ἀγορά like judges, and "summoning" (προσφωνοῦντα) their fellows.[52] Read in this way, the parable becomes a burlesque, mocking the self-importance of "this generation" by comparing it with children play-acting as judges in the agora.

What follows in Q shows that it was interested in a somewhat more specific application of the parable. John and Jesus, depicted as τέκνα Σοφίας, are set alongside the characters in the parable in an attempt to capitalize on the dynamics of the parable and to further Q's polemic against "this generation." This alignment is not entirely without its ambiguities, however. John, an ascetic, is presumably aligned with the first set of children and Jesus with the second set. It is not clear whether Jesus and John are meant to be [291] identified with those who call – in which case, there is an incongruity between the ascetic John and the first set of "piping" children and between the convivial Jesus and the dirge-players. Alternatively, John and Jesus may be identified, respectively, with those who refuse to dance and those who refuse to mourn. However, the designation of John and Jesus as children of Sophia might lead us to expect an active role (i.e., summoning) for the two rather than a passive one. Moreover, the explanations that John might be demon-possessed and

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[51] On this distinction, see John S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q: Trajectories in Ancient Wisdom Collections* (Studies in Antiquity and Christianity; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); "The Sayings Gospel Q: Literary and Stratigraphic Problems," in *Symbols and Strata: Essays on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. Risto Uro; Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran Julkaisuja, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 65; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), [chap. 11 in this volume].

[52] Wendy Cotter, "The Parable of the Children in the Market Place, Q (Lk) 7:31–35: An Examination of the Parable's Image and Significance," *NovT* 29 (1987): 289–304.

Jesus was a glutton and a drunk do not square in any obvious way with either the two summons or the two refusals.[53]

The imposition of an allegorical code suggests that Q was either unwilling or unable to leave the witticism stand on its own. Perhaps it is a little like feeling obliged to explain a joke; in any event, the appending of 7:33–35 illustrates the thoroughly literary and scribal character of Q. The parable has been preserved only by turning it to the main purposes of the secondary redactional layer: polemics and defence of the image of the founder(s). Q 7:33–35 shifts attention from the burlesque of the parable to an exegesis of the absurd way in which "this generation" has regarded John and Jesus, concluding with a characterization of John and Jesus as children of Sophia.[54]

The Great Supper

Allegorical application can also be seen in Q's use of the parable of the Great Supper (Q 14:16–24). The reconstruction of this parable is difficult, since Matthew especially has taken great liberties in recasting the parable as an allegory of salvation history and Luke as paradigm illustrating the preceding moralizing [**292**] sayings (Luke 14:7–14). Nevertheless, the agreements between Matthew and Luke indicate that an initial invitation was refused, that the householder reacted in anger (Q 14:21), and that a second invitation to others "in the roads" was successful.

By itself, the parable does not provide many clues as to how it would have been read in Q. The immediate context, however, suggests an allegorical reading. Two of the preceding sayings in Q are Q 13:28–29,[55] announcing a pilgrimage of those from east and west to participate in God's great supper, and

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[53] For a sketch of the positions on all sides of this debate, see Dieter Zeller, "Die Bildlogik des Gleichnisses Mt 11 16f/Lk 7 31f," *ZNW* 68 (1977): 252–57; Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 110–12.

[54] The woes in Q provide a partial analogy. The seven woes, in particular those regarding tithing and the washing of vessels, have the challenge/riposte character of oral culture. A much more learned perspective is achieved with the addition of Q 11:49–51 which, as Gerd Theissen rightly observes, presumes a knowledge that Zechariah was the last of prophets to be killed and assumes that 2 Chronicles is the last book of the collection of scriptures. See Gerd Theissen, *The Gospels in Context: Social and Political History in the Synoptic Tradition* (trans. Linda M. Maloney; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), 228. On the woes, see Leif E. Vaage, "The Woes in Q (and Matthew and Luke): Deciphering the Rhetoric of Criticism," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1988 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLASP 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), 582–607.

[55] Q 13:28–29: [29] [[καὶ πολλοὶ]] ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν ἥξουσιν καὶ ἀνακλιθήσονται [28] μετὰ Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, [[ὑμ‹εῖ›ς]] δὲ ἐκβλ[[ηθήσ‹εσθε› εἰς τὸ σκότος τὸ]] ἐξώ[[τερον· ἐκεῖ ἔσται ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων. [Ed. note: Reconstruction: James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* (Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 414–17].

Q 13:34–35, in which a divine figure, presumably Sophia, laments her rejection by Jerusalem and announces the desolation of that city. Given this context, it is difficult to avoid imposing an allegorical code upon the parable of the Great Supper and reading the first set of invitees in light of 13:34–35, and the second set in light of 13:28–29. This allegorizing of the parable becomes even clearer if Luke 14:24, λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κεκλημένων γεύσεταί μου τοῦ δείπνου, can be ascribed to Q,[56] since this amounts to Jesus' own commentary, in which he identifies the parable's supper with "my supper," presumably that mentioned in 13:28–29.

A comparison with the version of the parable in *Gospel of Thomas* (64) is telling, for there is no evidence of allegorizing at all. At best, there is a slight moralizing tendency, witnessed in the final statement, "buyers and merchants will not enter the places of my Father." In Q, by contrast, the parable is preserved in the context of Q's campaign against "this generation" where it is used to dramatize the preceding polemical sayings, and to place Jesus and the Jesus movement, unsuccessful at summoning "this generation" on the side of Sophia and at table with the heroes of Israel, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. [293]

The Slave Left in Charge

While the first two parables are directed to polemical and apologetic ends, the parables of the Slave Left in Charge (Q 12:42b–46) and the Entrusted Money (19:12–26), adopting the metaphor of household management, trade on apocalyptic fears in order to dramatize the importance of embracing the ethic of the Q folk.

The illative particle ἄρα in Q 12:42 shows that this parable was used by Q to illustrate Q 12:40. It is unclear whether the parable of the Slave Left in Charge was an authentic parable that was secondarily allegorized[57] or whether it was a creation (in whole or in part) of the early Church.[58] The debate has

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[56] Thus Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 397–99; Wolfgang Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle der Evangelien: Q-Synopse und Rekonstruktion in deutscher Übersetzung* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1981), 108; Athanasius Polag, *Fragmenta Q: Textheft zur Logienquelle* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1979), 70 (in spite of the Lukanism ἀνήρ). In favour of this, it might be pointed out that Q elsewhere employs λέγω ὑμῖν statements to return from one level of discourse to Jesus' own commentary (Q 11:51b; 13:35b). See Kloppenborg, "Literary and Stratigraphic Problems," 20–21 [pp. 283–284 in this volume]

[57] Jeremias (*Parables*, 55–57) suggests that the original addressees were scribes. Marshall (*Luke*, 534–35) thinks that the parable is authentic and was precisely Jesus' own teachings to his disciples regarding the parousia. Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 210–12: "This parable makes the simple point that a servant who can be trusted only when his master is present is a worthless servant" (212). Alfons Weiser (*Die Knechtsgleichnisse der synoptischen Evangelien* [SANT 29; Munich: Kösel, 1971], 204–14) also argues that the core is authentic.

[58] Erich Grässer, *Das Problem der Parusieverzögerung in den synoptischen Evangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte* (3. Aufl.; BZNW 22; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), 84–95, esp. 92: "Jedenfalls ist aber der Zug [to the delay] im jetzigen Gleichnis so fest

turned on whether the phrase χρονίζει ὁ κύριός μου (12:45) can be anything other than an allusion to the delay of "the Day." But three additional considerations favour the possibility of a secondary creation. First, the parable lacks an independent parallel. Second, it appears to be custom-tailored to the redactional verse 12:40,[59] elucidating the meaning of γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι and adapting the phrase ὅτι ᾗ ὥρᾳ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται in 12:46. Finally, the servant's musings in 12:45a as well as the statements in 12:43, [**294**] 46 regarding the "coming" of the master do not follow from the opening of the parable. The situation outlined in Q 12:42b need not require that the master be absent at all. The appointment of a manager was normal on all large estates since owners normally preferred other activities to day-to-day supervision. Instead, 12:43, 45a and 46 are formulated with the departure-return scenario of 12:40 in view. In other words, the entire dynamics of the parable require that the master be absent and then return, something that the parable need not tell the reader, since it presupposes that s/he has seen Q 12:40. This of course means that the parable probably a post-Easter creation. It is also worth noting that as in the parable of the Entrusted Money – also without an independent parallel –, the reward mentioned involves status elevation (12:44; cf. 19:17, 19) and the punishment seems particularly brutal (12:46: διχοτομήσει!).

The parable forms part of an argument. Q takes for granted that "the Day" will come unheralded. For this reason, Q's advice is not to "watch" – that is Matthew's counsel (24:42 = Matt^{R}), presupposing the schema of Mark 13. Instead, Q advises to "be prepared." The nature of the preparation is not spelled out, either by 12:40 or by the parable, but the immediately preceding sayings would suggest that it entails embracing Q's disdain for wealth (12:33–34) and its search for the kingdom (12:31).

The allegorical identification of the ὁ κύριος of 12:46 with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου of 12:40 is inevitable given the close and deliberate structural similarities.[60] It does not follow, however, that Q means to allegorize all of the

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mit dem Ganzen verbunden und der Bezug auf die Verzögerung der Parusie so deutlich, daß man darin schwerlich einen unbetonten Nebenzug erblicken kann." Dieter Lührmann, *Die Redaktion der Logienquelle* (WMANT 33; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 70; Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 274. Gerhard Schneider, (*Parusiegleichnisse im Lukasevangelium* [SBS 74; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1975], 28) considers the possibility that only the second part was a secondary creation.

[59] Note that a parallel to 12:40 is missing from *Gos. Thom.* 21, 103. On Q 12:40, see Heinz Schürmann, "Beobachtungen zum Menschensohn-Titel in der Redequelle," in *Jesus und der Menschensohn: Für Anton Vögtle* (ed. Rudolf Pesch and Rudolf Schnackenburg; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1975), 124–47, ET: "Observations on the Son of Man Title in the Speech Source: Its Occurrence in Closing and Introductory Expressions," in *The Shape of Q: Signal Essays on the Sayings Gospel* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 87–88. Schürmann considers Q 12:40 to be a secondary expansion.

[60] This is the consensus of virtually all scholars. See most recently, Claus-Peter März, "Zur Vorgeschichte von Lk 12,35–48: Beobachtungen zur Komposition der Logientradition in der Redequelle," in *Christus bezeugen: Festschrift für Wolfgang Trilling zum 65.*

details of the parable, reading, for example, the slave (steward) as a "church leader" and the other slaves as members of the Q group. Nor does it follow that the parable recognizes a new situation characterized by the delay of "the Day." As Paul Hoffmann observes, the delay is not narrated objectively but is instead a (false) supposition of the manager.[61] The scenario is, in fact, quite normal: owners were [**295**] typically anxious that their managers might abuse their trust in their absence and, presumably, managers did so only when they thought that they would not be discovered.[62] Hence, while 12:42b–46 presupposes the departure-return scenario of 12:40, it is not a meditation upon a "new" situation caused by the delay of "the Day." Rather, it invokes a typical problem of agricultural management in order to dramatize just how unexpectedly "the Day" and its terrible consequences might arrive. The point is not to encourage responsible leadership within the church-household, but instead to conjure a vision of how "the Day," unforeseen and unforeseeable, will winnow and separate. The only means by which to avoid it is to embrace the ethos of Q.

The Entrusted Money

The parable of the Entrusted Money (Q 19:12–26) is perhaps the most difficult parable to reconstruct, since there is so little initial verbal agreement between Matthew and Luke. There is, however, agreement in the basic narrative structure (complicated by Luke's insertion of a story of a throne claimant).[63] In particular, both versions agree in indicating the distance (spatial or temporal)

Geburtstag (ed. Karl Kertelge, Traugott Holtz, and Claus-Peter März; Erfurter theologische Studien 59; Leipzig: St. Benno, 1989), 166–78 (175); Harry T. Fleddermann, "The Householder and the Servant Left in Charge," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1986 Seminar Papers* (ed. David J. Lull; SBLASP 25; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 17–26 (26).

[61] Paul Hoffmann (*Studien zur Theologie der Logienquelle* [NTAbh NF 8; Münster: Verlag Aschendorff, 1972; 2. Aufl. 1975; 3. Aufl. 1980], 47–48) observes that the phrase normally taken as an acknowledgement of the delay of the parousia is "in his heart" and that it "steht also im Gleichnis die Aussage des 'plötzlichen, überraschenden Kommens' gegenüber" (48). Hence, Hoffmann suggests that "die Verzögerung kennzeichnet die Haltung dessen, der sich auf die Botschaft von Q nicht einläßt, nicht aber notwendig einen internen Zweifel der Q-Gruppe" (ibid). This is part of a larger effort on Hoffmann's part to insert a third (transitional) term, "Parusieenttäuschung' (disappointment about the Parousia) between "Naherwartung" and "Parusieverzögerung." Fleddermann ("The Householder and the Servant Left in Charge," 62) agrees that the parable is not simply about leaders but rejects Hoffmann's conclusion: "From now on ... the prudent servant correctly sees the significance of the master's delay and acts on it – it is an opportunity to demonstrate his fidelity." This, however, construes the delay as objective.

[62] Authors on agricultural management suggest unannounced visits as a means for preventing such abuses. See Cato, *De agri cultura* 5.3–4 and the wide-ranging advice of Columella, *De re rustica* 1.7–8.

[63] See the summary of positions on vv. 12, 14–15a, 24a, 27 in Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 200.

of the master from the scene,[64] the third servant's characterization of the master as "harsh" (Matt: σκληρός; Luke: αὐστηρός), the castigation of the servant as "evil" and the assigning of his [**296**] money to the ten-talent/mina servant. Matthew and Luke also concur by including the interpretive verse (Q 19:26) which provides a rationale for the master's seemingly harsh actions.

The appearance of independent parallels to Q 19:26 (but not to the remainder of the story[65] in Mark 4:25 and *Gos. Thom.* 41 suggests that this verse was secondarily added to the story. It is worth noting that the Lukan version, like Q 14:24, introduces the interpretive saying with λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι which, presumably, shifts the voice from the master to Jesus.[66]

The parable, whether in the Synoptics or Q, has normally be taken to be an object lesson in using time wisely and responsibly.[67] Schenk cites Wellhausen's comments on the Matthaean parable with approval: Christians "sind zum Dienst verpflichtet und nicht zur Entfaltung ihrer eigenen schönen Persönlichkeit,"[68] adding[69]:

> ein bloßes Bewahren und Verwalten ist angesichts dieses stetigen Gebers aller – der vorgegebenen, der möglichen wie der endgültigen – Gaben ein hoffnungsloses Unterfangen, das ihn betrügen und sich selbst Lügen strafen würde.

What is normally missed in this story are its economic assumptions. Q is normally following Luke's version (i.e., minas [100 drachmae] rather than talents [6000 drachmae]). The increases that are evidently expected and rewarded provide an indication of the kind of persons involved. Ten-fold or five-fold increases, while possible on a twentieth century stock market, were conceivable in the first century only for persons who were prepared to make extremely

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[64] Matthew: ἀπεδήμησεν (25:14, 15); μετὰ δὲ πολὺν χρόνον ἔρχεται (25:19); Luke: ἐπορεύθη εἰς χώραν μακράν (19:12). In fact, Luke's introduction, in which an interlocutor supposes that the kingdom will appear παραχρῆμα also suggest that Luke presumes that the master will be absent for a long period, a supposition reinforced by the fact that two servants would require some time to make the profits described. In neither gospel, however, is a "delay" mentioned.

[65] The parable in *Gospel of the Nazarenes* 18 does not evidence an independent version of the parable, but like the rest of the *Gos. Naz.* materials is a secondary adaptation of canonical Matthew. See Philipp Vielhauer and Georg Strecker, "Jewish-Christian Gospels," in *New Testament Apocrypha. Volume One: Gospels and Related Writings* (rev. ed.; ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; trans. Robert McL. Wilson; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991), 157–59.

[66] It is more difficult to account to Luke's insertion of λέγω ὑμῖν, which is so awkward after 19:25 and before 19:27, than it is to account for Matthew's deletion of the formula. The formula is included in the reconstructions by Schenk (*Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 126); Polag (*Fragmenta Q*, 82) and Schulz (*Spruchquelle*, 292).

[67] Thus Lührmann, *Redaktion*, 71; Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 294–95.

[68] Julius Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Matthaei übersetzt und erklärt* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1904), 132.

[69] Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 127–28.

high-risk maritime loans[70] or who [**297**] could demand high interest because of their political position – for example, Brutus' loan to the city of Salamis which bore 48% interest[71] – , or who could amass wealth though extortion or confiscation. As Scott rightly points out,[72] the strategy of the third servant was the more normal one to secure the investment against loss.[73] The interpretive verse (19:24), meant to rationalize the master's actions, is hardly a comforting assurance. Indeed, it serves to reinforce the master's self-description as someone who is "severe."

It is noteworthy that neither Matthew nor Luke regarded the concluding proverb as sufficient to turn the master into figure of Jesus or God. Matthew ties the parable, and hence its characters, into a web of significations found elsewhere in his gospel. By adding the command "enter into the joy of your Lord" Matthew connects this parable to the next one, in which the Son of Man invites those "blessed of his father" to come and inherit the kingdom prepared for them (25:34). The order to cast the servant into "outer darkness" (25:30) recalls two pericopae (8:12; 22:13) where those consigned to such a fate are unworthy in God's eyes and are so consigned as a matter of divine judgment. Matthew thus aligns the master with Jesus/God and further secures this interpretation by designating the man as τὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον (25:30). For his part Luke has embedded the story of the entrusted money into a story about the rebel subjects of a king and thus creates a parallel between the punishment of the third servant and that of the rebellious subjects ("my enemies"). It should also be noted that the version of the story in the *Gospel of the Nazarenes* (18) solves the problem by displacing the punishment from the servant who hides the talent (who is only rebuked) to another servant, who had squandered the money on prostitutes.

Without the benefit of such expedients, Q is left with the proverbial saying in Q 19:26. Nothing in the context warrants the [**298**] paraenetic message that interpreters like to find. When Zeller argues that the parable suggests that

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[70] On this, see G. E. M. de Ste Croix, "Ancient Greek and Roman Maritime Loans," in *Debits, Credits, Finance and Profits: Essays in Honor of W.T. Baxter* (ed. H. Edey and B.S. Yamey; London, 1974), 41–59; John H. D'Arms, "Control, Companionship and Clientela: Some Functions of the Roman Communal Meal," *Echos du monde classique* 28 (1984): 104–5; Paul Millett, "Maritime Loans and the Structure of Credit in Fourth Century Athens," in *Trade and Famine in Classical Antiquity* (ed. Peter Garnsey and C.R. Whittaker; Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Supplement 8; Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1983), 36–52.

[71] Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 5.21.10–12; 6.1.5–7. See further, Ernst Badian, *Roman Imperialism in the Late Republic* (2nd ed; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1968), 84–87. The legal limit on interest in the first century CE was 12%.

[72] Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 228–29.

[73] Petronius' *Satyricon* (53.3) has a treasurer announce to Trimalchio that 10 million sesterces were in a strong box "because they could not be invested." See also Demosthenes (27.9-11), where he distinguishes "active" from "inactive" capital, the latter including 8,000 drachmae in a strong-box (not an insignificant portion of his entire estate).

"anxious service according to the rules" is not sufficient and that 19:24 "might be a bitter fact in the economic realm; but in the realm of human freedom, it proves to be true: love will be reciprocated only if it takes risks,"[74] it should be pointed out that there is no indication at all that this is intended as a discourse on love or on the nature of Christian "duty." No one in the first century would dream that a ten- or fivefold increase on capital would come as a matter of course. If it occurred, it would be a matter of incredible good fortune. There is an air of unreality about the entire story.

The justification given for depriving the third servant of his money would hardly be consoling to most of the hearers of the parable, for it merely reiterates what most would know only too well: the rich get richer at the expense of the poor. Yet the parable cannot be meant as black irony, condemning the rapacity of the rich. The narrative structure of the parable, in which the master defines the outcomes, and his commendations of the first two servants as πιστοί (which has positive freighting in Q) and his elevation of their status forces the auditor/reader grudgingly to accept his judgments. Regardless of the sympathy the story might engender for the third servant, the exchange in 19:21–22 deprives the third servant (and the auditor) of the rhetorical high ground. The solution entertained in 19:23, even if the standard 12% interest would not increase the master's wealth by much, further undermines the servant's position. Thus, he has lost even before the actual punishment (19:24) and its rationalization (19:26).

A clue to Q's understanding of the story is found in its placement, after Q 17:23–24, 37, 26–30, 34–35 and before 22:28–30. While the discourse in Q 17:23–24, 37, 26–30, 34–35 has been called an apocalyptic discourse, it does not provide a timetable of "the Day" nor does it try to explain its delay – it does not even presume a delay. Instead, with a series of images it indicates the absolute impossibility of anticipating that day and sketches its truly ominous dimensions. It will appear in the midst, not of apocalyptic disasters (like Mark 13), but of the perfectly ordinary (Q 17:26–27, 28–30). There will be no signs (17:23). It will be as unheralded as the destruction of Sodom or the generation of Noah, and village bonds created by kinship and work will be torn [**299**] apart (Q 17:34–35).[75] The function of such language is to call into question the security of everyday structures: all of this could be gone in the next instant. At the same time it explodes the false security of apocalyptic timetables: in fact, there will be no signs.

The parable of the Entrusted Money continues in this threatening tone, now depicting the actions of a rapacious landowner and the practically unattainable

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[74] Dieter Zeller, *Kommentar zur Logienquelle* (Stuttgarter kleiner Kommentar, Neues Testament 21; Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1984), 84.

[75] On this point, see John S. Kloppenborg, "Symbolic Eschatology and the Apocalypticism of Q," *HTR* 80, no. 3 (1987): 287–306 (301–2) [pp. 157–178 in this volume].

demands he makes of his retainers. The point of this parable is not the delay of "the Day" or what one ought to do in the meantime – indeed, there is no delay, only the absence of the master for some unspecified period of time. Nor is the point that the third servant was weak, or timid, or that he "hoarded" the money or was "over-cautious" or "unenterprising," or any of the other convenient moralizings found in the exegetical literature.[76] No paraenetic application refocuses attention on some other realm of discourse. If the "increase" were meant to be read as a metaphor for some virtue (love, service to others, etc.) or if the risks were intended in some transferred sense, those interpretive keys are now curiously absent in both the application and the context.

Instead, the reader/auditor is confronted with a particularly brutal and destabilizing story of success and failure where the rules seem already to belong to foreign realm. As in 17:23–35, the ends are simply beyond calculation, and it is this fact that undermines the present. To view the world from inside the parable is terrifying; so also is Q's spectre of "the Day." Imaginative resolution is achieved only in the strongly pathetical appeal of the concluding verse of Q: ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι ... καθήσεσθε ἐπὶ θρόνων τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς κρίνοντες τοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Finally, the instability of servanthood and the fear of judgment is transcended in this promise of coregency. Adherence to Q's teachings of Jesus – serving God rather than mammon – is the only means by which to triumph over the frightening spectre of "the Day." [**300**]

What is common to the four above mentioned parables is not allegorization – indeed, the Entrusted Money resists simple allegorization[77] – but the fact that each has become part of a larger rhetoric. Each parable occurs as the end to an argumentative sequence, providing a concluding visualization.[78] In the case of the Q 7:31–32 and 14:16–24, Q's argument is the indictment of "this genera-

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[76] The terms come from Dodd (*Parables*, 118–19) who thinks that the third servant represents a pious Jew who "seeks personal security in a meticulous observance of the Law" and thus, the parable commends risk-taking – the abandoning of the "scrupulous discipline of Pharisaism" and the embracing of the gospel. Scott (*Hear Then the Parable*, 232–35) likewise suggests that the parable "marks out a fundamental difference between Jesus and the Pharisees." "The parable as a window onto the kingdom demands that the servant act neither as preserver nor as one afraid; but act boldly he must. If one is to act boldly, then the rulse have been changed. They are no longer predictable" (234).

[77] Cf. Jeremias (*Parables*, 59–60), commenting on the implausibility of the synoptist's allegorical identification of the master with the Son of Man: "It is hardly conceivable that Jesus would have compared himself, either with a man 'who drew out where he had not paid in, and reaped where he had not sown' (Luke 19.21), that is, a rapacious man, heedlessly intent on his own profit: or with a brutal oriental despot, gloating over the sight of his enemies slaughtered before his eyes...."

[78] The Children in the Agora comes at the end of Q 7:1–10, 18–28, 31–35; the Slave Left in Charge concludes Q 12:39–40, 42b–46; the Great Supper serves as a conclusion for 13:24–30, 34–35; 14:16–24; and the Entrusted money and the Twelve Thrones are contrasting conclusions for 17:23–35.

tion": the illustration of its wrongheadedness and of the consequences of its refusals. The parables in Q 12:42b–46 and 19:12–26 serve a different argumentative end, the dramatization of "the Day" and its terrible consequences. In none of these instances is the parable intended as a "revelatory text" by itself. On the contrary, their autonomy (if 12:42b–46 was ever autonomous) has been subordinated to a larger rhetoric.

2. The Formative Stratum

Ancient theories of rhetorical composition imagined a relatively restricted role for parables. Recommending the use of enthymemes (rhetorical syllogisms) as demonstrative proofs, Aristotle allowed that in the absence of enthymemes parables might be used even though they were not ideally suited to that purpose. The more appropriate use was at the end of a speech, as an epilogue, where parables serve as a witness (μάρτυς) to induce belief.[79] It was precisely the visual dimension of parables [**301**] – "putting the matter in plain sight" – that made them particularly well-suited to this kind of persuasion.[80]

It may be seen immediately that in addition to the foregoing parables, the parable of the builders (6:47–49) functions in this way by dramatizing the appeal of 6:46 to attend to the speaker's words: τί με καλεῖτε, κύριε κύριε, καὶ

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[79] Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.20.9.1394a: "If they [parables] stand first, they resemble induction, and induction is not suitable to rhetorical speeches except in very few cases; if they stand last they resemble evidence, and a witness is in every case likely to induce belief. Wherefore also it is necessary to quote a number of examples if they are put first, but one alone is sufficient if they are put last; for even a single trustworthy witness is of use." Cf. Quintilian (8.3.72–81): parables have a twofold function, as proofs and as ornamentation. "the invention of similes (*similitudines*) has also provided an admirable means of illuminating our decriptions. Some of these are designed for insertion among our arguments to help our proof (*probationis gratia inter argumenta ponuntur*), while others are devised to make our pictures yet more vivid (ad exprimendam rerum imaginem)" (8.3.72). Cf. also *Ad Herennium* 4.45.59: *similtudo est oratio traducens ad rem quampriam aliquid ex re dispari. Ea sumitur aut ornandi causa aut probandi aut apertius dicendi aut ante ocolos ponendi*.

[80] See the discussion of vividness by Quintilian (above n. 79) and in *Ad Herennium* 4.47.60: "a similitude will be included for the sake of placing a matter in plain sight (of the audience)" (*ante oculos ponendi negotii causa sumetur similitudo*). See also Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 6, refering to *Cebes' Tablet*: ἐθέλω δέ σοι πρῶτον ὥσπερ ὁ Κέβης ἐκεῖνος εἰκόνα γραψάμενος τῷ λόγῳ ἑκατέραν ἐπιδεῖξαι τὴν ὁδόν. See also Theon's account of ἔκφρασις, "description" in *Progymnasmata* 7.1–3: ἔκφρασίς ἐστι λόγος περιηγηματικὸς ἐναργῶς ὑπ' ὄψιν ἄγων τὸ δηλούμενον, "a description is an informative account which brings vividly into view what is being set forth." Theon later (7.52–55) states: ἀρεταὶ δὲ ἐκφράσεως αἵδε· σαφήνεια μὲν μάλιστα καὶ ἐνάργεια, τοῦ σχεδὸν ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ ἀπαγγελλόμενα, "desirable qualities of a description are these: above all, clarity and vividness, in order that what is being reported is virtually visible" (Trans.: James R. Butts, "The 'Progymnasmata' of Theon: A New Text with Translation and Commentary," Ph.D. diss. [Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1987]).

οὐ ποιεῖτε ἃ λέγω;[81] The parable is all the more appropriate, for it employs the image of housebuilding, a stock metaphor in didactic speeches.[82]

The Rich Farmer (Q 12:16–21)

The parable of the Rich Farmer (Q 12:16–21; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 63) functions differently. It is, of course, not certain that either the parable or the preceding chreia (Q 12:13–14; cf. *Gos. Thom.* 72) derived from Q, since a parallel is not attested in Matthew. However, the parallels in the *Gos. Thom.* indicate that neither was a Lukan composition, and a variety of considerations make an origin in Q plausible.[83] If this was so, Q 12:16–21 may be seen as part of a complex and well-structured argument. [**302**]

On the one hand, the parable has been attached to the chria on inheritance and thereby serves to dramatize the folly of striving after wealth. The chreia depicts Jesus as refusing the role of a sage-king and an arbiter of disputes. It is not that Q regards Jesus as unqualified; rather, it is because the dispute – probably a controversy over the ancestral farm – is now seen as quite beside the point. The appending of the parable, which on its own may simply have dealt with the folly of greed,[84] preserves the focus on agricultural economics

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[81] Reconstruction: Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 94.

[82] See Arland D. Jacobson, "Wisdom Christology in Q," Ph.D. diss. (Claremont: Claremont Graduate School, 1978), 47, 110 n. 84 [Ed. note: see now Arland D. Jacobson, *The First Gospel: An Introduction to Q* (Foundations and Facets: Reference Series; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1992), 105–6].

[83] The main arguments are summarized by Kloppenborg, *Q Parallels*, 812: (1) Luke 12:13–14 and 12:16–21 occur in a predominantly Q section of Luke; (2) there are a number of catchwords connecting it to the following sections of Q; (3) διὰ τοῦτο in Q 12:22a more logically follows on 12:13–14, 16–21 than it does on 12:11–12; (4) the criticism of riches is a theme that appears elsewhere in Q; and (5) Matthew may have omitted these sections because their forms did not fit within the Sermon on the Mount (i.e., where he moved the following materials), or because the rejection of a forensic function for Jesus interfered with Matthew's Christology. Nonetheless, there are clearly Lukan features in this section, e.g, 12:15 (see Jeremias, *Sprache*, 152) and 12:16a (see above). [Ed. note: the contrary position is now argued by Mark S. Goodacre, *Thomas and the Gospels: The Case for Thomas's Familiarity with the Synoptics* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2012), 87–96 and, less convincingly, by John P. Meier, "Is Luke's Version of the Parable of the Rich Fool Reflected in the Coptic *Gospel of Thomas*?" *CBQ* 74, no. 3 (2012): 528–47. See my response in "A New Synoptic Problem: Goodacre and Gathercole on Thomas," *JSNT* 36, no. 3 (2014): 199–239].

[84] Various readings for the parable have been proposed, e.g., Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:616: "Ursprünglich ist es m.E. dem Erfinder der Geschichte blos darauf angekommen, den Gegensatz zwischen den geplanten Genüssen und dem plötzlichen Tode drastisch zu beschreiben, so dass 16–20 eine Parallel zu Sir 11 18ff. 5 1 ψ 48 17f. 38 6ff. und ähnlich alttestamentlichen Stellen wäre, ein Hinweis auf die Vergänglichkeit des Reichtums, auf seine Hilflosigkeit gegenüber dem Tod." Scott (*Hear Then the Parable*, 138–40) suggests that the parable originally concerned the (in)appropriate use of wealth; Crossan (*In Parables*, 85): [of the version in *Gos. Thom.*]: "A very definite but utterly human example of failure to realize

but creates an overpowering inertia favouring Jesus' statement of 12:14. The chreia moves quickly from the act of supplication to the opposition between the brother and Jesus. Similarly, the parable moves from the presumption of divine blessing (a plentiful harvest), to a willful and conspicuous display of wealth, described in first-person speech, to God's intrusion into the story – again, as direct speech –, overpowering and negating the rich man's plans for conspicuous consumption. Both the chreia and the parable begin by raising one set of expectations and then subverting them, in the process indicating the great gulf that stands between the characters of the stories and Jesus/God. Thus while in the chreia Jesus offers no rationale for his refusal, the speech of God in the parable make that rationale patent. The point is cemented in the moralizing conclusion, οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν ("thus [it is/goes with] one who piles up wealth for himself and does not get rich in [303] God's sight," v. 21).[85] The focus is not merely upon the folly of greed, but the opposition between wealth and God.

On the other hand, the parable has been connected with Q 12:22–31, 33–34 in such a way that the argument begun in the parable is continued and developed. The fit between the parable and the following discourse is, in fact, remarkable. The mention of anxiety, eating, drinking[86] and clothing in Q 12:22b finds an almost perfect balance in the items mentioned in the rich man's soliloquy: rest, eating, drinking, and enjoying oneself. The address to the ψυχή, first by the Farmer who invites himself to enjoy his success (v. 15, *bis*) and then by God who deprives him of it, is balanced by Q 12:23, ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖόν ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος (not paralleled in *P. Oxy.* IV 655 1.1–17). Moreover, the agricultural activities that the birds do not undertake (Q 12:24) – sowing (σπείρουσιν), harvesting (θερίζουσιν) and storing in barns

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one's true situation." Richard A. Horsley, *Jesus and the Spiral of Violence: Popular Jewish Resistance in Roman Palestine* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1987 [repr. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993]), 258: "It could originally have been a story directed to ordinary people illustrating the futility of building up a surplus that one holds onto for oneself."

[85] That v. 16 is secondary is recognized by most: Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:614 ["dunkel und ziemlich überflüssig"]; Alfred Firmin Loisy, *L'évangile selon Luc* (Paris: Emile Nourry, 1924 [repr. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1971]), 347; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 971 [who ascribes it to Luke]; Gerhard Schneider, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (ÖKTNT 3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1977–78), 283 [Lukan]; Jeremias, *Parables*, 106 [who unnecessarily understands the parable to imply an "eschatological warning" which v. 16 mitigates].

[86] ἢ τί πίητε is present only in Matthew, and not in all mss [it is absent in ℵ λ 892 a b ff^2 l vg sy^c sa^{mss}; Cl]. It is sometimes argued that this is a Matthaean addition, following Q 12:29: Thus Gundry, *Matthew*, 115; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 1–7* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 338 n. 1; Paul Hoffmann, "Jesu Verbot des Sorgens und seine Nachgeschichte in der synoptischen Überlieferung," in *Jesu Rede von Gott und ihre Nachgeschichte im frühen Christentum: Beiträge zur Verkündigung Jesu und zum Kerygma der Kirche: Festschrift für Willi Marxsen zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. Dietrich-Alex Koch; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1989), 117.

(ἀποθήκας) – correspond to those in which the farmer must necessarily engage. This link is all the more striking, since these activities are not mentioned in the parallel but independent *P.Oxy.* IV 655, which agrees with Q only in its second illustration of the lilies, which do not toil (κοπιᾷ) [or card, ξαίνει] or spin (νήθει). It would appear that both the mention of ψυχή and inclusion of the example of the birds had the parable in view, or *vice versa*.[87] The question in Q 12:25 (τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι πῆχυν;) has the effect of shifting the nuance of μεριμνᾶν so that it now includes not only the anxiety of the poor regarding subsistence but also the [**304**] concern of the farmer for a secure and long retirement.[88] The cares of the rich are every bit as ineffectual in prolonging life as the worries of the poor. When the figure of Solomon is invoked (also unparalleled in *P.Oxy.* IV 655), it is not as a sage-king who decides disputes, but was one whose finery was unsurpassed – that is, until one inspects the finery that God provides for the lilies.

Q 12:22–31, 33–34 establishes a rhetorical συγκρίσις which takes up the vocabulary and imagery of the parable, but casts it in another light. The farmer's concern to achieve an easy life through a surplus of food and his assurances to his soul are contrasted with the Q people's lack of concern over material sustenance and God's assurance of their supply. The farmer's productive agricultural land is contrasted with uncultivated land, producing lilies and grass (to be burned). His soul, captivated by the thought of pleasures but soon forfeit, is counterbalanced by the souls of 12:23–24 that are "greater" because of God's loving surveillance. When Q 12:30 notes that πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη ἐπιζητοῦσιν, the farmer, whose identity was hitherto unknown, it subtly placed on the side of the unbelieving nations. Thus, Q uses the opening chreia and the parable to demark lines of allegiance between the "easy" life of the landed gentry and life of the less privileged and to tarnish the image of wealth, first, by depicting Jesus' disdain for it, and then, by dramatizing its collapse. Once this is accomplished, a sustained set of comparisons establishes the superiority of a way of life that places the Q people's "justifiable anxieties about obtaining even basic necessities in the context and perspective of their overall longings and, now, God's overall care and renewing action."[89] This dis-

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[87] It is worth noting that *Gos. Thom.* 63 uses the terms "sow," "reap," "plant," and "fill storehouses" but lacks "soul," "eating," "drinking" and "making merry."

[88] Paul Hoffmann ("Der Q-Text der Sprüche vom Sorgen Mt 6,25–33 / Luke 12,22–31: Ein Rekonstruktionsversuch," in *Studien zum Matthäusevangelium: Festschrift für Wilhelm Pesch* [ed. Ludger Schenke; SBS Sonderband; Stuttgart: KBW, 1988], 139) points out that ἡλικία in Q 12:25 can refer to "stature" rather than "lifespan." The former meaning is clearly appropriate to the version in *P.Oxy.* IV 655 i 1–17: τίς ἂν προσθ‹εί›η ἐπὶ τὴν εἰλικίαν ὑμῶν (which is embedded in the exhortations about clothing) and to Q 12:22–31 if it every circulated freely. In Q as it stands, however, Q 12:25 has been separated from the exhortations on clothing (12:26a καὶ περὶ ἐνδύματος τί μεριμνᾶτε; begins a new topic) and seems to belong with 12:24 and 12:16–21 which concern provision of food (and hence the prolongation of life).

[89] Horsley, *Spiral of Violence*, 257.

course concretizes what is said aphoristically in Q 6:20b (μακάριοι οἱ πτωχοί) insofar as it depicts both the unhappiness of the rich and the ways in which God sustains those in the kingdom. [**305**]

It is worth noting again that the editing of the discourse shows signs of learning and literary skill, not merely in the ways in which the chreia and the parable have been interlocked with the admonitions, but also in the invocation of general "philosophical" principles: οὕτως ὁ θησαυρίζων ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴ εἰς θεὸν πλουτῶν (12:21), ἡ ψυχὴ πλεῖόν ἐστιν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἐνδύματος (12:23), τίς δὲ ἐξ ὑμῶν μεριμνῶν δύναται ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι πῆχυν; (12:25), and ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θησαυρός ὑμῶν, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν (12:34). While the sayings which make up this discourse may have originally dealt rather concretely with the issues of subsistence,[90] in Q they have been woven into a *scribal* argument and betray the broader and more generalizing perspective of that social sector.[91]

The Mustard and the Leaven

Although a few critics thought that these two parables formed a pair from the beginning,[92] the *Gos. Thom.* (20, 96) now makes it [**306**] clear that the two did

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[90] Thus, Horsley, *Spiral of Violence*, 257.

[91] I have argued elsewhere ("Literary Convention, Self-Evidence, and the Social History of the Q People," in *Early Christianity, Q and Jesus* [ed. John S. Kloppenborg; in collaboration with Leif E. Vaage; Semeia 55; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991], 77–102 [chap. 10 in this volume]) that the first layer of Q was the product of the lower reaches of the town and village scribal sector, whose contact with and knowledge of the problems of poverty, debt, divorce and tenancy would be most immediate, and who would have had the intellectual and technical skills to compose a document such as Q. It would be unwise to exaggerate the distance between this type of scribe and the villagers whose debts, divorces, and taxation receipts they documented (*pace* Richard A. Horsley, "Questions About Redactional Strata and the Social Relations Reflected in Q," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* [ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 28; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 202).

[92] Thus Rudolf Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom* (New York: Herder & Herder, 1963), 155. Jeremias (*Parables*, 92) notes that the Leaven is paired with the Mustard Seed in the Matthew and Luke, but with the Woman and the Jar (*Gos. Thom.* 97) in the *Gos. Thom.*, taking this to indicate that the Mustard and the Leaven may have been said on different occasions and variously combined. Nonetheless, he understands the two to refer to the same situation (defence of the mission) and thus to be happily paired in Matthew and Luke (ibid., 147-49). Jacques Dupont ("Le Couple parabolique du sénevé et du levain [Mt 13,31–33; Lc 13,18–21]," in *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie: Festschrift für Hans Conzelmann zum 60. Geburtstag* [ed. Georg Strecker; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1975], 331–45) presents the best case for thinking that the parables were originally a couplet. He argues (1) that had the Markan tradition contained the Leaven, Mark would have omitted it since it did not, like the other parables in Mark 4, deal with seeds (just as Matthew omitted the Lost Drachma because it did not fit the pastoral context of Matthew 18); (2) the *Gos. Thom.* is not evidence of the original independence of the two parables; "son témoignage serait plutôt de nature à illustrere la possibilité d'une dissociation secondaire de paraboles antérieurement associées" (338); (3) Mark's version is the result of Markan redaction, and thus not evidence

not always belong together.[93] The pairing of the parables, which perhaps first took place in the Sayings Gospel, represents an important interpretive manoeuvre. Rudolf Laufen has persuasively argued that one of the results of this pairing was an assimilation of the structure of the Mustard Seed to that of the Leaven.[94]

The Mustard Seed is attested in Mark and the *Gos. Thom.* but in neither of these performances is an agent involved. Mark begins impersonally with ὡς κόκκῳ σινάπεως, ὃς ὅταν σπαρῇ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (Mark 4:31a), while the *Gos. Thom.* has "it [the kingdom] is like a mustard seed" (ⲉⲥⲧⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲥⲃⲁ̄ⲃⲓⲗⲉ ⲛ̄ⲱⲯⲁ̄ⲧⲁⲙ, *Gos. Thom.* 20). Q, by contrast, introduces an agent: ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος ἔβαλεν εἰς ⟦κῆπ⟧ον αὐτοῦ (13:19a).[95] This parallels the introduction to Q's version of the Leaven: ὁμοία ἐστὶν ζύμῃ, ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ ἐνέκρυψεν (13:21a).

Laufen has rightly observed that in the Mustard Seed the ἄνθρωπος has no proper function[96]; the sower immediately fades from sight and attention is turned to the seed. Indeed, the introduction of an agent creates the awkward image of the sower taking only one seed – an awkwardness that neither the Markan/*Gos. Thom.* version of the Mustard nor the Q/*Gos. Thom.* version of the Leaven shares.[97] This suggests that the impersonal presentation of Mark

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of an earlier, independent form of the parable; (4) both parables represent "la même sagesse populaire"; and (5) in both cases the comparison is strange, producing a surprizing or paradoxical effect (344-35). Harry Fleddermann ("The Mustard Seed and the Leaven in Q, the Synoptics, and Thomas," in *Society of Biblical Literature 1989 Seminar Papers* [ed. David J. Lull; SBLSP 28; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1989], 230) holds that the two formed an original pair and that Mark omitted the Leaven and the *Gos. Thom.* was dependent primarily upon Mark for his version of the Mustard and chose to place the Leaven in a different cluster.his version of the Mustard and chose to place the Leaven in a different cluster.

[93] Prior to the discovery of the *Gos. Thom.* this point was already made by Dodd (*Parables*, 154–55). See, more recently, Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 178–78; Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 323.

[94] This was earlier proposed by Wilhelm Michaelis, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu: Eine Einführung* (3. Aufl.; Die urchristliche Botschaft: Eine Einführung in die Schriften des Neuen Testaments 32; Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1956), 56.

[95] Reconstruction: Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 400. This reconstruction is in close agreement with those of Laufen (*Doppelüberlieferungen*, 176) and Fleddermann ("Mustard Seed and the Leaven," 224).

[96] Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 178.

[97] Cf. Eduard Schweizer, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (NTD 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973 [3. Aufl. 1981]), 199: "... die Tatsache, daß Markus nur eines enthält und Q beim zweiten eine neue Einleitung setzt, spricht dafür, daß beide Gleichnisse zuerst getrennt überliefert und erst in der Gemeinde zusammengestellt worden sind. Das erklärt auch die merkwürdige Formulierung, daß ein Mann ein (!) Senfkorn nimmt und in seinen Acker sät." Joel Marcus (*The Mystery of the Kingdom of God* [SBLDS 90; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1986], 207) points out that had Mark seen ἄνθρωπος in his sources he would doubtless have taken it over, since in would have created a better fit with his other two parables, the Sower and the Seed growing Secretly, both of which mention an

[**307**] and *Gos. Thom.* is earlier and that Q 13:18–19 has been assimlated to the Leaven. The introduction of an agent and the assimilation of the present tenses (ἀναβαίνει καὶ γίνεται) to aorists (ἔβαλεν, ηὔξησεν, ἐγένετο) also transformed the Mustard from a similitude (*Gleichnis im stengen Sinn*) to a parable (*Parabel*).[98]

The interpretations of the "original" versions of the Mustard and the Leaven are controverted, but need not be explored here.[99] What is of interest for our purposes is the strategy employed by Q for dealing with these parables. Clues to the interpretation of the parables in Q are to be sought both in the way they have been structured, and in their placement in Q.

The structure of the Mustard has been assimilated to that of the Leaven, resulting in numerous parallel features: (1) both are introduced by a question about ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ; (2) the formula introducing the comparison is similar (ὁμοία ἐστὶν κόκκῳ σινάπεως/ζύμῃ); (3) both involve an agent who "takes" the mustard or leaven (ὃν λαβὼν ἄνθρωπος/ἣν λαβοῦσα γυνὴ); (4) both of the principal verbs are aorists and (5) both represent unusual choices, suggesting a furtive action (ἔβαλεν εἰς/ἐνέκρυψεν)[100]; (6) both focus on the element of growth (ηὔξησεν) [**308**] and increase (ἐζυμώθη ὅλον); and finally, (7) in both cases is the result extravagant. This creation of parallels accomplishes precisely what Aristotle recommends when he advised that if parables

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agent. Scott (*Hear Then the Parable*, 383) includes the agent in his "originating structure" but does not refer to the arguments of Laufen or Schweizer, nor indeed does the agent have any significant function in Scott's reading of the parable.

[98] Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 178. Similarly, Rudolf Pesch, *Das Markusevangelium* (HTKNT 2; Freiburg, Basel and Wien: Herder, 1976–1977 [2. Aufl. 1977–1980]), 1:264 n. 20; Marcus, *Mystery*, 207–8. Joachim Gnilka (*Das Matthäusevangelium* [HTKNT 1/1–2; Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, and Wien: Herder, 1986–88], 1:186–87) argues that Q has assimilated the Mustard to the Leaven, but allows for the possibility of two versions of the parable circulating, one a true parable with aorist verbs and one a similitude, with verbs in the present.

[99] See, most recently, John Dominic Crossan, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1991), 276–79. Following Oakman (*Jesus and the Economic Questions*, 127), Crossan argues that "the point ... is not just that the mustard plant starts as a proverbially small seed and grows into a shrub of three or four feet, or even higher, it is that it tends to take over where it is not wanted, that it tends to get out of control, and that it tends to attract birds within cultivated areas where they are not particularly desired" (278–79).

[100] The more usual terms for planting would be Mark's σπείρω or φυτεύω and φυράω for kneading dough (cf. Gen 18:6). The use of βάλλω is attested, but rarely with εἰς: *1 Clem.* 24.5: ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων καὶ ἔβαλεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ἕκαστον τῶν σπερμάτων.... More commonly the dative or ἐπί is used: Theocritus 25.25–26: "(labourers) casting seed in fallow, now three times ploughed, now four" (τριπόλοις σπόρον ἐν νειοῖσιν ἔσθ᾽ ὅτε βάλλοντες καὶ τετραπόλοισιν ὁμοίως); Mark 4:26: ὡς ἄνθρωπος βάλῃ τὸν σπόρον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς; Diodorus Siculus 1.36.4: "farmers merely scatter the seed, then turn their herds and flocks (καὶ τὸ σπέρμα βάλλοντες ἐπάγειν τὰ βοσκήματα) into the field and after they have trampled it in, they return four or five months later for harvest."

were used in the absence of other argument, several examples are to be quoted so as to make the induction clear (*Rhet*. 2.20.1394a.9).[101]

The deliberate creation of parallels between 13:18–19 and 13:20–21 has the effect of stressing, (1) that the kingdom of God is the subject of the discourse, (2) that human action is involved in the initial "hidden" state, and (3) that the process of growth is, like mustard germination or leavening, rapid, dramatic, and incessant, producing results out of proportion to the initial state.

The significance of the placement of the parables in Q poses a more difficult problem. The Matthaean placement is clearly secondary, controlled by the structure of Mark 4. It must therefore be rejected as the original Q placement. It is much more likely that Luke's order reflects that of Q; there is no reason evident for Luke to have relocated the parables. But this raises the question of how precisely the parables related to their immediate context. Do they belong with the preceding sayings, or the following, or both?

In establishing general structures within Q, Polag grouped the parables in a rather amorphous cluster, "parabolae ac diversae sententiae," comprising Q 12:54–56, 58–59; 13:34–35; 13:18–19, 20–21, 24, 25–27, 28–29, 30; 14:16–24, 26–27, 34–35; 14:5; 15:4–10; 16:16–18; 16:13.[102] Apart from the unexplained transpositions of 13:34–35, 14:5 (!) and 16:13, this grouping ignores the close thematic relationship of 12:39–40, 42–46, 49, 51–53 with 12:54–59 and produces so unwieldy a unit that thematic or rhetorical [**309**] structures are impossible to discern. Much to be preferred is the arrangement proposed by Wolfgang Schenk, who divided this material into two units, "Die erste Endzeitsrede" (12:39–59; 13:18–21), followed by "Die Zwei-Wege Rede" (13:24–17:6).[103] Schenk argued that as a conclusion for the eschatological sayings in Q 12:39–59, the two parables provide "Zeugnisse der Treue und Zuverlässigkeit des Schöpfungshandelns Gottes aus derselben Weisheit heraus, auf die man sich darum auch im Blick auf seine Gestaltung der zukünftigen Geschichte verlassen kann."[104] As such, they illustrate the "necessary connection" between small and hidden beginning of the kingdom in the past and its consummation at the coming of the Son of Man.

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[101] The importance of making the *tertium comparationis* clear is likewise emphasized in *Ad Herennium* 4.48.61 (*non enim res tota totae rei necesse est similis sit, sed id ipsum quod conferetur similitudinem habeat oportet*) and by Quintilian (8.3.73): *debet enim, quod illustrandae alterius rei gratia assumitur, ipsum esse clarius eo quod illuminat*.

[102] Polag, *Fragmenta Q*, 66–74. In *Die Christologie der Logienquelle* (Dr. Theol. diss., Trier (1969); WMANT 45; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 5, Polag indicates that he regards the original position of 13:18–19, 23–24, 30; 14:5; 15:3–7 and 16:13 as uncertain.

[103] Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 94–101, 102–19. Similarly, T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus* (London: SCM Press, 1949 [repr. 1971]), 115.

[104] Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 101.

If the parables of the Mustard and Leaven formed the conclusion to 12:39–59, they were rather weak and ineffectual. There is no hint of the threats or ominous tones that permeate 12:39–59 – housebreaking, severe punishment, fire, division, celestial signs, and imprisonment and, on the other hand, 13:18–19, 20–21 use language (the kingdom) and imagery (growth, spectacular results) that are foreign to the preceding section. Nor do the parable cohere with the "Two Ways" section that begins in 13:24. Schürmann senses the problem when he urges that 13:18–21 is a *Lukan* interpolation into 12:39–59 + 13:24–30.[105] Yet the two parables do not fit any better with Luke 13:1–9, 10–17, 22–30, which deals with grasping salvation and healing while it is near, and hence, it is difficult to assume that Luke interpolated them here.

Harry Fleddermann's understanding of the parables relies not upon the immediate literary context, but upon verbal connections with other portions of Q and upon the formal correspondences between the two parables. The mention of a mustard seed connects Q 13:18–19 with Q 17:6 (ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως) where mustard "symbolizes a small but powerful reality which can have [**310**] extraordinary effects."[106] The verb κατεσκήνωσεν in 13:18 recalls κατασκηνώσεις in Q 9:58 used in reference to the homeless of the Son of Man. Similarly, the woman's act of "hiding" (ἐνέκρυψεν) the Leaven recalls ἔκρυψας of Q 10:21. For Fleddermann these correspondences suggest a reading. In spite of the fact that the kingdom is initially hidden and Jesus' followers homeless and poor, the kingdom is already at work, transforming all. The parables are, for Fleddermann, Q' explanation of the delay of the parousia. "The delay allows the tiny, hidden kingdom to grow and permeate the whole world."[107]

It is difficult to follow the subtlety of allusion that Fleddermann sees operative in Q. As Wendy J. Cotter puts it, "it is not certain that the use of an image in one saying defines its meaning wherever else it occurs."[108] Cotter focuses upon the secretive nature of the two actions, "casting into the garden" and "hiding the leaven," connecting these with the behaviour prescribed for Q's

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[105] Heinz Schürmann, "Das Zeugnis der Redenquelle für die Basileia-Verkündigung Jesu," in *Logia: Les Paroles de Jésus – The Sayings of Jesus: Mémorial Joseph Coppens* (ed. Joel Delobel; BETL 59; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 1982), 161: "Es müßte doch gefragt werden, ob nicht der Abschnitt 12,39–59 sich bereits in Q in und hinter Lk 13,23–29 (30) mit der Thematik: «Wachsamkeit, Bereitschaft und Entschiedenheit in letzter Stunde», fortgesetzt hat.... Wahrscheinlicher fügte aber nicht schon die Q-Redaktion die zwei zusammengefügten Parallelen [Parabele?] Lk 13,18f.20f. an dieser Stelle ein, sondern erst Lukas, der mit 13,22 redaktionell einen neuen Absatz beginnt und die doppelte Parabel als passenden Abschluß von 12,35–59, anfügt...."innt und die doppelte Parabel als passenden Abschluß von 12,35–59, anfügt...."

[106] Fleddermann, "Mustard Seed and the Leaven," 232.

[107] Ibid., 234.

[108] Wendy Cotter, "The Parables of the Mustard and Seed and the Leaven: Their Function in the Earliest Stratum of Q," in *Scriptures and Cultural Conversations: Essays for Heinz Guenther at 65* (= *Toronto Journal of Theology* 8/1; ed. John S. Kloppenborg and Leif E. Vaage; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 38–51 (45).

"missionaries" in Q 10. She interprets the "equipment instruction" (Q 10:4) to mean that Q's ἐργάται are to travel and conduct themselves in an unobtrusive manner and thereby avoid the hostile attention of officialdom but nonetheless secure stunning results. "These parables were probably joined in Q because they gave hope to a community obliged to adopt a strategy of secrecy for their missionary activities."[109]

This reading comes close to that of Laufen (whom Cotter cites). For Laufen, the parables are about the growth and manifestation of the kingdom, which is both result of missionary activities and the power of God. The notion of growth, made more prominent with the replacement of the more abstract ἀναβαίνει by ηὔξησεν,[110] is correlated with the spread of the church. The Q group saw in the two parables its own situation. While the present situation of confrontation with Israel was disheartening, the Q folk consoled themselves with the thought that growth of the kingdom, [**311**] like that of mustard and leaven, could not ultimately be impeded.[111]

Read in this way, Q 13:18–19, 20–21 has little to do with the immediately preceding composition (12:39–59) and is not in any obvious way about the delay of "the Day" or of the devastating judgment that it brings. The parables do, however, cohere with the thrust of the material that precedes it, 12:2–12, 13–14, 16–21, 22–31, 33–34, which also concerns the kingdom of God (12:29) and involves human agency in its spread (12:3,[112] 31) and which, like the two parable, invokes natural processes (12:6, 24, 27–28) as analogies for the actions of the divine. Moreover, Q 12:2 states aphoristically what the two parables indicate metaphorically: that there is an ineluctable process at work that will bring to fruition what was initially small and hidden. This might suggest that prior to the interpolation of 12:39–59 (*ad voces* διορύσσω and κλέπτης),[113] the two parables served as a conclusion for Q 12:2–12, 13–14, 16–21, 22–31, 33–34, visualizing the process of the disclosure of the kingdom, and full of confidence in the ultimate outcome. Q 13:18–19, 20–21 would, then, function in much the same way as 6:47–49 to provide a concluding visualization and "witness" for the preceding argument.

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[109] Cotter, "Parables of the Mustard and Seed and the Leaven," 47.

[110] Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 190.

[111] Laufen, *Doppelüberlieferungen*, 191: "Dabei ist die Q-Gemeinde sich wohl bewußt, daß dieses Ende nicht einfach die Verlängerung des missionarischen Bemühens ihrer Glaubensboten ist! Diese sammeln als Erntarbeiter (vgl. Mt 9,37f/Lk 10,2) das eschatologische Gottesvolk. Aber der Anbruch der endgültigen βασιλεία wird ein apokalyptisches Ereignis, d.h. ausschließlich die Tat Gottes sein."

[112] Reconstruction: International Q Project, "The International Q Project Work Session 17 November 1989," *JBL* 109, no. 3 (1990): 499–501 (501): Q 12:3 ὃ λέγω ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ εἴπατε ἐν τῷ φωτὶ, καὶ ὃ εἰς τὸ οὖς ἀκούετε κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων (based on the database of John S. Kloppenborg and responses by Jon Daniels). [Ed. note: This agrees with Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 292].

[113] See Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 148–54.

The Lost Sheep and the Lost Drachma

The parables of the Lost Sheep and the Lost Drachma[114] present a special set of difficulties because the original literary context is not [**312**] immediately clear, and because both Matthew and Luke have edited the parable(s) in distinctive ways.

Matthew's placement is clearly secondary, for Matthew has attached several units of Q (15:4–7; 17:1–2; 17:3–4) to a Markan context (Matt 18:1–5 || Mark 9:33–37; Matt 18:6–9 || Mark 9:42–50). Matthew's parable is directed at church leaders, warning them to care for "the little ones" and using the similitude of a shepherd's interest in retrieving a lost sheep as the basis for the appeal. Matt 18:14 is largely redactional, as evidenced by a cluster of Matthaean vocabulary (θέλημα, ἔμπροσθεν, ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, ἵνα + subj., ἓν τῶν μικρῶν τούτων).[115] But Dupont has made a strong case for supposing that Matthew's πλανάω is also redactional. In spite of the fact that Luke's ἀπόλλυμι fits the structure of Luke 15,[116] Dupont observes that Mat-

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[114] A number of reconstructions or treatments of Q simply ignore the question of whether 15:8–10 was in Q or not (e.g., Edwards, Harnack, Hoffmann, Schenk, Schulz, Streeter, Zeller). Those who do consider the issue are divided. While a small minority think that Luke composed the second parable on the pattern of the first (Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke* [trans. Geoffrey Buswell; New York: Harper & Row, 1960], 11; John Drury, *The Parables in the Gospels: History and Allegory* [New York: Crossroad, 1985], 155–56), the main disagreement is whether the parable came to Luke from Q or from special materials. While a number of critics opt for the latter, the only real argument is given by Fitzmyer (*Luke*, 1073): it is "difficult to explain why Matthew would have omitted the second [parable], thus disrupting the pair...." This argument, in my view, has been successfully answered by Jacques Dupont ("Le Couple parabolique," 337 [see above n. 92]): "Matthieu met la parabole de la Brebis perdue au service d'une exhortation pastorale qui invite à prendre exemple sur la conduite du berger; il eût été maladroit d'ajouter à cet exemple celui d'une femme cherchant sa drachme." Similarly, Bernhard Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums* (Stuttgart; Berlin: J.G. Cotta, 1907), 248; Josef Schmid, *Matthäus und Lukas: Eine Untersuchung des Verhältnisses ihrer Evangelien* (BibS(F) 23/2–4; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1930), 305; Burton Scott Easton, *The Gospel According to St. Luke: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926), 236; Schneider, *Lukas*, 2:324–25; Jan Lambrecht, *Once More Astonished: The Parables of Jesus* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 38. Others have argued that the striking parallels between the Lost Sheep and the Lost Drachma make it likely that they belonged together from the beginning: Lambrecht, *Once More Astonished*, 28; Marshall, *Luke*, 602 (although Marshall is not sure that Matthew and Luke were using the same source for the Lost Sheep); Helmut Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels: Their History and Development* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International; London: SCM Press, 1990), 148. Walter Grundmann (*Das Evangelium nach Lukas* [9. Aufl 1981; THKNT 3; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961], 306) even notes that like the Q Mustard/Leaven pair, this pair also compares the actions of a man and a woman.Q Mustard/Leaven pair, this pair also compares the actions of a man and a woman.

[115] See Wolfgang Schenk, *Die Sprache des Matthäus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 236, 239, 284, 291–92, 308.

[116] The repetition of the verb ἀπόλλυμι throughout chap. 15 has led many authors to

thew, who uses [313] ἀπόλλυμι in v. 14 to signify permanent loss, *cannot* keep ἀπόλλυμι as a description for the sheep straying.[117]

Au plan de l'image, il n'y a pas de différence entre une brebis «perdue» et und brebis «égaré», tandis que la differénce est très important au plan de l'application: un homme «égaré» peut encore être ramené, évitant ainsi l'irrémédiable «perdition». Matt fait donc une distinction entre «se perdre» et «s'égarer», distinction qui ne se justifie pas s'il s'agit d'une brebis, mais qui s'impose quand on parle d'un homme.

It is obvious that the three parables in Luke 15 are part of a Lukan composition. Luke has prefaced the unit with a challenge to Jesus' table fellowship, to which the three parables provide the response. In each parable, the terms ἀπόλλυμι (4, 6, 8, 24 32), εὑρίσκω (4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 24, 32) and (συγ)χαίρω/χαρά (5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 32) play key roles. The Lukan applications make it clear that he sees the three parables as paradigms of sinners repenting and being received back with celebration. But it is also clear that the narrative structure of the first two parables resist this application: neither the sheep nor the coin "repents." On the contrary, the focus is upon the actions of the shepherd and woman, not the items that were lost. For this reason it is probable that the use of μετάνοια/μετανοέω in vv. 7, 10 is Lukan and that Luke is responsible for shifting the attention from the actions of the shepherd to those of the "repentant sinner."[118] In spite of this, the similarity between Matt 18:13b and Luke 15:7b, both of which draw a comparison (χαίρει/χαρὰ ... ἐπὶ ... ἢ ἐπὶ [τοῖς] ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα), indicates that in Q the parable concluded with some reference to celebration over the finding of the lost sheep. Lambrecht plausibly argues that vv. 5–6 (and 9) of Luke substantially represent Q.[119]

While it is not necessary to reconstruct the two parables in detail, several features are noteworthy. Like the Q parables of the Mustard and the Leaven, the Lost Sheep and the Lost Drachma have been assimilated in structure. (1) Both parables are framed as similitudes and introduced with questions expecting the answer, "everyone, of course" (cf. Matt 18:12 [οὐχί]; Luke 15:4

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suppose that it is redactional: e.g., Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:330; Marshall, *Luke*, 601; Fitzmyer, *Luke*, 1074. Others argue that Luke's formulation of the introduction (4a) required an active verb to replace Matthew's (=Q's) passive: Adolf von Harnack, *The Sayings of Jesus: The Second Source of St. Matthew and St. Luke* (trans. John Richard Wilkinson; New Testament Studies 2; London: Williams & Norgate; New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), 92; Schulz, *Spruchquelle*, 387. William L. Peterson ("The Parable of the Lost Sheep in the Gospel of Thomas and the Synoptics," *NovT* 23 [1981]: 141) bases his argument for the Matthaean wording on the observation that neither Matthew nor Luke seems to add πλανάω redactionally elsewhere. seems to add πλανάω redactionally elsewhere.

[117] Jacques Dupont, "La Parabole de la brebis perdue (Mt 18,12–14; Lc 15,4–7)," *Greg* 49 (1968): 265–87 (275). Similarly, Lambrecht, *Once More Astonished*, 38.

[118] Thus Dupont, "Brebis perdue," 278; Schenk, *Synopse zur Redenquelle*, 113.

[119] Lambrecht (*Once More Astonished*, 40) thinks that "sinner" was in Q; but the likelihood that "repent" is Lukan casts serious doubt upon "sinner." Q; but the likelihood that "repent" is Lukan casts serious doubt upon "sinner."

[οὐ], 8 [**314**] [οὐχί]). The two parables are framed as appeals to typical behaviour.[120] (2) In both similitudes, an agent is involved – and as in Q 13:18–21, first a man, then a woman. (3) A web of parallel features bind the two stories together: τίς ἄνθρωπος/τίς γυνὴ, ἔχων ἑκατὸν πρόβατα/δραχμὰς ἔχουσα δέκα, ἀπολέσας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἓν/ἐὰν ἀπολέσῃ δραχμὴν μίαν, πορεύεται ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπολωλός (Matt: ζητεῖ)/ζητεῖ ἐπιμελῶς, ἕως εὕρῃ αὐτό/ἕως οὗ εὕρῃ, χαίρων/συγχάρητέ μοι, ὅτι εὗρον/ὅτι εὗρον. (4) The narratives do not end merely with the finding of the item, but with a celebration. (5) In both instances it is not simply a matter of losing an item of significant value,[121] but of *one of a larger group* being lost. This is made clear by the comparison at the end of the Lost Sheep. And even though an explicit comparison is wanting in the Lost Drachma, the concluding celebration underscores the importance of the one, in spite of the numerical preponderance of the nine remaining drachmae. The point in mentioning the one hundred sheep and the ten drachmae in the first place is so that the comparative point can be scored.

The position of this parable-pair in Q presents some difficulties. Q 15:4–7, 8–10 does not appear to belong with the preceding material which, as I have argued elsewhere,[122] comes to an appro[**315**]priate conclusion with Q 14:34–35.

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[120] Norman Perrin (*Rediscovering the Teaching of Jesus* [New York: Harper & Row, 1967], 100) argues that the shepherd's abandoning of the sheep is a sign of unreasonable behaviour. It is arguable that the parable, circulating independently, was susceptible to this reading, in spite of the fact that, according to N. Levinson (*The Parables: Their Background and Local Setting* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926], 152–53), E. F. F. Bishop ("The Parable of the Lost or Wandering Sheep: Matthew 18.10–14; Luke 15.3–7," *ATR* 44 [1962]: 50) and Kenneth E. Bailey (*Poet and Peasant: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976], 149–50), all of whom have lived in the mid-East, a flock – especially one so large – would normally be watched by several shepherds. However, in Q and Luke the parable was paired with the Lost Drachma, where there is no hint of irresponsibility or unconventional action. On the contrary, the actions are quite predictable. See "Fresh Light on the Lost Sheep and the Lost Coin," *NTS* 26 (1979–80): 36–60 (40–41). [Ed. note: See now John S. Kloppenborg and Callie Callon, "The Parable of the Shepherd and the Transformation of Pastoral Discourse," *Early Christianity* 1, no. 2 (2010): 218–60, who have shown from comparable Egyptian and modern ethnographic data that a flock of one hundred sheep is in fact quite typical for one shepherd to manage, and given the replacement cost of a sheep relative to the monthly wages of a shepherd, the shepherd's search for the lost sheep is perfectly typical and hardly irresponsible.]

[121] Scott (*Hear Then the Parable*, 407) suggests that the lost item "has no intrinsic value." This appears to be a misunderstanding of the dynamics of subsistence economies. Scott seems to be influenced by *Song of Songs Rabbah* 1.1.9: "If a man lost a sela or an obol in his house, he lights lamp after lamp, wick after wick, till he finds it. Now does it stand to reason: if for these things which are only ephemeral and of this world a man will light so many lamps and lights till he finds where they are hidden, for the words of Torah which after the life both of this world and the next world, ought you not to search as for hidden treasures?" But in this case the story has been created precisely to emphasize the insignificance of the item lost (an obol!).

[122] Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 232–34, 234–38.

Instead, the two parables, deliberately styled to emphasize the normalcy of seeking out lost items even when one has others, serves to set the stage for the following cluster of Q sayings: Q 16:16, 18; 17:1–2, 3–4, 6.[123]

One of the most cryptic sayings in Q, 16:16 appears minimally to be a reflection on the execution of John the Baptist, apparently viewing this event as a changing of the eras.[124] It is striking that the cause of John's execution, criticism of Herodian divorce and remarriage, is the subject of the next saying (16:18).[125] The peculiar formulation of this saying – claiming that the *male* can commit adultery against (i.e., damage the honour of) his wife – is an example of a "focal instance."[126] It reverses the logic of divorce, a mechanism designed to protect the honour of males, and insists that honour is (also) *gyneco-centric*.[127] Q 16:18 is thus intentionally comparative, underscoring the honour of the lesser [**316**] (female) partner in marriage over against that of the dominant partner.

The issue of status and rank are fully exposed in the following saying, Q 17:1b–2,[128] which so elevates *one* (ἕνα) of the "little ones" that it pronounces a

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[123] The placement of Q 16:13 is problematic. It position in Matthew (6:24) appears to be redactional, but Luke's placement, as the conclusion to sayings interpreting the Dishonoured Master (16:1–8a) is also suspect. Q 16:17 is excluded from consideration here since, as I have argued elsewhere, it belongs to a tertiary glossing of Q: "Nomos and Ethos in Q," in *Gospel Origins and Christian Beginnings: In Honor of James M. Robinson* (ed. James E. Goehring, Jack T. Sanders, and Charles W. Hedrick; Sonoma, Calif.: Polebridge Press, 1990), 35–48 [chap. 8 in this volume].

[124] On the problem of the placement of this saying, see Johannes Weiss, *Die Predigt Jesu*, 92. The Lukan placement is so difficult, and the Matthaean placement so convenient, that it is difficult to argue that Luke's placement is secondary. See, most recently, Daniel Kosch, *Die eschatologische Tora des Menschensohnes: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der Stellung Jesu zur Tora in Q* (NTOA 12; Freiburg Sw.; Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 430. Kosch is probably correct in arguing that 16:16 was not intended to suggest an abrogation of the law, even if the editor responsible for 16:17 saw this danger in the saying. "Vielmehr wird man (gerade auch im Blick auf den zweiten Teil des Logions) verstehen müssen: Bis Johannes waren Gesetz und Propheten Ausdruck der Forderung Gottes, die erhoben, aber immer auch missachtet wurde. Seitdem bricht sich die Basileia Gottes Bahn, aber auch sie stösst auf Widerspruch und Ablehnung" (439).

[125] Q 16:18: πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ⟦⟧ μοιχεύ⟦ει⟧, καὶ ὁ ⟦⟧ ἀπολελυμένην ⟦⟧ γαμ⟦ῶν⟧ μοιχ.... Reconstruction: "The International Q Project Work Session 17 November 1989," 501. [Ed. note: the CEQ reconstruction differs only slightly: πᾶς ὁ ἀπολύων τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ ⟦καὶ γαμῶν ‹ἄλλην›⟧ μοιχεύει, καὶ ὁ ἀπολελυμένην γαμῶν μοιχ⟦εύει⟧. See Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 470].

[126] See Robert C. Tannehill, "The 'Focal Instance' as a Form of New Testament Speech: A Study of Matthew 5:39b-42," *JR* 50 (1970): 372–85. Also Robert W. Funk, "Unravelling the Jesus Tradition: Criteria and Criticism," *Forum* 5, no. 2 (1989): 31–62.

[127] This point is worked out in greater detail in John S. Kloppenborg, "Alms, Debt and Divorce: Jesus' Ethics in Their Mediterranean Context," *TJT* 6, no. 2 (1990): 182–200, esp. 193–96. See now Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, 301–2.

[128] Q 17:1b–2: ‹..› ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα, πλὴν οὐαὶ δι᾽ οὗ ἔρχεται. 2 λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ ⟦εἰ⟧ μύλος ὀνικὸς περίκειται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρριπται ε⟦ἰς⟧ τὴ⟦ν⟧ θάλασσ⟦αν⟧ ἢ

death-sentence on those who would offend them. This is obviously another example of a "focal instance," this time trading on an inversion of the roles of strong and weak, statused and unstatused. The next saying in sequence, Q 17:3b–4,[129] provides another perspective on local conflict, suggesting that those wronged take steps to resolve tension (instead of retaliating), and even imagining a scenario of virtually unlimited forbearance and forgiveness (cf. Q 6:29, 30). When the cluster concludes with 17:6,[130] the same dynamics of small/insignificant versus powerful and the inversion of roles are present again. The personal formulation, εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν, is framed with the addressees of 16:18; 17:1b–2, 3b–4 in view: if they will embrace this social experiment in reconciliation,[131] like mustard (or leaven!) it will grow and vindicate itself. The same optimism that characterized Q 12:2–3; 13:18–19, 20–21 recurs here.[132]

The entire section from Q 15:4 to 17:6 deals with reconciliation and peacemaking in a social situation where the categories of [317] honour and status threaten stability by valuing the large, the numerous, the male, the elder, the "just" and the powerful over their opposites. As an introduction to this unit, the two similitudes appeal to what is self-evident in village life. Of course, no shepherd will let one sheep go astray, even if there are still ninety-nine left; of

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ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἕνα. Reconstruction: James M. Robinson, "The International Q Project Work Session 16 November 1990," *JBL* 110, no. 3 (1991): 484–98 (498) [Ed. note: The final reconstruction of the IQP differs slightly: ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν τὰ σκάνδαλα, πλὴν οὐαὶ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται. [2] λυσιτελεῖ αὐτῷ ⟦εἰ⟧ λίθος μυλικὸς περίκειται περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔρριπται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἢ ἵνα σκανδαλίσῃ τῶν μικρῶν τούτων ἕνα. See Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 472–74].

[129] Q 17:3b–4: ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσῃ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐὰν ⟦σου ἀκούσῃ, ἄφες αὐτῷ⟧. 4 καὶ ἐὰν ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σὲ καὶ ἑπτάκις ⟦⟧ ἀφήσεις αὐτῷ. Reconstruction: Robinson, "The International Q Project Work Session 16 November 1990," 498 [Ed. note: The final IQP reconstruction is ἐὰν ἁμαρτήσῃ ⟦εἰς σὲ⟧ ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἐπιτίμησον αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐάν ⟦μετανοήσῃ⟧ ἄφες αὐτῷ⟧. [4] καὶ ἐὰν ἑπτάκις τῆς ἡμέρας ἁμαρτήσῃ εἰς σέ καὶ ἑπτάκις ἀφήσεις αὐτῷ. See Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 488].

[130] Q 17:6: εἰ ἔχετε πίστιν ὡς κόκκον σινάπεως, ἐλέγετε ἂν τῇ συκαμίνῳ ταύτῃ· ἐκριζώθητι καὶ φυτεύθητι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· καὶ ὑπήκουσεν ἂν ὑμῖν. Reconstruction: Robinson, "The International Q Project Work Session 16 November 1990," 498. [This agrees with the *CEQ* version: Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *CEQ*, 492].

[131] It is worth noting that Thomas' formulation of the saying (*Gos. Thom.* 48) is explicit about reconciliation: "If two make peace with each other in a single house, they will say to the mountain, "Move from here!" and it will move." *Gos. Thom.* 106, "When you make the two into one, you will become children of humankind, and when you say, "Mountain, move from here!" it will move." The latter saying betrays more influence on Thomas' theology of becoming a single one.

[132] Ferdinand Hahn ("Jesu Wort vom bergversetzenden Glauben," *ZNW* 73 [1985]: 149–69), although he see nothing more than an isolated saying in Q (151), rightly suggests that the focus of the saying is that "a little faith is enough." "Wo in der Bibel vom Samenkorn die Rede ist, geht es immer auch im das Fruchttragen. Das Samenkorn enthält in sich alles, was zum Fruchtbringen nötig ist. Der Glaube, zu dem Jesus ruft, ist ein lebendiger und wirksamer Glaube" (166).

course, no woman will ignore the loss of one drachma, even if she still has nine left. Why then in community relationships should there be differential valuations according to the standards of gender or standing or honour and why should those standards be permitted to destroy and dishonour the one or the weak? Like the ethics proposed by Q 6:27–35, this section of Q imagines the reduction of local conflict by a re-evaluation of the values (protection of honour) operative in Palestinian (and indeed Mediterranean) village culture.

The Kingdom, Jesus and the Rhetoric of Q

The parables in the formative stratum of Q, like those in the secondary stratum, have been made part of a larger argumentative strategy. In the case of Q 6:47–49 and 13:18–19, 20–21 they fall at the end of a sequence, providing a concluding dramatization. In Q 12:16–21 and 15:4–7, 8–10 the parables introduce ideas upon which the following discourse elaborates. The differences between the two principal strata of Q with regard to their use of parables is not a difference in technique. Although only the secondary stratum (Q^2) employs allegory, even this is not used consistently. Rather it is a difference of subject matter. While the secondary stratum parables are yoked to Q's polemic against "this generation" and its invocation of "the Day" in order to subvert confidence in the "status quo," the parables of formative stratum (Q^1) function to illustrate and dramatize the hortatory and paraenetic materials of Q. They appear, typically, either at the beginning or at the end of an argument.

We began by observing the paradox that none of the parables in Q functioned "parabolically"[133] and that only two are parables [**318**] "of the kingdom." These two features are related. It is often observed of the parables in the *Gos. Thom.* that they are less allegorized than their synoptic counterparts[134]; this is certainly true of the parable of the Great Supper, whose parabolic function is *Gos. Thom.* is less obscured. On the other hand, the *Gos. Thom.* has eight kingdom-parables, far more than Q. Unlike Q, however, the framers of the

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[133] James G. Williams ("Parable and Chreia: From Q to Narrative Gospel," *Semeia* 43 [1988]: 85–114 [89–90]) notes that only the Mustard Seed, the Great Supper, and Serpents and Doves [Matt 10:16b, which he ascribes to Q] function "paradoxically." Nevertheless, notes that most of the Q sayings are rather common and he later (94) concedes that "extravagance" is not the best term with which to describe the parables in Q. He prefers to speak of intensification and heightening, but as we have seen above, this is better described in the language of ancient rhetoric: parables were used because they were *vivid*. Williams' view that Q was a parable-chreia collection is possible only because he overlooks the literary context into which the parables have been set and continues to treat them as individual, separable (i.e., oral) units.

[134] See Helmut Koester, "Three Thomas Parables," in *The New Testament and Gnosis: Essays in Honor of Robert McLaughlan Wilson* (ed. A.H.B. Logan and A.J.M. Wedderburn; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1983), 195–203.

Gos. Thom. made little or no attempt to realize an argumentative function in their use of parables. Parables and other sayings are simply serialized (apart from a few catchword collections). The incipit, which designates the sayings as "secret," whose true significance is available only to those who "seek" their meaning, was perhaps a key element in the framing of *Gos. Thom.*'s parables that *prevented* their being furnished with interpretive glosses or allegorizing transformations. In the *Gos. Thom.*, the parables, like the other sayings, remain mysteries for wise to ponder and to be transformed in the very act of pondering.[135]

The intention is quite otherwise in the Sayings Gospel. Q is, from the beginning, a work of scribal imagination that transforms individual sayings and stories into an argument, that is, into a rhetorical composition. The decision to make individual sayings of Jesus part of a larger literary composition meant that parables had to be treated not in the way in which they might have functioned in the give and take of oral culture, but in accordance with the norms of literary composition: as a concluding "witness" or illustration or as an initial story which the subsequent argument develops. Free-standing parables like those offered by the *Gos. Thom.* were no longer an option. Correspondingly, the connection between the kingdom and parabolic narrative was effectively severed, except in the single instance (13:18–19, 20–21) where the kingdom and its ethic was the topic under discussion in the discourse. Whether or not the remainder of the parable were originally about the kingdom one cannot know. In Q, they are not. It is perhaps noteworthy that Q 7:31–32 appears to imitate the interrogative introduction to the kingdom parables (e.g., Q 13:18, [**319**] 20; Mark 4:30), but substitutes "this generation" and uses the parable in a thoroughly polemical way.

The outcome of this investigation is that while Q may stand only a decade or so from Jesus the parabler, it is the *Gos. Thom.*, framed perhaps several decades later,[136] that provides better (i.e., less edited) access to the parables. In the Sayings Gospel, as in Mark, we already witness literary experimentation at work. Both Q and Mark know and value the tradition that Jesus told lively stories. But as a writer Mark was unable to preserve the parables as they functioned in oral back-and-forth. Yet his treatment of parables as speech that divided friends from foes, insiders from outsiders, at least reflected the challenging, subversive and provocative dimension of Jesus' parables even if Mark also turned them into allegories. Enigmatic speech that provoked decision easily modulated into enigmatic speech in need of decoding.

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[135] On the notion of "sapiential research," see Kloppenborg, *Formation*, 304–6.

[136] The dating of *Gos. Thom.* is, of course, much discussed, but probably beyond determination. The *termini* provided by the dating of the Oxyrhynchus fragments is not any more helpful than the dating of the first fragments of Matthew ($\mathfrak{P}^{64}$) to the dating of the composition of Matthew.

In the Sayings Gospel, especially in Q[1], we see the first attempts at Christian rhetoric (at least in the Jesus tradition). Here parables function much as they do in other rhetorical speeches, as "witnesses." The locus of challenge and provocation is not the parable as such, but the entire speech to which they were attached and which they either introduce or conclude. Jesus the parabler became scribalized, grounding an alternative ethic in enthymemes, rhetorical inductions and concluding visualizations. By the secondary redactional strata, the parable had become familiar enough to function in general argumentation – the polemic against this generation. The connection with the kingdom was further weakened, and the way was prepared for Matthew's thoroughgoing allegorizing hermeneutic where parables are turned into meditations on church polity and salvation history. But it would be a mistake simply to regard Q's use of parables as the first stage in loss of parabolic meaning. The Saying Gospel's successful incorporation of the parable into a literary format was a key step in the scribalizing of the Jesus tradition. And it provided an important antecedent for Matthew's and Luke's much more ambitious use of parables a few decades later.

Addendum

The parables have been treated comprehensively by Ruben Zimmermann, ed., *Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu* (in collaboration with Detlev Dormeyer, et al.; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007) and Klyne R. Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2008).

See also Werner Zager, *Gottesherrschaft und Endgericht in der Verkündigung Jesu: Eine Untersuchung zur markinischen Jesusüberlieferung einschliesslich der Q-Parallelen* (BZNW 82; Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996); Christoph Heil, "Beobachtungen zur theologischen Dimension der Parabelrede Jesu in Q," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 649–59; Jacobus Liebenberg, *The Language of the Kingdom and Jesus: Parable, Aphorism and Metaphor in the Sayings Material Common to the Synoptic Tradition and the Gospel of Thomas* (BZNW 102; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001); Bernard S. Jackson, *Essays on Halakhah in the New Testament* (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 16; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2007); Douglas E. Oakman, *Jesus and the Peasants* (Matrix: The Bible in Mediterranean Context; Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2008); Paul Foster, "The Q Parables: Their Extent and Function," in *Metaphorik und Narrativität in der Logienquelle Q* (ed. Ruben Zimmermann and Dieter Roth; WUNT 315; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 255–85.

Individual Q parables:

Q 6:47–49: Armand Puig i Tàrrech, "Une parabole à la image antithétique: Q 6,46–49," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (Colloquium Biblicum

Lovaniense XLIX; ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 681–93.

Q 12:39: John S. Kloppenborg, "The Parable of the Burglar in Q: Insights from Papyrology," in *Metaphor, Narrative, and Parables in Q* (ed. Dieter Roth, Ruben Zimmermann, and Michael Labahn; WUNT 315; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 287–306.

Q 12:42–46: David C. Sim, "The Dissection of the Wicked Servant in Matthew 24:51," *HervTeoStud* 58 (2002): 172–84; John S. Kloppenborg, "The Power and Surveillance of the Divine Judge in the Early Synoptic Tradition," in *Christ and the Emperor. The Evidence from the Gospels* (ed. Joseph Verheyden and Gilbert Van Belle; Biblical Tools and Studies 20; Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 247–184; and chap. 21 in this volume.

Q 13:18–21: Timothy A. Friedrichsen, "The Parable of the Mustard Seed – Mark 4,30–32 and Q 13:18–19: A Surrejoinder for Independence," *ETL* 77, no. 4 (2001): 297–317; Ryan S. Schellenberg, "Kingdom as Contaminant? The Role of Repertoire in the Parables of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven," *CBQ* 71, no. 3 (2009): 527–43.

Q 14:16–24: Anton Vögtle, *Gott und seine Gaste: das Schicksal des Gleichnisses Jesu vom grossen Gastmahl (Lukas 14,16b–24; Matthäus 22,2–14)* (Biblisch-Theologische Studien 29; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996); Rudolf Hoppe, "Das Gastmahlgleichnis Jesu (Mt 22,1–10/Lk 14,16–24) und seine vorevangelische Traditionsgeschichte," in *Von Jesus zum Christus – Christologische Studien: Festgabe für Paul Hoffmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Rudolf Hoppe and Ulrich Busse; BZNW 93; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 277–94; Wim J.C. Weren, "From Q to Matthew 22,1–14: New Light on the Transmission of the Parable of the Guests," in *The Sayings Source Q and the Historical Jesus* (ed. Andreas Lindemann; BETL 158; Leuven: Peeters and Leuven University Press, 2001), 661–79; Gregory Sterling, "'Where Two or Three Are Gathered:' The Tradition History of the Parable of the Banquet (Matt 22:1–14/Luke 14:16–24/GThom 64)," in *Das Thomasevangelium: Entstehung, Rezeption, Theologie* (ed. Jörg Frey and Jens Schröter; BZNW 157; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 95–161.

Q 15:4–7: John S. Kloppenborg and Callie Callon, "The Parable of the Shepherd and the Transformation of Pastoral Discourse," *Early Christianity* 1, no. 2 (2010): 218–60, and chap. 20 in this volume.

Q 15:8–10: Mary Ann Beavis, ed., *The Lost Coin: Parables of Women, Work and Wisdom* (The Biblical Seminar 86; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002); Erin Vearncombe, "Searching for a Lost Coin: Papyrological Backgrounds for Q 15:8–10 (Luke 15:8–10)," in *Metaphorik und Narrativität in der Logienquelle Q* (ed. Ruben Zimmermann and Dieter Roth; WUNT 315; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 307–37.

Chapter 19

The Parable of the Prodigal Son and Deeds of Gift[1]

Narrative realism has been recognized as a characteristic of the parables of Jesus since the time of Adolf Jülicher and C. H. Dodd. Jülicher saw realistic narration as a fundamental characteristic of both the similitude and the parable[2]:

> The similitude [*Gleichnis*] guards against any opposition by speaking of what is indubitably true; the parable [*Fabel*] overcomes resistance by telling the story so attractively, so warmly and freshly, that the hearer will not be able to think of any objection. It makes the matter seem so probable that the auditor does not ask whether it is true.

Jülicher's definition found a sympathetic hearing in C. H. Dodd's influential *The Parables of the Kingdom* (1936; 1961). Jesus' parables were in fact so realistic that they provided[3]

> a singularly complete and convincing picture... of life in a small provincial town – probably a more complete picture of *petit-bourgeois* and peasant life than we possess for any other province of the Roman empire except Egypt, where papyri come to our aid.

Since Jülicher and Dodd, realistic approaches to the parables have been embraced by a number of critics,[4] most recently by William Herzog, Charles

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[1] First published as "The Parable of the Prodigal Son and Deeds of Gift." Pages 169–94 in *Jesus, Paul and Early Christianity: Studies in Honour of Henk Jan de Jonge* . Edited by Rieuwerd Buitenwerf, Harm W. Hollander, and Nicholas Tromp. NovTSup 130. Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2008. ©E.J. Brill 2008. Reprinted with permission. I wish to acknowledge the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

[2] Adolf Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (2. Aufl.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1888–1899 [repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963, 1976]), 1:97.

[3] C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (Rev. ed; London: James Nisbet & Co., 1961), 10.

[4] Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (Revised edition [based on 8th 1970 German ed.]; trans. S.H. Hooke; London: SCM Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 11–12; Eta Linnemann, *Parables of Jesus: Introduction and Exposition* (trans. John Sturdy; London: SPCK, 1975), 3–4; Amos Niven Wilder, *Early Christian Rhetoric: The Language of the Gospel* (2d ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971 [1st ed., London: SCM Press; New York: Harper & Row, 1964]), 81; Dan Otto Via, *The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 98–99; Norman Perrin, *Jesus and the Language of the Kingdom: Symbol and Metaphor in New Testament Interpretation* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), 104; Robert H. Stein, *An Introduction to the Parables of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 36–41.

Hedrick and Luise Schottroff.[5] This does not mean, [**170**] of course, that all of the actions in a parable must be predictable or banal; indeed, as Hedrick emphasizes, "reality is usually quite unpredictable."[6] One of the hallmarks of at least some of Jesus' parables is that they tell of unusual actions or unexpected reactions. But they do so by setting a context which invokes the typicalities and commonplaces of ancient Mediterranean life – the threats to life that travel posed, the ever-present danger of managers defrauding their employers, the commonplace of élites inviting each other to dinners, and the perfectly normal situation of strife between older and younger brothers. This implies that if the parables are to have their full effect, it must be clear to the interpreter, as it was no doubt clear to the first auditors, just what were the commonplace and typical features in the story, and which are singular or unusual.

The history of parable interpretation is littered with disputes concerning which elements represent typical and unexeptional elements, which elements were unusual, and which are downright incredible or fantastic. Much is at stake in deciding these questions, since we approach the boundaries between realistic fiction, in which all actions, however unusual, must belong to a repertoire of empirically credible representations,[7] symbolic narrative, which might include nonrealistic elements designed deliberately to evoke other narratives or beliefs, and the fantastic narrative modes of apocalyptic. Would a vineyard owner, whose agents-slaves were abused by refractory tenants, send his son as a last resort? Or does this representation move well beyond of credible modes of dispute settlement and transgress the boundary between realistic and fantastic narrative? Does this detail have meaning only as part of the Christian meta-discourse of the sending of God's son to Israel? Does the owner's destruction of the tenants belong to the repertoire of imaginable strategies for the [**171**]

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[5] William R. Herzog, *Parables as Subversive Speech: Jesus as Pedagogue of the Oppressed* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994); Charles W. Hedrick, *The Parables as Poetic Fictions: The Creative Voice of Jesus* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994); *Many Things in Parables: Jesus and His Modern Critics* (Louisville and London: Westminster/John Knox, 2004); Luise Schottroff, *The Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006). Because of her steadfast refusal to parse the text in a way that distinguishes the evangelist's social and conceptual interests from those of earlier levels of the story, Schottroff thwarts her own desire for a realistic and agrarian reading of the parable, since both Mark and Matthew engage in generous allegorizing of the parables and add details that are not susceptible of a realistic interpretation. Schottroff also fails to distinguish between Luke's critique of the culture of benefaction and interests in economic redistribution, which belongs to the discourse of the middling rich, and discourse that is typical of sectors much less advantaged than Luke's addressees. For a "realistic" approach to the Parable of the Tenants, see John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine* (WUNT 195; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), esp. chaps. 5, 9.

[6] Hedrick, *Parables*, 42.

[7] See Timothy James Prenzler, "Ideology and Narrative Realism: A Critique of Post-Althusserian Anti-Realism," Ph.D. diss. (Griffiths University, Australia, 1991), 129–59.

management of agrarian conflict, or is it designed to evoke Isa 5:5, 7 and to anticipate apocalyptic fantasies of divine destruction? Does a real shepherd, having lost one sheep, abandon his flock in search of the lost sheep? Or would another vineyard owner go to the market place in the middle of the day to hire extra workers? Was one drachma a generous wage or a normal daily wage? At stake in these question is the *kind* of discourse that Jesus' parables represent.

Often such disputes are refereed by resorting either to modern common-sense or to ambiguous biblical or Mishnaic data, whose pertinence and date are open to question. What has usually gone unnoticed is that, as Dodd's statement implies, Graeco-Egyptian papyri provide a wealth of social, economic and legal data that may illumine precisely the processes or actions that are the subject of the parables.[8] In the case of the parable of the Returning Son (Luke 15:11–32) it has already been shown by Wolfgang Pöhlmann that the son's demand, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας (15:12), employs a formula that is extraordinarily common in Graeco-Egyptian documentary papyri to describe an individual's portion of a loan,[9] or a tenancy agreement,[10] or taxes,[11] or a liturgy,[12] or an inheritance.[13] The [**172**] contention of this paper, however, is that knowledge

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[8] For abbreviations of papyri, see John F. Oates, Roger S. Bagnall, and William H. Willis, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca* (5th ed; BASP Supplements 9; Oakville, Conn.: American Society of Papyrologists, 2001). For recent dating of papyri, see the Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens.

[9] Wolfgang Pöhlmann, "Die Abschichtung des Verlorenen Sohnes (Lk 15:12f) und die erzählte Welt der Parabel," *ZNW* 70, no. 3–4 (1979): 205 n. 45. E.g., *P.Athen* I 29.10 (Theadelphia, 121 CE): ἀπέχειν... [ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς] ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, αἵ εἰσιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτοῖς Πτ[ολεμαίῳ καὶ Διδυμαρίῳ] ἥμισυ μέρος ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν διακοσίων τεσσαρά-[κοντά, "to receive... 120 silver drachmae, which is half the share falling to Ptolemaios and Didymarion, of 240 silver drachmae."

[10] E.g., *BGU* X 1946.7–8 (Tholtis, near Oxyrhynchus, 213/12 BCE): τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῶι μέρος τῶν ἐκφορίων κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν [τῆς μισ]|[θώσεως τὴν κειμένην παρὰ συ]γγραφο-φύλακι Ἡρακλείτωι Κυρηναίωι τῶν Φίλω[ος, "the portion of the rent that falls to him in accord with the lease that was deposited with the *syngraphophylax*, Herakleitos the Cyrenian, son of Philo."

[11] E.g., *P.Mich.* V 245.13–15 (Tebtynis, 47 CE): διαγράψει χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτῷ μέρους τῶν δημοσίων ἄλλας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς ἑξήκοντα ἕξ, "he shall pay, apart from the share of the public taxes which falls to him, an additional sixty-six drachmae in silver."

[12] E.g., *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2853.6–7 (Oxyrhynchus, 245/46 CE): προσεληλύθαμεν Σωτῆρι καὶ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὡς χρηματίζουσιν ἀξιοῦντες αὐτοὺς τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτοῖς μέρος τῆς διώρυγος ἐργάσασθαι. οἱ δὲ μηδενὶ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι ἐπῆλθον ἡμῖν καὶ πληγαῖς ἠκίσαντο, "we have approached Soter and his brother and while they were engaged in business asked them to do their share of the work on the dike. But without saying a word they fell upon us and injured us with blows."

[13] E.g., *P.Mich.* V 322.7 (Tebtynis, 47 CE): καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος ὑποδοχείου καὶ ὕδατο{υ}ς καὶ ἰχθύας καὶ χοὸς καὶ φρέατος καὶ κηλωνείων καὶ μαγδώλου καὶ τῶν συγκυρόν-των πάντων κοινῶν καὶ ἀδιαιρέτων πρὸς τὴν προγεγραμμένην Τετοσῖριν τὴν καὶ Διονυσίαν, "the share that belongs to him of the reservoir and water and fishing and earthworks and well and swing-beam and watchtower and all the appurtenances held in common and (which has)

of Graeco-Egyptian papyri can contribute to an understanding of other aspects of this parable as well.

One of the interpretive issues in the parable of the Returning Son concerns another aspect of the younger son's request, δός μοι τὸ ἐπιβάλλον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας (15:12). Is this the kind of request that might be made of a father and, to be more specific, was there a legal instrument by which the request could be effected? On this point commentators are divided.

On the one hand, William Oesterley opined that the request was natural, especially coming from a younger son who could inherit only one-third of the farm. Under these circumstances he could be expected to liquidate his portion of the inheritance and depart.[14] B. T. D. Smith, appealing to the warning of Sir 33:19–23 not to give property to another during one's lifetime, inferred that just such transferences must have been known in the first century CE, and consequently, the younger son's request was not blameworthy.[15] Likewise Eta Linnemann concluded that the son's request was nothing out of the ordinary: the family farm was not divisible, which left a younger son with little to do but emigrate if he did not wish to remain on the land. The younger son, Linnemann thought, would have had access only to the moveables which could then have been liquidated.[16] Brandon Scott interprets the parable as just the kind of case that Sirach warned against; although it was not the norm for fathers to distribute property in this way, it was also not unknown. The later Mishnaic rulings that restricted a son's right of disposal "was apparently worked out to avoid the bad experience underlying Sirach and our parable."[17]

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not been divided in favour of the aforesaid Tetosiris, also called Dionysia"; *P.Oxy.* IV 715 (Oxyrhynchus, 131 CE): ἀπογραφόμεθα... τὸ ἐπιβάλλ[ον] αὐτῶι ἐν τῆι αὐτῆ Τοεμίσει τρίτον μέρος οἰκίας καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον αὐτῶι μέρος ψιλοῦ τόπου, καὶ πρότερον τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Ἑλένης Γοργίου μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς Ταποντῶτος κατὰ διαθήκην τὴν καὶ λυθεῖσαν τῶι ιβ (ἔτει) Ἁδριανοῦ Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, "we wish to register... the property that has fallen to him [our father], namely a one-third share of a house in Toemisis, and the share of open ground, and what formerly belonged to his sister Helen the daughter of Gorgios, the mother of Tapontos, in accord with the will that was opened in the 12th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord...."

[14] William O. E. Oesterley, *The Gospel Parables in the Light of Their Jewish Background* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1936), 184: "It was only the younger son who would expect to receive this during his father's lifetime, and the father's consent was purely of goodwill, there was no law to force him to do it. The first-born, on the other hand, could obviously not make such a request, especially in such a case as that before us in which the father is a landed proprietor."

[15] B.T.D. Smith, *The Parables in the Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 194. He concludes that the rabbinic ruling that restricted the right of disposal in such cases was "evidently later than Ecclesiasticus and this parable" (195).

[16] Linnemann, *Parables of Jesus*, 74–75, 150, citing Gen 24:36; 25:5–6; *b. B.Meṣi'a* 75b; *m. B.Bat.* 8:7; Sir 33:19–23.

[17] Bernard Brandon Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 111.

Jeremias also treated the scenario in Luke 15:12 realistically, observing that according to *m.B.Bat.* 8.7 a deed of gift normally did not carry with it the right of disposal, but that a ruling in *t.B.Bat.* 2.5, according to which a "son who took his share in his father's estate" is able to secure title though usucaption (*ḥazaqah*), implied not only possession but usufruct.[18] The older son, by contrast, could not obtain the usufruct of the land willed to him, since the father was still alive and was to be maintained from the estate.[19] According to Derrett, even though the father was by no means obliged to divide his property, still less give the younger son the right of disposal, the father "adopted the policy of treating the nearly grown-up son with kindness."[20] The "sin" to which the son later confesses is not, accordingly, rebellion or dishonouring his father by an inappropriate request or even dissipation, but rather the neglect of his duty to use his property in support of his father as long as he was alive. One could add that the father, correspondingly, might be thought foolhardy, not for agreeing to the division, but for assigning the right of disposal.

Others, however, insist that the scenario in 15:12 is highly unusual if not utterly unrealistic. Basing his conclusions on the observation of modern Middle Eastern culture, Kenneth Bailey opines that it would highly unusual for a younger son to demand that his father divide the [174] inheritance prior to his death.[21] Dismissing the view that Sir 33:19–23 implies that fathers might indeed partition their property, he argues that the son's request is tantamount to wising the father dead.[22] The point of the parable, according to Bailey, is that[23] the prodigal requests and receives possession and disposition of his portion of the inheritance.

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[18] *T.B.Bat.* 2.5: "Under what circumstances have they ruled, 'A sharecropper is given an oath when he is not subject to a claim?' So long as he is a sharecropper. When a sharecropper leaves his status as sharecropper of this field, he is like anybody else [i.e., can obtain title through usucaption]. A guardian – when a guardian leaves his status as a guardian, he is like anybody else. A son who took his share of his father's estate, a woman who was divorced, they are like everybody else" (trans. Jacob Neusner, trans., *The Tosefta* [New York: Ktav, 1977–86], 4:151).

[19] Jeremias, *Parables*, 128–29.

[20] J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Law in the New Testament: The Parable of the Prodigal Son," in *Law in the New Testament* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1970), 106.

[21] But contrast Abraham Mitrie Rihbani, *The Syrian Christ* (Pontiac, Québec: Apamea Consulting and Publishing, 2003 [repr. of Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1922]), 95: "The custom of a father dividing his property among his grown sons before his death prevails much more extensively in the East than in the West.... [A]s a general rule the father who does not divide his property legally between his sons before his death leaves to them a situation fraught with danger. Litigation in such cases is very slow and uncertain."

[22] Kenneth E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), 164; similarly, Günther Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth* (trans. Irene McLuskey and Fraser McLuskey, with a preface by James M. Robinson; 1956; repr., New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 126; Greg Forbes, "Repentance and Conflict in the Parable of the Lost Son (Luke 15:11–32)," *JETS* 42, no. 2 (1999): 215.

[23] Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, 169.

Both requests are unheard of in Eastern life and thought. Each means the son is in a hurry for his father to die. The father is expected to refuse and punish the prodigal. Instead, in an unprecedented act of love, the request is granted. The older son is expected to refuse his share and to fulfil the roll of reconciler. He fails on both counts. These failures indicate that his relationship to both his brother and his father are broken. Both sons fail even to try to live together in unity.

For Bailey the exceptional and unrealistic features of the story are precisely what carry its interpretation: the son's outrageous request; the father's unprecedented response as an act of love; the father's unexpected and humiliating demonstration of love – all these point to a meta-level of Christian theology, according to which

> sin is ... a broken relationship which [the prodigal] cannot restore. Repentance is ... acceptance of grace and confessions of unworthiness.... The visible demonstration of love in humiliation is seen to have close overtones of the atoning work of Christ. [24]

Arland Hultgren takes a similar view: "There is no evidence of law or custom to suggest that it was a normal procedure to pass on one's property while still alive, nor for a potential heir to ask for it, although it would not be inconceivable for a parent to initiate such as course of action."[25] The son thus effectively wishes the father dead, [175] although Hultgren agrees that his "sin" is his failure to provide for his father.[26]

The unreality of the parable's representation of the younger son and its extravagant depiction of the reactions of the father allow Hultgren to propose a symbolic reading: the action of both sons provide a foil for the father. "No earthly father loves and acts like this one, but God does."[27] A symbolic reading of the parable is in fact not disturbed by nonrealistic actions, since precisely these point to some meta-level of discourse as the true meaning of the parable.[28]

Types of Dispositions

The commentators discussed above base their reading of the parable on a very limited set of data. Sir 33:20–24 is a key text:

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[24] Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, 206.

[25] Arland J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 73, citing Derrett, "Prodigal Son," 104–6; Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, 112–14.

[26] Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 77.

[27] Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 85.

[28] Bernard Jackson (*Essays on Halakhah in the New Testament* [Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 16; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2007], 114) remarks that "any such views suggest a 'strong' understanding of the overt theological meaning, in terms of sin, repentance and forgiveness, and may indicate a supersessionist figurative message."

To son or wife, to brother or friend, do not give power over yourself, as long as you live (ἐν ζωῇ σου); and do not give your property to another, lest you change your mind and must ask for it. While you are still alive and have breath in you, do not let any one take your place. For it is better that your children should ask from you than that you should look to the hand of you sons.... At the time when you end the days of your life, in the hour of death, distribute your inheritance (ἐν καιρῷ τελευτῆς διάδος κληρονομίαν).

According to Bailey, Sirach's warning is no different from Southerners warning each other not to trust Yankees. No reasonable person would conclude from such a warning that many Southerners actually trusted Yankees. But both the argument of Sirach and its context makes Bailey's conclusion very unlikely. The argument is far too detailed to be the kind of stock warning Bailey imagines. If everyone already agreed that devolution of property on one's kin was a palpable mistake, Sirach would not have had to buttress his admonition as he does. If such a practice were unanimously recognized as foolish, it would hardly appear as an admonition in need of defence, but would more likely appear as an example of stupidity buttressing [**176**] *another* maxim or admonition on foolish behaviour. Moreover, Sirach introduces his admonition by the solemn invocation, "Hear me, you who are great among the people, and you leaders of the congregation, hearken" (33:19).[29] Thus, not only does Sirach presuppose that the simple disposition of property was possible and practiced, but that the form of disposition employed afforded no protection for the testator.[30]

The other piece of evidence regularly cited is from almost four centuries later, in *m. Baba Batra* 8 which concerns the division of parental property prior to the testator's death and various protections afforded the testator (none of which appears to be in place in the parable).

The Mishnah distinguishes between a דייתיקי (= διαθήκη), a disposition in contemplation of death whose provisions were covered by the relevant laws of Num 27:7–11 and Deut 21:15–17 on the one hand,[31] and on the other, a מתנה ("gift" = δόσις), which involves a transfer of ownership while the donor is still alive, even if the donor retains usufruct.[32] The latter allowed a donor to make a

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[29] Reuven Yaron, *Gifts in Contemplation of Death in Jewish and Roman Law* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 8: "The passage as a whole is strong proof that the writer [Sirach] knew of no possible arrangement by which one could dispose of one's property and yet retrain control of it till the time of death."

[30] A partial division of property is indicated in Tob 8:20–21 where Tobit's father in law gave Tobit "half of Raguel's property (ἥμισυ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῦ)" and sent him back to his father, promising that the rest would be his "when my wife and I die."

[31] Yaron, *Gifts*, 19–20. See *m.B.Bat.* 8.6: "If a person died and a will (דייתיקי) was found tied to his thigh, it is of no legal value. If thereby he made an assignment to someone, whether [this person is one] of the heirs or not, his instructions are legally valid."

[32] As Yaron (*Gifts*, 23) has observed, *t.B.Bat.* 8.9 seems to take for granted that a "will" is made in ailing health, while a "gift" is made in good health (but on this see below): "A healthy person who wrote a will (דייתיקי) – a dying man who wrote his property as a gift (מתנה) – even though he gave possession after a gift, he has done nothing at all. But he who

division of property that is not in accord with the Torah, provided that he did not use the words "by inheritance" (משום ירושה).[33] The key distinction, at least according to the Mishnah and the Babvi, is that a [177] "gift" must contain the words "from today and after my death"[34] *M. B.Bat.* 8.7 reflects this formula:

> If a person [desires] to give his estate in writing to his sons, he must write, "[This estate is assigned] from this day and after [my] death" (מהיום ולאחר מתיה); These are the words of R. Judah.

Under the rubric of "gifts" early rabbinic thinking imagined two forms, one, a "simple gift" which became effective immediately and was independent of the donor's death, and another in which usufruct was retained until the donor's death. While most of the discussion in *m. B.Bat.* 8 concerns the latter, there are traces of the former in other texts. For example, *t. B.Bat.* 8.10 holds:

> Which is a will (דייתיקי)? Be it to me to stand and to be, but if I shall die my goods shall be given to X. Which is a "gift" (מתנה)? As from today (מהיום) my goods shall be given to X.

This form of "gift" evidently did not have to await the testator's death to become effective, nor did it involve the testator retaining control over the property. It is this form of disposition, according to Reuven Yaron, that is the subject of the lament in *b. B.Meṣi'a* 75b:[35]

> Our Rabbis taught: Three cry out and are not answered, namely, he who has money and lends it without witnesses; he who makes someone a master over himself; and he over whom his wife rules. "He who makes a master over himself;" what does this mean? – Some say: He who attributes his wealth to a Gentile; others: *He who transfers his property to his children in his lifetime* (הכותב נכסיו לבניו בחייו); others: He who is badly-off in one town and does not go [to seek his fortune] elsewhere. (*b. B. Mes*\. 75b, emphasis added)

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writes over his property in the name of his fellow, and he gave possession after the gift, his statement is confirmed."

[33] *m. B.Bat.* 8.5: "[If] any one said, 'My firstborn son, shall not receive a double portion', [or] 'x, my son, shall not be heir with his brothers', his instructions are disregarded, because he made a stipulation [which is] contrary to what is written in the Torah. If one distributed his property orally, [and] gave to one [son] more, and to [another] one less, or [if] he assigned to the first born a share equal to that of his brothers, his arrangements are valid. If, [however], he said, as an inheritance', his instructions are disregarded. [If] he wrote, either at the beginning or the middle or the end, 'as a gift' (משום מרנה), his instructions are valid."

[34] The distinction is made in *b. B. Meṣi'a* 19a: "What is meant by wills (דייתיקי)? – [Documents which contain the words:] 'This shall be established and executed,' so that when [the author of the document] dies, his property becomes the possession of the person named [in the document!. [What are] deeds of gift (מתנה)? – All [documents conferring a gift] which contain [the words]: 'From today and after my death' (מהיום ולאהר מתיה). But does this mean that only if it is written [in the document] 'From today and after my death,' the person acquires [the gift], but if not, he does not acquire it!? – Abaye answered: The meaning is this: "Which gift of a healthy person is like the gift of a dying person in that [the person named] does not acquire it until after the death [of the donor]'? Every [gift regarding which] it is written [in the document conferring it]: 'From today and after my death.'"it is written [in the document conferring it]: 'From today and after my death.'"

[35] Yaron, *Gifts*, 27.

Contemporary Roman law did not envisage a testamentary division of an entire property *inter vivos*. Indeed, Schulz declares,[36] [**178**]

> It is incredible that a testator should ever have conveyed his whole present and future estate to somebody with immediate effect; he would then have been entirely dependent upon the goodwill of the *familiae emptor*.

As Roman jurists recognized, the simple gift carried with it the risk that the donor would not be maintained from his property. This perhaps accounts for the fact that in the Ushan period (after 135 CE) rabbis enacted rulings to ensure that parents were maintained from gifts given to children.[37]

The second form of gift in which the owner retains usufruct is called מתנת בריא,[38] is described in the continuation of *m. B.Bat.* 8.7:

> If a person [desires] to give his estate in writing to his sons, he must write, "[this estate is assigned] from this day and after [my] death".... If a person assigned his estate in writing to his son [to be his] after his death, the father may not sell [it] because it is assigned in writing to the son, and the son may not sell [it] because it is in the possession of the father (ברשות האב). If the father sold [the estate] the sale is valid until his death. If the son sold [it], the buyer has no claim whatsoever upon it until the father's death. The father plucks (the fruit) and feeds whomsoever he wants; and whatever he left (already) plucked belongs to the heirs.

The first stipulation – that the father may not subsequently alienate the property – suggests that the מתנה בריא was considered to be non-revocable, once uttered. But the other limitation is imposed on the son, who is disabled from alienating the property, since the father is to enjoy usufruct. From the donor's perspective, this form corrected the deficiency present in the simple gift by ensuring that the donor be maintained from the estate even after it becomes the property of the donee.[39] [**179**]

As Yaron observes, the phrase מהיום ולאחר מתיה probably reflects the Graeco-Egyptian formula μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, found as early as 127 BCE in *BGU* III 993, and frequently thereafter.[40] *BGU* III 993, called a δόσις, is the

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[36] Fritz Schulz, *Classical Roman Law (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), 242.*

[37] Yaron, *Gifts*, 27, citing *y. Ket.* 4.8: "Resh Laqish (said) in the name of R. Judah b. Hananiah: it was enacted at Usha concerning one who assigns his goods to his sons, that he and his wife are maintained out of them." Yaron notes that while the ruling seems to have been accepted in Palestine, there is evidence that it was not in fact accepted in Babylonia, since there are still cases of sons being forced to maintain their parents (e.g., *b. Ket.* 49b).

[38] *b. B.Bat.* 135b: "Abaye replied: [It is] this that was meant: 'Which is the gift of a person in good health (מתנת בריא) that is [regarded] as the gift of a dying man in that no possession [of its fruit] is acquired until after death? – Any [deed] in which it is written, 'from this day and after my death'."

[39] Thus it is not safe to assume that the מתנה always carried with it the right of usufruct for the testator, as Ernst Bammel ("Gottes ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ [Gal 3:15–17] und das jüdische Rechtsdenken," *NTS* 6 [1960]: 313–19) has assumed. So rightly, John J. Hughes, "Hebrews IX 15ff. and Galatians III 15ff.: A Study in Covenant Practice and Procedure," *NovT* 21, no. 1 (1079): 73.

[40] Yaron, *Gifts*, 46.

disposition of Psenthotes, the warden of a temple of Isis, who transferred some of his land and one-seventh of his priestly income to his daughter Tasemis, and the remainder of his property to Tsennesis his wife. Although the deed of gift states that the division is made μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτήν (ii 10), the fact that the land transfer tax was paid at the time of the gift (iv 4) indicates that the land (and presumably the right to derive income from the temple) had transferred to the daughter immediately. Kreller argues that *BGU* III 993 is formulated on the assumption that the usufruct would remain with the testator until his death.[41]

The deed of gift, however, says nothing of maintenance of the testator from the daughter's portion, and nothing is said of the six-sevenths of the priestly income, which presumably remained with the testator. What is noteworthy is that the declaration ends with μὴ ἐξέστω δὲ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοῦ υἱῶν ἀντιποιήσασθαι | περὶ μηδενὸς τῶν προγεγραμμένων, κυριευέτωσαν δ᾽ ἑκάστη κατὰ τὴν σημαινομένην διαστολήν, "it shall not be lawful for any other of his sons to lay a claim regarding any of the things mentioned above; let each (i.e., the daughter and wife) have legal possession in accord with the statement that has been made" (iii 12–13).

In regard to this clause, Kreller takes the view that iii 12–13 does not amount to a formal disinheriting of Psenthotes' sons – it does not take the form of a disinheritance –, but could be either a "gift" employed to circumvent normal customs of inheritance, or, more likely, that there existed separate and parallel divisions of Psenthotes' property stipulating the shares that ought to go to the sons.[42] The [**180**] difficulty with Kreller's interpretation is that no mention is made of any other property besides that given to Tasemis and her mother, and the mother appears to have received the remainder of Psenthotes' possessions, listed in considerable detail:

> Τσεννήσει δὲ τῆι σημαινομένηι αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶι πάντα | γῶν τε καὶ οἰκιῶν καὶ ἀμπελώνων καὶ παστοφορίων καὶ γέρως καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ κατ᾽ οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἔπιπλα πάντα καὶ ὄσπρια πάν‹τα› | καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὑπάρχον αὐτῶι ἐστιν ἤτ‹ο›ι κατὰ συνβόλαια ἢ κατ᾽ ἐπενέχυρον καὶ ἔν τισιν ἐν πίστει πυροῦ τε καὶ κριθῆς | ὀλύρας φακοῦ ἀράκου καὶ χαλκωμάτων καὶ ἱματισμοῦ (iii 9–12).

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[41] Hans Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der gräko-ägyptischen Papyruskunden* (Suttgart: B.G. Teunbner, 1919 [repr. Aalen: Scientia, 1970]), 218.

[42] Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 217. Kreller points to the fact that some demotic wills one finds both a document indicating the division of the entire estate in a single document, and "die Teilung durch gesonderte gegenseitige Übereignung einzelner Stücke" (76). *BGU* III 993, which is often taken to be either a translation of a demotic will or influenced by the construction of demotic wills (Orsolina Montevecchi, "Ricerche di sociologica nei documenti dell' Egitto greco-romano, I: I testamenti," *Aeg* 15 [1935]: 85; Raphael Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri: 332 B.C. – 620 A.D.* [2d ed; Warsaw: Pantsowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1955], 205) would then be an example of this latter form.

(and) to Tsennesis, who has been indicated as his wife, all the remainder of his possessions, his lands and houses, and vineyards and priest's chambers, and gifts and the other furniture in the house and all the food, and if there is any other possession of his either as things lent out or as things taken in surety, and in things (given) in credit for wheat or barley, rice, lentils, chickling, and any copper utensils, or clothing.

In order to sustain Kreller's reading he has to assume that Psenthotes' other property had *already* been distributed to his sons, and all that was left was that intended for Tamesis and Tsennesis.[43] In this case the sons' portions probably should be regarded as *Abschichtungen* – gifts intended in lieu of inheritance. Yet this does not seem an obvious way to read iii 9–12, especially in view of the final clause, "if there is any other possession" or in view of the registrars' comments in iv 3, which describes the deed as covering "all of Psenthotes' possessions" (πάντων τῶν Ψενθώτου ὑπαρχόντων). And the prohibition of the sons suing the women seems too categorical to allow for the possibility that they had already received some property and might be interested in more. We are left, then, two possibilities: that this δόσις in fact amounted to a way to disperse Psenthotes property to the children he favoured and to exclude those he did not; or that the sons were only meant to inherit the wife's portion after her death, and that this deed was intended to safeguard Tasemis' portion *prior to Psenthotes'* death. [**181**]

Regardless of how these interpretive problems are solved, *BGU* III 993 provides an early instance of a deed of gift (δόσις) in which at least fictively property is transferred to a donee only after the death of the testator, but in fact became the property of the donee immediately.

A document from first-century Egypt which provides a closer analogy to the מתנת בריא of *m. B.Bat.* 8.7 is *P.Mich.* V 321 (42 CE). The testator, Orseus, divided his property among his four children and agreed not to alienate the property or to mortgage it. Although the division supposedly took effect only after the testator's death (ll. 3, 13/14: μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτήν), the fact that one of the beneficiaries, Nestnephis, was to assume the taxes on the property indicates that the land had in fact become the property of the donees. Neverthless, Nestnephis was required to provide for his father's maintenance in the annual amount of 12 artabae of grain (363 kgs.) and 12 silver drachmae for clothing, oil and expenses, as well as pay his father's flute-tax.[44]

From only four years later *P.Mich.* V 322 (46 CE) offers a similar deed of gift. The testator, Psuphis acknowledges (ὁμολογεῖ) that he divided his property among three sons, a grandson, and two daughters. The deed is explicit that

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[43] Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 217: "Diese [anderen Urkunden] müßten allerdings, streng genommen, dieser Urkunde zeitlich vorausgegangen sein und dürften keine Gesamtvergabung, wie sie hier vorliegt, enthalten haben."

[44] For other instances of donations, see Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 215–23; Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 204–27; Montevecchi, "Ricerche di sociologica"; Elinor M. Husselman, "Donationes Mortis Causa from Tebtunis," *TAPA* 88 (1957): 135–54.

the division is "from the present" (ll. 2, 17, 22, 29, 38, 40, 42: ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν) and that the testators, Psuphis and his wife, are barred from selling, mortgaging or otherwise alienating the property or altering the terms of the deed (l. 30: μὴ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ... ἐξουσίαν μήτε πωλεῖν μηδὲ ὑποτίθεσθαι μηδὲ ἐξαλλοτριοῦν μηδὲ ἑτέροις καταλείπειν μηδὲ ἄλλως πως καταχρηματίσαι κατὰ μηδεμίαν παρεύρεσιν). But according to the δόσις their heirs shall have the power to sell, mortgage, alienate or lease it *without requiring the consent of either parent*. In exchange, the heirs are obliged to maintain their parents at the monthly rate of 2 artabae (60 kgs) of wheat, six kotyles (2.4 litres) of oil, and to pay 300 drachmae for clothing and expenses and eventually, to pay for funerals for their parents.

The similarities to the מתנת בריא of later Mishnaic rulings are obvious, as are the differences. Although in all three cases, the testator's [**182**] property is effectively transferred to the heirs at the time of the deed and although the two Michigan texts disable the testator from selling or otherwise alienating the property, the Ptolemaic and early Roman deeds of gift do not place restrictions on the heirs' right of disposal. This is presumably because whether or not the heirs were able to sell the property, they were still bound to a fixed sum of support for the testator(s) stated in the agreement. In the case of the Mishnaic מתנת בריא, however, we do not have actual contracts but rather the Mishnah's guiding principles. Whether Palestinian deeds of gifts stipulated actual amounts of support is unknown; instead, the Mishnah assumes that although the title of the property has been transferred to the heir, the testator retains usufruct until his death, and hence, the property cannot be alienated.

Returning to the Lukan parable, it is hardly the case that the mere desire to divide a property prior to the death of a testator amounted to wishing the testator dead. Although Bailey and Hultgren make much of the fact that it was the younger son who initiated the division, it is hardly a safe conclusion that this was either unprecedented or an act of rebellion.[45] In the case of the Graeco-Egyptian deeds of gift discussed above, we simply cannot know who initiated the division of property. These deeds are always framed as objective *homologiae* of the testator; but this is strictly formulaic. It implies nothing at all about the actual circumstances that led to the division. It is unlikely that the division could have been effected without the testator's consent. But the divi-

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[45] Pöhlmann, "Die Abschichtung des Verlorenen Sohnes," 200–201: "Der jüngere Sohn unserer Parabel erweist sich also nicht schon durch seine Forderung als der rebellische, abtrünnige »Verlorene Sohn«; sein Wunsch ist für Juden und Griechen aus ihren verschiedenen Rechtsordnungen heraus gleichermaßen verständlich und akzeptabel." Jackson, *Halakhah*, 116 n. 11: "Jewish sources give no support to a major plank of Bailey's interpretation of the parable, that the prodigal, in seeking the advance, wishes his father dead.... Here and elsewhere, Bailey works from a methodologically questionable premise: that one should interpret both the parable and near contemporary Jewish sources against a construct of "Middle Eastern" custom heavily informed by medieval Arab Christian interpretation and contemporary Arab custom."

sion may have been instigated by a spouse, keen to secure a child's inheritance against possible rivals, or by an adult son or daughter, interested in preserving his or her stake against the possible infringement of siblings or others, as might have been the case with *BGU* III 993. [**183**]

Divisio inter vivos

The legal situation that Jeremias proposed for the parable is the מתנת בריא, with the qualification that the father agreed to give the younger son the right of disposal (and usufruct) as well as possession, while the elder son was given only possession.[46] This would be comparable to the scenario in *P.Mich.* V 321 where only one of the donees was made responsible for the maintenance of the testator. Yet Luke's parable suggests that the elder brother is not in possession of his portion; in 15:29 the father still controls the land, and the father's conciliatory words in 15:31, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐμὰ σά ἐστιν, reinforces the conclusion that the elder son had not formally received his share of the estate.

As a means of accounting for the apparent anomaly of the younger son obtaining the right of disposal and the elder son remaining dependent on the father, David Daube suggested that the situation of the concerning the younger son is akin to the German principle of *Abschichtung* or "dismission" – a division of property not in contemplation of death but by which the legatee loses all future claim on the estate.[47] This implies, as the parable seems to confirm, that upon his return the younger son can expect nothing of the estate, that the father is still in control of the remains of the estate, and that the elder brother awaits to be installed as heir.[48]

Daube could point to Gen 25:6, which reports that to the sons of his concubines Abraham "gave gifts while he was still living" (וְנָתַן אַבְרָהָם מַתָּנֹת... בְּעוֹדֶנּוּ חַי; LXX: ἔδωκεν Αβρααμ δόματα... ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ) and sent them away. These gifts, presumably, were designed to secure the entire inheritance for Isaac and to obviate any rival claims, as indeed is suggested by Gen 25:5, "Abraham gave all he [**184**] had to Isaac."[49] That Gen 25:6 was in fact understood in this

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[46] Jeremias, *Parables*, 129.

[47] David Daube, "Inheritance in Two Lukan Parables," in *Collected Works of David Daube* (ed. Calum Carmichael; Studies in Comparative Legal History; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 813, based on the earlier work of Ernst Rabel, "Elterliche Teilung," in *Festschrift zur 49. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Basel im Jahre 1907* (Basel: E. Birkhäuser, 1907), 524–38. Pöhlmann ("Die Abschichtung des Verlorenen Sohnes," 195) cites the definition, "vermögensrechtliche Verselbständigung eines Hauskindes, das aus diesem Anlaß aus dem Haushalt seines Gewalthabers ausschied und einen eigen Hausstand gründete."

[48] Daube, "Inheritance," 815; similarly, Pöhlmann, "Die Abschichtung des Verlorenen Sohnes," 199; Yaron, *Gifts*, 44.

[49] Daube, "Inheritance," 811–12.

way well after the first century CE is confirmed by *b. Sanh.* 91a and *Gen. Rab.* 61.7 (both citing Gen 25:6).[50] Yaron adds to this that the rabbinic exclusion of "sons who have shared" [i.e., been dismissed] from the Mishnah's prohibition of a son usucapting his father's estates implies an acknowledgement of the principle of dismission.[51]

Ptolemaic and early Roman Egypt provide other examples of divisions of property prior to the death of the testator, in which full possession is transferred to the donee. As early as the third century BCE *P.Petr.* III 2 (238/7 BCE) is a declaration in which the testator, [185] Dion son of Herakleos, anticipating his death, states ἐὰν δέ τι ἀγ[θ]ρώπι|[νον πάσχω,] τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα ἃ ἔχουσιν

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[50] *B. Sanh.* 91a: "On another occasion the Ishmaelites and the Ketureans came for a lawsuit against the Jews before Alexander of Macedon. They pleaded thus: 'Canaan belongs jointly to all of us, for it is written, Now these are the generations of Ishmael, Abraham's son; and it is [further] written, And these are the generations of Isaac, Abraham's son.' Thereupon Gebiha b. Pesisa said to the Sages: 'Give me permission to go and plead against them before Alexander of Macedon. Should they defeat me then say, "You have defeated one of our ignorant men"; whilst if I defeat them, say, "The Law of Moses has defeated you".' So they gave him permission, and he went and pleaded against them. 'Whence do you adduce your proof?' asked he. 'From the Torah', they replied. 'Then I too', said he, 'will bring you proof only from the Torah, for it is written, And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac. But to the sons of the concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts': if a father made a bequest to his children in his lifetime and sent them away from each other, has one any claim upon the other?"

Daube ("Inheritance," 812) points out that much later, the gifts of Gen 25:6 were still treated as obviating any claim on the inheritance of Isaac: "In the days of Alexander of Macedon the Ishmaelites came to dispute the birthright with Israel and they were accompanied by two evil families, the Canaanites and the Egyptians. 'Who shall go to plead against them?' it was asked. Said Gebiah, the son of Kosem: 'I will go and plead against them.' 'Take heed not to let the land fall into their hands,' they cautioned him. 'I will go and argue with them,' he replied; 'if I defeat them, 'it is well; while if not, you can say, "Who is this hunchback to take up our case?"' So he went to debate with them. Said Alexander of Macedon to them: 'Who is the plaintiff, and who the defendant?' Said the Ishmaelites: 'We are the claimants, and we base our claim on their own laws. It is written, But he shall acknowledge the firstborn, the son of the hated, etc. [Deut 21:17], and Ishmael was the firstborn.' Said Gebiah, the son of Kosem: 'Your Majesty! Cannot a man do as he wishes to his sons?' 'Yes', replied he. 'Then', pursued he, 'surely it is written, And Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac' [Gen 25:5]. 'But where is the deed of gift [to his other sons]?' He replied: 'But unto the sons of the concubines, that Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts.' [Gen 25:6] Thereupon they departed in shame" (*Gen. Rab.* 61.7 on 25:6).

[51] Yaron, *Gifts*, 43–44, citing *t. B.Bat.* 2.5: "A son who has shared [חלק], a wife divorced, are like anyone else" [as pertains to usucaption]; *b. B.Bat.* 52a: "'A father has no *ḥazaqah* in the property of his son nor a son in the property of his father'. R. Joseph said: This applies even if they have parted. Raba, however, said that if they have shared [or: parted] the rule no longer applies.... The law is that where they have shared (the rule of the Mishnah) no longer applies. It has also been taught to the same effect: A son who has left his father's roof and a wife who has been divorced are on the same footing as strangers [in regard to the father or husband]."

οἱ υἱοὶ καὶ ἡ γυνή μου ἐχέτω|[σαν, τὰ δὲ λοι]πὰ καταλιμπάνω εἰς ταφὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, "if I should die, the property that my sons and wife (already) have is to remain with them, and the remainder I leave for my burial" (ll. 17–19). In other words, the will confirms a *prior* deed of gift. There is no indication that Dion had divided his property in order to obviate later claims by his sons and wife on the estate, and hence this is perhaps not an instance of dismission. But the will suggests that they could expect nothing more, perhaps because the majority of the estate had already been divided. No conditions of maintenance are attached to the will, although it does independently promise manumission to a female slave and her son (evidently fathered by Dion), on the condition that they "remain with me as long as I am alive, being obedient" (ll. 21–22: παραμείνω[σ]ι̣ν ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ ζῶ ὑπήκοο̣[ι ὄ]ν̣[τες).[52] Hence, the document appears to differentiate between the property, unconditionally and fully transferred to Dion's sons and wife, and the manumission of the two house-slaves that would become effective only at Dion's death and which is conditional on their continued faithfulness.

From about a century later, *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 6 (129 BCE) records an acknowledgement (*homologia*) of Horus son of Imothes that he divided his property, giving a one-quarter share to his son Petosiris.[53] Kreller observes, "the fact that a fractional part of the father's possession is transferred suggests that this is a dismission."[54] No other bequests are mentioned nor are any conditions imposed on the son.

P.Lond. III 880 (113 BCE), dated to the month of Mecheir (March 15), is also a *homologia* recording a division of the property of Totoeous son of Pelaios among his two sons and two daughters. Nothing is said of the testator retaining control over the property, or [**186**] that it would transfer only at his death. Indeed, the deed of gift ends with a threat directed against anyone who attempts to infringe on the division that was made. That the donees were in actual possession of the property, including for the two daughters a half-share in a two-story house, is indicated by the fact that *P.Lond.* III 1204, written in Choaik (December 26) only ten months later (in 113 BCE) records the sale of the house by the daughters. The deed of sale is framed in an ordinary manner, with the women effecting the sale with the help of a kinsman acting as a

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[52] On *paramonē* clauses, see William L. Westermann, "The Paramone as General Service Contract," *JJP* 2 (1948): 9–50; Alan E. Samuel, "The Role of Paramone Clauses in Ancient Documents," *JJP* 15 (1965): 221–31.

[53] *P.Cair.Goodsp.* 6.2–6: ὁμολογία ἣν ἑκὼν κ[α]ὶ συνχωρήσας ἔθετο Ὧρ ος Ἰμ ούθου Πέρσης τῶν Βοήθου ὡς (ἐτῶν) πε[c ?] μέσος μελ[ίχρως ὤτα c ?] καὶ ἀφεστηκότα καθ' ἣν ὁμολογεῖ παρακεχωρηκέναι Πετοσίρει Ὧρ ου τῶι ἑαυτο[ῦ υἱῶι] μέσωι μελίχρωτι τεταγῶι μακροπροσώπωι εὐθύριν(ι) οὐλὴ καρπῶι δεξιῶι ἀπὸ τῆς [ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῶι] ἐν τῶι ἀπὸ νότου πεδίωι Κροκοδίλων πόλεως ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) ις´ ἢ ὅσου ἐὰν ᾖι τὸ (τέταρτον) μέρος ὅ ἐστιν [ἄρουραι γ', γείτονες] [ὅλ]ης τῆς γῆ[ς] ν[ό]του γῆ Ἐρ ι̣ενούφιος τοῦ Πόρτιτος καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν: βορρᾶ γῆ[c ?].

[54] Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 208.

guardian. The father evidently retained some interest in the property, or at least it was thought necessary to state in the sale that he also consented to the sale (ll. 17–18: συνεπικελεύοντος Τοτοῆτος τοῦ Πελαίου καὶ συνπωλουμένου τοῦ ἑαυτῶν πατρὸς). Nevertheless, we have here an instance of the object of a deed of gift being liquidated within a few months of it passing into the control of the donees.[55]

There are other divisions of property closer to the first century CE. *BGU* IV 1013 from the time of Claudius or Nero records a mother's declaration (*homologia*) dividing her property, a two storey house and its courtyard, between two daughters and perhaps one other person. The deed makes the division effective ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεστώσης ἡμέρα]ς, "from the present time" (l. 7). It requires that the donees provide their mother with a supply of food, oil (?) and money for clothing. But it also disallows anyone from alienating the property or altering the terms of the deed (ll. 19–21).

A receipt from the first century CE give further evidence of the practice of division of property prior to death. *P.Fay*. 97 (79 CE) is a receipt for 20 drachmae, paid by the eighteen year old Onnophrios, to Maron his forty year old brother as a provision of the settlement of an estate. A division of the property had been made while the father was still alive (ll. 16–17: κατὰ μ[ερι-τ]είαν ἣν [ἔνε]με | ἡμῖν περιών). As Kreller observes, the sum of 20 drachmae is too small to represent the full amount of the legacy, which normally would also have involved real estate. Thus the sum probably represents an equaliza-
tion [187] payment to adjust for anomalies.[56] The actual terms of the division are not stated, but the document concludes with the stipulation that Maron or his agents are not permitted to sue Onnophrios or to otherwise challenge the division of property. The father by this time had died – how long before is not stated – but since Onnophrios is making the payment one might suggest that Maron had already taken his share of the property at the time of the division and that Onnophrios was living with his father up to the time of his death. While the formal division had already occurred, only a minor adjustment was required to fully equalize the brothers' shares. Thus we have the opposite of the situation of the parable of the Returning Son, since in *P.Fay*. 97 it was the younger, not the elder brother, who remained at home and was thus charged with managing the final disposition of the parental estate.

As a final example of a transfer of property within the lifetime of the testator and unrestricted control given to the donee,[57] one can cite *P.Oxy*. II 273

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[55] *P.Oxy*. II 243 (Oxyrhynchus, 79 CE) offers an example of the property of a testator being mortgaged by the donee, although the time-frame is very different. In 64 CE Zenarion divided her property with her son, while still alive (ὁπότε περιῆν), registering the transfer at the archive of Oxyrhynchus, and thirteen years later, her son Dionysios obtained a mortgage on the property in which he refers to the original transfer.

[56] Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 209–10.

[57] For later examples, see Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen*, 211–15.

from 95 CE, a *homologia* ceding five arourae of land owned by Julia Herakla to her daughter Gaia, also called Sarapias. Gaia was the minor daughter of Pausanias, also called Dionysios, son of Astyanax, presumably Julia's husband, and probably deceased. The deed of gift is explicit on the fact that the transfer of property is ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον (l. 14), and an unalterable gift (ll. 14–15: κατὰ χάριν | ἀναφαίρετον). Most tellingly of all, the deed expressly gives Gaia the right of disposal (ll. 19–24)[58]:

ἐξέσ[ται]
τῇ Γαίᾳ τῇ καὶ Σαραπιάδι ἀπὸ τῆσδε [τῆς ὁμο]-
λογίας δι' ἑαυτῆς μετεπιγράφεσθαι [διὰ τῶν]
[κ]αταλοχισμῶν, μὴ προσδεηθ̣ε̣[ίσῃ τῆς] [**188**]
τῆς μητρὸς Ἰουλίας Ἡρακλᾶς συ[νεπιγρα]-
φῆς

Gaia, also called Sarapias, shall from the date of this agreement be permitted by herself to convey (by sale) through the official registers, without her mother Julia Herakla consenting to the conveyance.

The likely occasion of the deed of gift is a forthcoming marriage between Gaia and Theon, to whom Julia makes the *homologia*, and it is this situation that perhaps accounts for the full transfer of ownership from Julia to Gaia and the lack of any provision for Julia's support from the property. The instigation of this division of property, one may surmise, may have come from Gaia, her prospective husband, or from Julia.

Several observations can be made from these documents, ranging from the third century BCE to the first century of the common era. First, none of them is a called a διαθήκη and none uses the terminology, καταλείπειν, normally found in wills.[59] Instead, all are framed as objective *homologia* (sometimes with a subjective *homologia* in the list of witnesses at the end), acknowledging a division of property. *BGU* III 993 is expressly called a δόσις, which corresponds to the Mishnaic מתנה.

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[58] There are of course other deeds of gift in which the testator retained full control over the property and was expressly entitled to sell, mortgage or alienate the property, or to alter the terms of the will in favour of some other beneficiary. E.g., *SB* V 7559.13–15 (Tebtynis, 118 CE) ἐφ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον | περίεστιν ἡ Θαισᾶς, ἔχειν αὐτὴν τὴν κατὰ τ̣ο[ύ]του ἐξουσίαν οἰκονομεῖν | περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐὰν αἱρῆται, "for as long as this Thaisas [the testator] is alive she shall have the authority over this, to manage it, in whatever way she chooses"; *BGU* I 186 (Soknopaiou Nesos, Arsinoite nome, 155 CE): ἐφ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον πε[ριῇ] | [ὁ ὁμολογῶν, ἔχειν αὐτὸν τὴν κατὰ] τῶν ἰδίων π̣ά̣γ̣[των] ὁλοσχερῆ ἐξουσίαν πωλεῖν, ὑποτίθεσθαι, | ἑτέροις παρας[υ]νχωρεῖν "for as long as the acknowledging party is alive, he is to have the complete right over all his possessions, to sell, mortgage, or to transfer them to others...."

[59] *P.Petr.* III 2 is a will, but the clause of interest for us is the reference to the *prior* gift to the wife and sons of the testator. For a typical will, see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* III 490.3–4 (124 CE): ἐφ' ὃν μὲ[ν περίειμ]ι χρόνον ἔχειν με τὴν κατὰ [τῶν ἰδίων ἐξουσίαν ὃ ἐὰν βούλωμαι ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ μεταδιατίθεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀκύρωσιν] | ἄγειν τὴνδε τὴν διαθήκην. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τελευτήσω καταλ[είπω κατ]ὰ φιλοστοργίαν Διονυσίῳ Πανε[χώτου ἀπελευθέρου Πετοσίριος c 13 μητρὸς Ἀμμωνοῦτος....

Second, whether or not the deed of gift contains the phrase μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς τελευτήν, it seems clear that in most cases the property effectively transferred at the time of the gift. In the papyrus deeds of gift there is no reason to suppose that the testator continued to enjoy usufruct, for even in those cases where a maintenance clause exists, it is stated in absolute value rather than, as in the Mishnaic rulings, in terms of usufruct.

Third, with deeds of gift it is not necessary to suppose that a gift to one son or daughter would automatically imply that the entire parental estate was divided. In the case of *BGU* III 993 the testator's possessions were unevenly divided between his daughter and wife, and it remains unclear whether his sons were excluded entirely, whether they had already received property through dismission (which seems [**189**] unlikely), or whether they had to await the mother's decease. In *P.Cair.Goodsp*. 6, since only one-quarter of the testator's estate went to his son Horus, it would seem that rest remained with the testator, either to be disbursed to others or to later to Horus. And in the case of *P.Oxy*. II 273, the gift of some of Julia's property to her daughter Gaia certainly does not imply that all of Julia's property was apportioned to other potential heirs. Hence, the situation of the parable of the Returning Son is quite plausible: the younger son obtains a deed of gift, but this does not oblige the father formally to divide his property with the elder son, although the elder son can validly expect that he receive the remainder of the property eventually.

Fourth, there is no indication at all that opprobrium attached to the transfer. In the case of *BGU* III 993 the division was likely a device to protect the interest of the daughter and wife. If anyone were to be insulted, it would be the sons, if they had been left aside as a result of the deed of gift. *P.Oxy*. II 273 is likely connected with a marriage of the daughter of the testatrix; and in *P.Lond*. III 880 the later involvement and agreement of the testator in the sale of the property is hardly an indication that he was insulted by the division. Is it possible that the division described in *P.Cair.Goodsp*. 6 was a dismission, although the evidence is rather thin; and in the case of *P.Fay*. 97 one might speculate that there was some tension between the two brothers, and *perhaps* between the testator and the elder brother, but there is no real evidence up which to build such a theory.

In all, there is nothing in these deeds of gift to indicate that the division of parental property prior to the death of the testator was either unusual or necessarily constituted an insult to the parent. Except for *P.Fay*. 97, these deeds do not even contain clauses to indicate that the legatee was thereby excluded from any further claims on the estate. Hence, there seems to be no good reason to suppose, with Bailey and Hultgren, that the younger son's demand constituted an insult to the father's honour, still less that it was tantamount to wishing the father dead. Divisions *inter vivos* were common enough, and motivated by a variety of reasons – marriage, protection of a spouse or heir, and perhaps a simple desire on the part of the donee to establish an independent household or

the testator's desire to have this happen. As indicated above, we are seldom in a position to know *who* initiated the division, because agency is hidden [**190**] behind the *homologia* formula. But this merely indicates that as the owner, the father or mother had to authorize the legal transfer. It tells us nothing about the other agents involved.

As to the younger son's alleged failure to maintain the father from his gift-property, the papyri do not offer much support. Of course some divisions are clear that maintenance is a stipulation of the division, but in the case of *P.Mich.* V 321, maintenance is imposed on only one of the donees. In other cases, there is no maintenance provision at all. Had the parable wished to make the point that the younger son's "sin" was a failure to maintain, there would have had to be a statement to this effect, or one would have to suppose that *all* Palestinian deeds of gift required maintenance. It is at this point that Sir 33:20–23 and *t. B.Bat.* 8.10 become relevant, for these suggest that at least some deeds of gift lack this provision entirely. Hence the lament in *b. B.Meṣ.* 75b. Moreover, there is nothing in the parable to suggest that the father was in any way disadvantaged by the liquidation of the younger son's property; on the contrary, he is still able to mount a substantial feast on the son's return.

The Younger Son

What then is the younger son's sin? The description of the son's activities in 15:13, διεσκόρπισεν τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν ἀσώτως, as well as the elder brother's characterization of him as ὁ καταφαγών σου τὸν βίον μετὰ πορνῶν in 15:30 both focus on the loss of family property and uses the key concept of ἀσωτία, prodigality. Aristotle notes that ἀσωτία is often thought to be a combination of vices, since "we call prodigal those who lack restraint (τοὺς ἀκρατεῖς) and who spend their money on debauchery (ἀκολασία)," both characteristics that might apply to the younger son. But prodigality for Aristotle has to do particularly with wasting one's substance:

> Really it denotes the possessor of one particular vice, that of wasting one's substance (τὸ φθείρειν τὴν οὐσίαν); for he who is ruined by his own agency is a hopeless case indeed, and to waste one's substance (ἡ τῆς οὐσίας φθορά) seems to be in a way to ruin oneself, inasmuch as wealth is the means of life. (Aristotle, *EN* 4.1.1119b) [**191**]

In Menander's *Skipper*, the focus is not on what the prodigal does to himself, but the punishment that ought to be meeted out to those who "squander their inheritance" (τοὺς τὰ πατρῷα κατεδηδοκότας):

> ὦ φιλτάτη Γῆ μῆτερ ὡς σεμνὸν σφόδρ' εἶ
> τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι κτῆμα πολλου τ' ἄξιον
> ὡς δῆτ' ἐχρῆν εἴ τις πατρῴαν παραλαβὼν
> γῆν καταφάγοι, πλεῖν τοῦτον ἤδη διὰ τέλους
> καὶ μηδ' ἐπιβαίνεν γῆς, ἵν' οὕτως ἤσθετο
> οἷον παραλαβὼν ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἐφείσατο.

O beloved mother Earth, how very holy a possession
are you to those who are sensible, and much beyond price;
so it would be only right that whoever receives his ancestral estate
and devoured it, should from that time and forever
sail the seas never setting foot on land, that he might thus know
the good thing he received but did not spare. (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 4.144B–C)

In both Aristotle and Menander it is not the duty to support one's parents that is in focus with prodigality, although that might be an associated vice. It is the sheer act of wasting one's substance and the thoughtless entailed. The citation from Menander makes clear that this might be conceived as an offence against the gods; indeed the punishment proposed is consistent with this understanding.

In Israelite culture, where the land was conceived as "the land your God is giving you" and as something whose sanctity should be protected, prodigality might easily be treated as an offence against God, as it also damaged the collective standing of the family but reducing its wealth and therefore its influence and honour.

We have at least two papyrus examples of prodigals, with which I shall close. The first, *BGU* III 846, is a letter from a prodigal, begging reconciliation with his mother, apparently having expended his resources. Noteworthy are his confession of sin (οἶδα ὅτι ἡμάρτηκα), his assurance that he has reformed (πεπαίδευμαι καθ' ὃν δὴ τρόπον), and the hyperbolic and rather stereotypical claim to be naked.[60] The second, *P.Flor.* I 99, is a letter of the parents of an unreformed prodigal to the *stratēgos*, accusing him expressly of prodigality (ἀσω-[**192**]τευόμενος), and asking that their denunciation of him be registered as a means of protecting them from their son's creditors.

Neither of these letter concern deeds of gift, although one can easily imagine that both prodigals acquired their initial capital in this manner. The conclusion of this paper is that papyrus deeds of gift can indeed illumine the situation presupposed in Luke 15:12: there is no reason to suppose that the son's request for a division of the property prior to his father's death was especially unusual, or that it constituted an insult or death-wish. This unwarranted conclusion seems more designed to inflate the crime of the younger son, to take it well beyond the boundary of quotidian happenings, and thus to install the son as a foil for a theologized father. Nor is the fourth commandment necessarily invoked here: neither contemporary deeds of gift nor the assumptions of the parable itself authorize the conclusion that the son was legally obliged to support his father or that his father's financial standing was damaged by the division. Instead, we have a reasonably typical story of a deed of gift, to be sure, a deed of gift that went disastrously, but hardly unpredictably, wrong.

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[60] See *P.Enteux.* 74.7 (222 BCE); *P.Mich.* I 90.2 (III BCE); *P.Oxy.* IV 439.6 (I CE); XVII 2151.10 (III CE); *P.Strass.* IV 233.3 (III BCE).

Addendum

The most recent full-scale treatment of the parable is Klyne R. Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 2008), 117–143 under the title "The Compassionate Father and his two Lost Sons." Callie Callon ("*Adulescentes* and *Meretrices*: The Correlation Between Squandered Patrimony and Prostitutes in the Parable of the Prodigal Son," *CBQ* 75, no. 2 [2013]: 259–278) has recently argued that for the older brother's accusation that the younger son as "devoured" his patrimony by consorting with prostitutes (*meretrices*), the parable draws on standard tropes found in Greco-Roman comedy.

Chapter 20

Pastoralism, Papyri and the Parable of the Shepherd[1]

Introduction

Despite the volume of interpretive literature that is produced yearly on texts of the Bible, offering a variety of interpretive conjectures, all interpreters are faced with a relatively thin data set. Almost all of our knowledge of Jewish Palestine and of the early Jesus movement comes from scarce literary remains and fragmentary archaeological data. Even an author as prolific as Josephus, though he has much to say about the course of the First Revolt, tells us almost nothing about the economy or demography or social structure of Judah and the Galilee, and what he says of its politics must be taken *cum grano salis*.[2]

In addition to the poverty of data, interpreters are faced with a second problem: the lack of an interpretive matrix. Even when ancient authors and documents speak directly about occupations, social and economic practices, and social relations, they are frequently uninterested in conveying information that is critical to our understanding of texts, because they simply take this information for granted. This is a particular problem when dealing with what E. T. Hall has termed "high context cultures" – Mediterranean cultures among them – where communication is of a sort where[3]

> most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context communication [by contrast] is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in explicit code.

To take the simple example of eating: in a low-context culture such as North America, diners at a cafeteria receive a great deal of explicit information about

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[1] First published as "Pastoralism, Papyri and the Parable of the Shepherd." In *Light from the East: Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament*, edited by Peter Arzt-Grabner and Christina M. Kreinecker (Philippika. Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 39; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 48–69. ©Harrassowitz 2010. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved. This paper was written with the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. h the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

[2] The appropriateness of Josephus as a source for Jewish history prior to the War has not been forcefully challenged by Steve Mason, *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins: Methods and Categories* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2009).

[3] Edward T. Hall, *Beyond Culture* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1976), 91.

their food: they are told where to start the queue, how to obtain a tray and cutlery, the order of the courses, the price of each item, how to pay, where to deposit a tray at the end of a meal, and they may be informed about the nutritional contents of each item. The processes of eating are heavily scripted, with the consequence that this knowledge is highly transferable. Because information availability in low-context cultures is so dense, interpersonal relationships with the servers or checkout persons are normally of brief duration and are outcome-oriented. It matters little who is serving or taking [48] the payment, or even which cafeteria one eats at, since the rules for every cafeteria are substantially the same.

By contrast meals in high-context cultures such as Arab or Indian villages are governed by mostly unspoken rules. In such contexts, the scripting is internalized and all parties must understand rules of social precedence, the order of eating, which utensil or hand to use, how to interact with others at the meal (hosts, women, servants, children), how much to eat, how to accept or decline offers of more food, how a host is to be thanked, and numerous other aspect of social exchange. In such cultures, interpersonal relationships are of long duration and are often hierarchically organized; interactions with others are multidimensional and not simply based on obtaining a product or service. Ignorance of the "rules of engagement" can have disastrous consequences.

Because most of the texts that biblical scholars wish to interpret offer so little data, and because the interpretive matrices are for the most part missing, interpreters require historical and conceptual models. The function of such models is *not* to supply or manufacture missing data; it is rather to guide the interpreter to ask appropriate questions of the data, to look for certain signals in the data, and to provide an appropriate interpretive framework for organizing data. All of this helps the interpreter to avoid ethnocentrism. The alternative to the intentional use of models and culturally responsible approaches is *not* methodological neutrality or objectivity; on the contrary, the use of models is inevitable. One either employs them self-consciously and critically; or one adopts them unconsciously and uncritically. What has for most of North Atlantic interpretive history passed for interpretation is riddled with ethnocentric and anachronistic readings and translations of texts which routinely miss basic Mediterranean values (e.g., honour, shame, hospitality, and purity), social and economic structures, and the mechanisms of exchange (e.g., patronage, euergetism and reciprocity).[4] Such interpretations imagine social

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[4] See Richard L. Rohrbaugh, *The New Testament in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Matrix; Eugene, Or.: Cascade Books, 2006), ix-xii. The Context group and others have published numerous essays and collections which illustrate the use of cross-cultural methods, for example: Bruce J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox Press, 1981); John J. Pilch and Bruce J. Malina, eds., *Biblical Social Values and Their Meaning: A Handbook* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1993); Bruce J. Malina, *Christian Origins and Cultural Anthropology: Practical Models for*

and economic exchange to occur in much the same way and for the same reasons as social exchange in post-Industrial Revolution cultures. The result both misconstrues certain details of the text, and misses others.

The Parable of the Shepherd

The figure of the shepherd is an especially interesting figure, not only because the shepherd or herdsman appears in many different biblical contexts, but because ancient representations of shepherds range from emphasizing the social marginality and criminality of shepherds, to the idealizations of rustic life in pastoral poetry, and [**49**] to the images of the king, emperor, or God as a shepherd.[5] In the third century R. Jose b. Hanina sensed the ambivalence in the image when he noted that the shepherd was the most despised of professions, yet the psalmist chose to address God as a shepherd (*Midr. Ps*. 23 §2 [99b]).

The primary versions – Q 15:4–7 and its descendants, and Thomas (107) – have a number of elements in common:

The agent – in Q an ἄνθρωπος, in Thomas: a shepherd (ϵⲧⲣⲱⲙϵ ⲛ̄ⲡⲱⲟⲩ), *has a flock of 100 sheep*, of which one *goes astray or is lost* (in Thomas, the largest of the sheep). The agent's action involves *leaving* the ninety-nine (Q specifies the location). The *recovery* occasions a declaration of "joy" (Q) or "love" (Thomas), and a *comparison* of the one versus the ninety-nine. The declaration is the shepherd's in Thomas, but the speaker's in Q.

Biblical Interpretation (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986); Richard L. Rohrbaugh, ed., *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996); Ekkehard W. Stegemann and Wolfgang Stegemann, *The Jesus Movement: A Social History of Its First Century* (trans. O.C. Dean; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999); John J. Pilch, ed., *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible: Essays by the Context Group in Honor of Bruce J. Malina* (Biblical Interpretation 53; Leiden, New York, and Köln; Atlanta: E.J. Brill; Society of Biblical Literature, 2000); Wolfgang Stegemann, Bruce J. Malina, and Gerd Theissen, eds., *The Social Setting of Jesus and the Gospels* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2002); Jerome H Neyrey and Eric C. Stewart, eds., *The Social World of the New Testament: Insights and Models* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2008).

[5] Ivor Jones (*The Matthean Parables: A Literary and Historical Commentary* [NovTSup 80; Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1995], 279) remarks that "the emblematic metaphor [of sheep and shepherd as being representative of Israel and God] becomes an embarrassment because of its range of associations. Sheep and shepherds as metaphors ensure that many interpretations of the original parable's picture are possible; none carries exclusive conviction." Similarly, Bernard Brandon Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 405: "Sheep and shepherd play a prominent role in the tradition of Israel.... But Israel in the first century was an agriculturally based economy, and shepherds had become part of society's marginal element, representing one of the forbidden occupations. How then does one interpret the activity of the shepherd in the parable A Man with a Hundred Sheep – against the positive images of the religious repertoire or the negative images of real shepherds?"

The two primary versions differ on the framing of the parable. Q's version is a similitude and is framed as a rhetorical question expecting the addressee to agree that the shepherd's action is typical. In Thomas the story is a true parable, describing the actions of a particular individual.[6]

Because this parable has a number of narrative elements, each of which may be accented differently, and because some of these elements may carry with them certain cultural freight, interpreters are divided on the interpretation of the parable. The narrative element that has attracted the most attention is the shepherd's *leaving* of the ninety-nine. Some treat this as incidental to the story, while others take it as an indication of either irresponsibility or risk-taking resolve on the part of the shepherd. The decision as to how to evaluate this action normally rests on assumptions about whether a real shepherd would act in this way, and why he would do so. Equally important to the interpretation of the parable are assumptions about the economic status [**50**] of the shepherd, whether the shepherd in question is wealthy, middling, or poor, and whether a flock of one hundred sheep is large, medium, or small.

On the question of the shepherd's relative wealth, Johannes Weiss argued that the parable pair in Luke 15:4–7, 8–10 contrasted a poor woman with a much wealthier sheep owner whose actions are all the more remarkable because of the large size of his flock. Weiss evidently thought that an owner of this economic stratum could easily afford to lose a single sheep, and so the parable emphasized his extraordinary search for a single lost sheep.[7] Weiss has been followed by a number of more recent critics: B. T. D. Smith described the shepherd as "well off";[8] both Arland J. Hultgren[9] and Joel Green[10] concluded

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[6] Adolf Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* (2. Aufl.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1888–1899 [repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963, 1976]), 1:97 contrasts the "Gleichnis" (similitude) with the "Fabeln" (comprising the majority of Jesus' παραβολαί): "Das Gleichnis beugt jeder Opposition vor, indem es nur von Unzweifelhaftem redet, die Fabel hofft jeder Opposition auszuweichen, indem sie so hinreißend, so warm und frisch erzählt, dass der Hörer gar nicht an Einwürfe denkt. Sie macht ihm die Sache so wahrscheinlich, dass er nach der Wahrheit nicht fragt. […] Das Gleichnis operiert mit οὐδείς, mit μήτι, mit πᾶς ἄνθρωπος, mit: wann immer, so oft nur, etc., es sucht den Hörer durch die Wucht des 'Ueberhaupt', des 'semper, ubique et ab omnibus' gleichsam zu erdrücken. Die Fabel verzichtet vornehm auf dies Machtmittel, sie bittet: Hörer, lass Dir nur einen Fall erzählen, wenn der Dich nicht gewinnt, will ich stille sein."

[7] Johannes Weiss, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (2. Aufl.; ed. Wilhelm Bousset and Wilhelm Heitmüller; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1917–20), 466: "Bei einem Besitzstand von hundert Schafen ist die große Sorgfalt des Hirten für das eine Stück bemerkenswert. Dass aber die arme Frau ein ganzes Zehntel ihres Besitzes nicht verloren gehen lassen will, ist nicht so auffallend."

[8] B.T.D. Smith, *The Parables in the Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1937), 188.

[9] Arland J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 53.

[10] Joel B. Green, *The Gospel of Luke* (New International Commentary on the New Testament.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1997), 574.

from Bailey's comments[11] to the effect that a typical family might own five to fifteen sheep to imply that one hundred sheep is a large flock and that the shepherd was relatively wealthy.[12] John Nolland[13] and Klyne Snodgrass[14] draw similar conclusions. Joseph Fitzmyer reflected Weiss's understanding of the contrast between 15:4–7 and 15:8–10, describing the shepherd as "not an inordinately rich sheep-owner, but a moderately rich one."[15]

On the other hand, Dalman reported Bedouin flocks of various ranges, from 20–30, to 50–80, to 80–200, with one flock of 530.[16] This led Jeremias to venture that a flock of one hundred was "medium sized."[17] E. F. F. Bishop noted that the flock in the care of Mohammad ed-Dibh, who discovered Qumran Cave 1, totalled 55.[18] It is usual in this context to cite Gen. 32:14 (Jacob's gift of 220 sheep and 220 goats to Esau) and *t. B.Qam.* 6.20 (which treats a flock of 300 as large) in order to establish that a flock of one hundred is far from large.[19] Some take the same data to conclude that such a flock was of "normal size".[20]

A smaller group of interpreters locate the shepherd at the bottom of economic registers. Thus, Jülicher contrasted the spectacular holdings of Job – 7000 sheep, 3000 [51] camels, and 500 she-asses (Job 1:3; cf. 42:12, which doubles these figures[21]) – with those of the parable and concluded that the

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[11] Kenneth E. Bailey, *Poet and Peasant: A Literary-Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1976), 148.

[12] This is a rather dramatic (but all too common) misunderstanding of Bailey's comments, since he notes that while one family might own 5–15 sheep, families often pool their sheep and have them herded communally.

[13] John Nolland, *Luke* (Word Biblical Commentary 35A-C; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989–93), 771; idem, *The Gospel of Matthew* (NIGNT; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2005), 742.

[14] Klyne R. Snodgrass, *Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 2008), 102.

[15] Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke* (AB 28–28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981–85), 1076.

[16] Gustaf Hermann Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Deutsches evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem, Schriften 3/1–2; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1928–1942 [repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964]), 6:246, citing Johann Jakob Hess, *Von den Beduinen des innern Arabeins: Erzählungen, Lieder, Sitten und Gebräuche* (Zürich and Leipzig: M. Niehan, 1838), 62.

[17] Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (Revised edition; London: SCM Press and New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 133.

[18] E. F. F. Bishop, "The Parable of the Lost or Wandering Sheep: Matthew 18.10–14; Luke 15.3–7," *ATR* 44 (1962): 57.

[19] Darrell L. Bock, *Luke* (Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1994–96), 1300.

[20] I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster Press; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978), 610; Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 412.

[21] The *Testament of Job* uses even more inflated figures: 130,000 sheep, 9000 camels, and 140,000 she-asses (*T. Job* 9.2–5).

shepherd of Q 15:4–7 is "ein kleiner Viehzüchter, der seine Heerde sich selber besorgt."[22] Luise Schottroff follows Jülicher: one hundred sheep is a "relatively small flock."[23]

The significance of this debate becomes apparent when, for example, Weiss and Hultgren assume that since the owner of a large flock could afford to lose one single animal, the parable's point is the extraordinary care and dedication of *this particular* shepherd.[24] It is easy to see how, from this *tertium comparationis*, one can see the parable as a metaphor of extraordinary divine care. On the other hand, to stress the relative poverty of the shepherd would suggest that he acted out of financial exigency and that his action is not at all unexpected. This, too, might be turned into a metaphor of divine solicitude, but in that case the parable works on the logic of inference from the ordinary rather than from the description of extraordinary action.

Two other related interpretive questions are typically raised apropos of the Parable of the Shepherd. Would a shepherd, irrespective of the size of his flock, abandon the remainder of the flock merely on the hope of recovering a single sheep?[25] The framing of the Q story as a question expecting a positive answer leads the hearer to agree that the shepherd's actions are unexceptional. But this does not settle the issue, since Thomas's version frames the parable as story in the indicative mood. It renders the shepherd's action credible by the claim that the lost sheep was also the largest and, hence, the most valuable of all. Presumably a sheep that was not so large might not, according to Thomas, induce the same action. Thus, interpreters implicitly raise – but as far as I am aware never address – the question of the value of a single sheep, and so are inevitably left to form judgments based on modern calculus or uninformed speculations about the shepherd's potential loss.

A second related question concerns whether a shepherd would, as the shepherd here seems to do, leave his flock unattended either in the desert or the hills? Is this not serious risk-taking or even completely irresponsible?[26] Here anecdotes abound. [52] Jeremias argues that the audience would take for

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[22] Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2:316.

[23] Luise Schottroff, *The Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 152.

[24] Weiss, *Schriften*, 466; Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 53–54.

[25] Note that the punctuation of the Textus Receptus, τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ ἐὰν γένηταί τινι ἀνθρώπῳ ἑκατὸν πρόβατα καὶ πλανηθῇ ἓν ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐχὶ ἀφεῖς τὰ ἐννενήκοντα εννέα, *ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη πορευθεὶς* ζητεῖ τὸ πλανώμενον avoided the embarrassment of the shepherd abandoning the sheep. E.F. Bishop ("Lost or Wandering Sheep," 46) points out that this understanding of the text is reflected in the KJV, the American Standard Version (and the Geneva Bible). Note also that the Liège Diatessaron has the shepherd leaving the ninety-nine "op den berghe ochte in der wustinen daer si weiden" ("upon the mountain or in the desert where they graze") (C.C. De Bruin, ed., *Het Luikse Diatessaron. Diatessaron Leodiense* [Corpus Sacrae Scripturae Neerlandicae Medii Aevi. Series Minor, 1: Harmoniae Evangeliorum 1; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970], 132–33).

[26] Thus Scott, *Hear Then the Parable*, 415–17; Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 54.

granted that the shepherd would leave his flock with others, declaring, "experts on Palestinian life all agree that a shepherd cannot possibly leave his flock to itself"[27] and adduces the account of Muhammad ed-Deeb's discovery of Qumran Cave 1, in which he set off to look for lost sheep while asking partners to look after his flock.[28]

Again the matter is not so easily settled. It should be noted that both of the primary versions (Q and Thomas) expressly mention the "leaving" of the sheep. If it were self-evident that "leaving" was unproblematic, one wonders why it is mentioned at all. Moreover, it is important to note that for Thomas, the abandoning of the ninety-nine is deliberate and laden with meaning, irrespective of whether it was usual or unusual. The shepherd's abandoning of the ninety-nine anticipates his later pronouncement, "I loved you more than the ninety-nine."

Three Models of Pastoralism

Most of the exegetical conclusions drawn about the parable run the danger of importing ethnocentric values into the story. As I will show, a more disciplined approach is to adopt a carefully constructed model of pastoralism in Mediterranean antiquity, and one that is coherent with modern ethnographies of pastoralism.

Certain physical and ecological factors affect the raising of sheep. Sheep and goats are able to graze in areas that are unsuitable for cattle and horses (which are not ruminants). However, sheep and goats compete with sedentary agriculture and must be kept away from grain and other crops before harvest. Many parts of the Mediterranean are ideal for sheep husbandry – where there are expanses of marginal land too poor for agriculture, but sufficiently close to populated areas to allow for either exchange between herders and sedentary populations, or the transhumant movement of sheep and goats from summer to winter pasturages.

Competition between sheep husbandry and agriculture results in several modes of pastoralism. Paul Halstead outlines four modes of pastoralism in twentieth-century Greece,[29] but I will treat his first two as variations of a single mode.[30]

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[27] Joachim Jeremias, "ποιμήν, ἀρχιποίμην, ποιμαίνω, ποίμνη, ποίμνιον," *TDNT* 6 (1968): 133, citing Bishop, "Lost or Wandering Sheep," 50.

[28] Similarly, Bailey, *Poet and Peasant*, 149.

[29] Paul Halstead, "Pastoralism or Household Herding? Problems of Scale and Specialization in Early Greek Animal Husbandry," *World Archaeology* 28, no. 1 (1996): 22–23.

[30] Other typologies have been proposed: (1) sedentary agricultural village; (2) limited village pastoralism; (3) village transhumance; (4) nomadic pastoralism (R. Cribb, "Greener Pastures: Mobility, Migration, and the Pastoral Mode of Subsistence," *Production pastorale*

(1a) Specialized nomadic pastoralism typically has large herds of between five hundred and two thousand animals, and a high degree of mobility. Herders typically do not own pasturage but range widely in upland areas. Large herds are subdivided into flocks of pregnant ewes (and after lambing, milking ewes), rams and sterile ewes, lambs, and goats.[31] Sheep are raised in the desert and on the fringe of agricultural areas and rarely come into contact with farmsteads. The main diet of the [**54**] nomads is flour, oil, salt and other essentials purchased from farmers with the proceeds of the sale of milk, curds, fleece, and (male) lambs. Further income is derived from guarding and robbing travellers.[32]

(1b) A variation of this is semi-nomadic pastoralism, with slightly smaller flocks and an economy based partly on sedentary craft activities. Part of the community may be sedentary year around, while others follow the flocks to summer pastures. Flour and other items are acquired by the sale of milk, wool, lambs and textiles, and pack or traction animals may be rented out to farmers. The flocks move from summer to winter pastures, but some of the family remains sedentary in permanent hill or mountain villages.

(2) The second main form is agro-pastoralism, with smaller herds (averaging 110 head per family) and an economy based on income from milk and wool, but combined with forage crops and cereal production. In Greece this was precipitated by land redistribution and the abandonment of marginal lands by farmers, which allowed pastoralists to purchase land for sedentary animal husbandry.[33]

(3) Finally, farm-based pastoralism is a mixture of cereal production and animal husbandry, with proportionally fewer livestock, and often employing communal herders to tend the livestock of several families. The livestock provide manure for the fields and although animal biomass is more costly to produce than vegetable and cereal, surplus and spoiled cereals can be allocated to animals and thus animals serve as "indirect storage" that can be consumed in times of shortages.[34]

While in nomadic pastoralism contact with sedentary agriculture is very limited, there may be more contact between the two in semi-nomadic pastoralism and agro-pastoralism, where sheep may be allowed to graze on stubble and on untilled fields during the winter months. Once the winter rains are over and the growing season has begun, the sheep and goats must be removed to hill

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et société 14 [1984]: 11–46).

[31] J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage* (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 15, 19.

[32] Paul Halstead, "Traditional and Ancient Rural Economies in Mediterranean Europe: Plus ça change?" *JHS* 107 (1987): 80.

[33] Halstead, "Pastoralism or Household Herding?" 23.

[34] Kent V. Flannery, "Origins and Econological Effects of Early Near Eastern Domestication," in *The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals* (ed. Peter J. Ucko and G.W. Dimbleby; London: Duckworth; Chicago: Aldine Publishing company, 1969), 73–100.

pastures or to the edge of the desert. They may again be allowed onto the stubble fields after the barley (April) and wheat harvest (May),[35] but in the arid summers the flocks must be moved to locations where there is more green vegetation. Farm-based pastoralism, as will be noted below, ranges from limited forms where animals are pen-fed – which is very labour intensive since straw normally left on the fields after harvest must be transported to the farmstead – to the movement of flocks between winter stubble fields and spring and summer pasturages away the cereal-growing areas.

Conditions in Palestine in antiquity approximate some of these patterns. Specialized nomadic pastoralism is mainly limited to the northern Negev and wilderness [**54**] areas.[36] Genesis 31–32 depicts Jacob as a nomadic herdsman and so it should be unsurprising that as a part of a gift exchange he gave Esau 220 sheep and 220 goats and various other animals (Gen 32:14–15).[37] This presupposes that the full extent of Jacob's holdings were much greater. This mode of pastoralism is clearly not that of the Parable of the Shepherd. One hundred sheep would be a very small Bedouin flock.[38]

It is not clear that agro-pastoralism was common in Palestine, though some Bedouin may have secured marginal pasturage for permanent settlements. Within farm-based pastoralism there are distinctions of scale and proportion, at least in part a function of the distribution of farm plots. Halstead distinguishes two modes of land exploitation:[39]

(a) A *traditional extensive mode* where farmers cultivate a number of small dispersed plots. This arrangement makes it difficult for individual households to graze flocks on their own arable land, since the stubble fields might be interspersed with the crops of other farmers. This system encourages the consolidation of herds tended by communal shepherds (near the settlement) or given over to specialized pastoralists (at greater distance from the settlement). In the

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[35] Thomas E. Levy, "The Emergence of Specialized Pastoralism in the Southern Levant," *World Archaeology* 15, no. 1 (1983): 24.

[36] Levy, "Emergence of Specialized Pastoralism"; idem, "Transhumance, Subsistence, and Social Evolution," in *Pastoralism in the Levant: Archaeological Materials in Anthropological Perspectives* (ed. Ofer Bar-Yosef and Anatoly Khazanov; Monographs in World Archaeology 10; Madison, Wis.: Prehistory Press, 1992), 65–82; Ze'ev Safrai, *The Economy of Roman Palestine* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 165; Mordechai Haiman, "The 10th Century B.C. Settlement of the Negev Highlands and Iron Age Rural Palestine," in *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel* (ed. Aren M. Maeir, Shimon Dar, and Ze'ev Safrai; BAR International Series; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003), 71–90.

[37] It might be noted that according to Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, 19, the maximum size of a single flock is about 250 animals if animals are to be controlled and protected against predators and other losses. A milker can service a flock of about 200 animals. Gen 32:17 suggests that Jacob delivered the animals in the form of at least two flocks: the gift was made "every flock by itself" (עֶדֶר עֶדֶר לְבַדֽוֹ).

[38] Schottroff, *Parables*, 152 suggests that the shepherd might exist in "nomadic conditions," but this seems unlikely.

[39] Halstead, "Traditional and Ancient Rural Economies," 83–84.

dispersed model, there is an ecological advantage for farmers to group cereal plots into larger blocks and fallow fields into blocks and thus to facilitate winter grazing.

(b) A second *alternative intensive mode* has[40]

> dispersed settlement and closer plots, [where] herding at the household level would be more practicable and more complex rotation schemes might be a substantial obstacle to large consolidated herds. Transhumance would then be less likely and the consequent integration of crop and livestock husbandry would in turn make manure more freely available and so reinforce the viability of intensive arable farming.

A comment in *b. Beizah* 40a[41] appears to imagine a similar distinction within farm-based pastoralism, between a model that involves seasonal movements of livestock (model 3a)[42] and smaller-scale farm-based pastoralism (model 3b). The Babli's final comment imagines specialized (nomadic) pastoralism (1a, 1b): [55]

> Our Rabbis taught: The following are pasture animals and the following are household animals. Pasture animals are such as are led out about [the time of] Passover and graze in [more distant] meadows, and who are led in at the time of the first rainfall. The following are household animals: such as are led out and graze outside the village-border but return and spend the night inside the village-border. Rabbi [i.e., Judah ha-Nasi] says: Both of these are household animals; but pasture animals are such as are led out and graze in [more distant] meadows and who do not return to the habitation of men either in summer or in winter.

Varro, who ignores long range transhumance entirely, distinguishes only between herders who "range the tracks" and therefore must be sturdier and those who return to the farmstead every day.[43] This appears to be a distinction

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[40] Halstead, "Traditional and Ancient Rural Economies," 83. Similarly, Stephen Hodkinson, "Animal Husbandry in the Greek Polis," in *Pastoral Economics in Classical Antiquity* (ed. C. R. Whittaker; Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. Supplementary Volume 14; Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1988), 38–39.

[41] Commenting on *m. Besa* 5.7, which distinguishes household animals ("They that pass the night in town") and pastured animals ("such as pass the night in [more distant] pasture ground").

[42] This form of pastoralism is also common in Greece and North Africa. See Joan M. Frayn, *Sheep-Rearing and the Wool Trade in Italy During the Roman Period* (ARCA, Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers, and Monographs 15; Liverpool: F. Cairns, 1984); C. R. Whittaker, ed., *Pastoral Economics in Classical Antiquity* (Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. Supplementary Volume 14; Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society, 1988) and the essays in this volume by Stephen Hodkinson ("Animal Husbandry in the Greek Polis," 35–74), Peter Garnsey ("Mountain Economies in Southern Europe: Thoughts on the Early History, Continuity and Individuality of Mediterranean Upland Pastoralism," 196–209), and Jens Erik Skydsgaard ("Transhumance in Ancient Greece," 75–86).

[43] Varro, *de re rustica* 10.1: *qui in callibus versentur, quam eos qui in fundo cotidie ad villam redeant*. See Peter Garnsey, "Mountain Economies in Southern Europe: Thoughts on the Early History, Continuity and Individuality of Mediterranean Upland Pastoralism," in *Pastoral Economics in Classical Antiquity* (ed. C. R. Whittaker; Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society. Supplementary Volume 14; Cambridge: Cambridge

similar to the Babli's distinction between seasonal movements of livestock and smaller-scale farm-based pastoralism noted above.

It is likely that in Palestine there was a combination of dispersed plots (favouring seasonal transhumance) and intensive cultivation (favouring smaller farm-based pastoralism). Excavations south-west of Hebron have identified herder settlements with a small residential area with attached pens in the court-yard, consistent with small farm-based pastoralism, although it is impossible to know whether the fields connected with these farmhouses were contiguous or dispersed.[44]

Returning to the question of "normal" herd size, it can now be seen that there is no simple answer. Much depends on *what kind of pastoralism* the shepherd in the parable engaged in. It seems clear that he is not a specialized nomadic pastoralist: the herd is far too small. The parable might imagine one of the two forms of farm-based pastoralism, where either the farm in question was a very large one with large flocks or where several farmers pooled their flocks. The former would be comparable to the estates of Cato or Varro, who had large flocks, or the third and early-fourth century CE estates in the Fayum belonging to Flavia Isidora (a.k.a. Kyrilla) and Valeria Elpinike (a.k.a. Philoxene) of *P.Chept.* 7–11[45] and Valerius Kyrillos of *P.Sakaon* 71–72, who leased their flocks to local shepherds.[46] Before we can get clarity on this issue, however, it is important to address the issue of ownership. [**56**]

Ownership

A point at which anachronism and ethnocentrism has intruded into the exegesis of the Parable of the Shepherd concerns the issue of ownership. Most exegetes

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Philological Society, 1988), 201: "[Varro] does advise the pasturing of cattle 'in wooded land' (*in nemoribus*), adding 'and those which spend the winter along the coast are driven in summer into the leafy mountains' (2.2.8); and he observes that mules, a speciality of his home district Reate, 'are driven into the mountains in summer' (2.8.5). But it is not to be supposed that in either case the destination of the animals was distant rather than local upland ranges. Meanwhile in the case of sheep, Varro contrasts the flocks of the home farm (*uillatici greges*) with those who use the 'glades and woody pastures' (*saltus et silvestres loci*) (2.2.8), self-evidently not a description of high mountains."

[44] Sheep pens μάνδρα / נוה are mentioned in 2 Sam.7:8 = 1 Chron 17:7. On Anab- a-Kabir, s.w. of Hebron, see Safrai, *Economy*, 165 and fig. 40.

[45] See Dominic Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus Estate* (Cambridge Classical Studies; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 54–55, 202–11 and Jacques Schwartz, "Une Famille de chepteliers au III^{e} S.p.C," *Recherches de Papyrologie* 3 (1964): 49–96.

[46] Only in large estates would an owner have more than one hundred sheep. It would appear that most smallholders had only a few sheep to supplement cereal and vegetable production.

have simply assumed that the shepherd of the parable is the owner of the sheep,[47] or, if they consider the options at all, conclude by asserting that he is "probably" the owner. Typically no reasons are provided,[48] in spite of the fact that Luke 17:7 knows very well that some shepherds are slaves and that John 10:12–13 clearly presupposes the existence of hired shepherds. This is a point where modern ideology and modern assumptions about the normalcy of private ownership have overly determined exegetical conclusions.[49]

The use of ἔχειν in Luke 15:4 or γίνεσθαι + dat. in Matt. 18:12 do not help, since neither expression is a secure indicator of ownership. One would rather expect τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ ἕκατον πρόβατα – a formula well attested in contemporary papyri – if ownership were unequivocally intended. One of the few to consider the possibility that the shepherd might have been an "employee" (or better, lessee or hired herdsman) is Luise Schottroff, although even here this conjecture is not presented with any supporting argument.[50]

Schottroff's conjecture turns out to be entirely likely. Except for nomadic pastoralists who owned their own sheep, it was usual for owners to employ herdsmen to care for their sheep. The Mishnah recognizes this when discussing the responsibility for damage to farmers' fields caused by sheep. *M. Baba Qamma* 6.2 rules, מסרה לרועה נכנס רועה תחתיו, "[if the owner of a flock] hands it over to a shepherd, the shepherd enters [into the owner's responsibilities] in his place." This chapter of *Baba Qamma* discusses the conditions under which the owner of a flock retains responsibility for damages – for example, if he had not secured the lock on the pen, or had left the flock in the care of an incompetent

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[47] In addition to those mentioned above who believe the shepherd to be wealthy or of middling wealth, Weiss, *Schriften*, 466; Walter Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* (9. Aufl 1981; THKNT 3; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961), 307; Jeremias, "ποιμήν," 486; Green, *Luke*, 574; Jacobus Liebenberg, *The Language of the Kingdom and Jesus: Parable, Aphorism and Metaphor in the Sayings Material Common to the Synoptic Tradition and the Gospel of Thomas* (BZNW 102; Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2001), 417; Nolland, *Matthew*, 742. A few assume ownership, but suggest that it is the extended family that owns the sheep, not the shepherd himself: Bruce J. Malina and Richard L. Rohrbaugh, *Social Science Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003), 370.

[48] Bock, *Luke*, 1300 n. 10 is aware of Bailey's suggestion that a shepherd may care for the sheep of several families (*Poet and Peasant*, 148) but dismisses this as "possible but not demonstrable." He offers no reason for opting for ownership. Likewise, R.T. France, *The Gospel of Matthew* (New International Commentary on the New Testament; Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 2007), 687 dismisses Bailey's suggestion without argument.

[49] I have elsewhere examined the relationship between modern ideology of private ownership and its deforming effects on the exegesis of parables: Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, chaps. 1–2.

[50] Schottroff, *Parables*, 152. Andrew Mein, "Profitable and Unprofitable Shepherds: Economic and Theological Perspectives on Ezekiel 34," *JSOT* 31, no. 4 (2007): 497 also emphasizes that shepherds were normally *not* the owners of the flock, and cites documents from the Old Babylonian period to the Persian period to illustrate this practice.

person. But in other instances, the owner is not liable: if robbers broke in and let the flock loose or if the flock was in the care of a competent person, that is, a shepherd. [57]

The relationship between owner and shepherd is illustrated in a declaration (for tax purposes) from Oxyrhynchus that is nearly contemporary with the parable:

P.Princ. II 24 (Oxyrhynchus, 21 CE)[51]

πρό(βατα) $\overline{ρθ}$
α[ἶ(γας) $\overline{γ}$].
Χαιρέᾳ στρατηγῶι
παρὰ Ταarχωρσίας
·····[·]···[··]· ἀπ[ο]γ[ρ]άφο[μαι]
εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς $\overline{ζ}$ (ἔτος)
Τιβερίου Καίσαρος
Σεβαστοῦ τὰ ὑ[π]άρ(χοντά) μοι
πρόβατα ἑκατὸν ἐν-
νέα, αἶγας τρεῖς,
/ πρ(όβατα) $\overline{ρθ}$, αἶγ(ες) $\overline{γ}$, καὶ τοὺς
[ἐπακολου]θ(οῦντας) ἄ[ρ]γ(ας) καὶ ἐ[ρί]-
φους, ἃ νεμήσετα[ι]
περὶ Πέλα τῆς πρὸ(ς) λί-
β(α) τοπ(αρχίας) καὶ δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ νο(μοῦ)
δι(ὰ) νο(μέως) Πετσείριος υἱοῦ
Πετσείριος λαογρ(αφουμένου)
περὶ Σέσφθα τῆς
κάτω τοπαρχ(ίας), ὧν
καὶ τάξομαι τὸ κ-
αθῆ[κ]ον τέλος.
ε[ὐτ]ύχ[(ει)].
Σαραπίω(ν) τοπ(άρχης) ἀναγέγρ(αφα)
πρόβατα ἑκατὸν ἐν-
νέα, αἶγας τρεῖς, / πρ(όβατα) $\overline{ρθ}$,
αἶγ(ες) $\overline{γ}$. (ἔτους) $\overline{ζ}$ Τιβερίου Καίσαρο[ς]
Σεβαστοῦ, Τῦβ(ι) $\overline{λ}$.

109 sheep, 3 goats. To Chaireas the strategos from Taarchorsia.... I register for the current 7th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the one hundred nine sheep and three goats – making 109 sheep and 3 goats – and the lambs and kids that will be born, which I own and which will graze near the village of Pela in the toparchy on the stream, and throughout the entire nome, tended by the herdsman Petseiris son of Petseiris who is registered for the *laographia* in Sesphtha in the lower toparchy, and for which I will also pay the appropriate (sheep) tax. Farewell.
I, Sarapion the toparch have registered one hundred nine sheep, three goats, making 109 sheep, 3 goats. Year 7 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Tybi 30. [58]

In this case the shepherd is clearly not the flock's owner, who was responsible

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[51] Published: E. H. Kase, Jr., *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*. Volume 2 (Princeton Studies in Papyrology, 1; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1936), 12–14 (no. 24).

for paying the sheep-tax. Examination of similar tax declarations indicates that they use a standard form: both the owner and the herdsman are named and the herdsman's village of tax registration is given.[52] This form takes for granted that shepherds were *transient* and hence, the shepherd's village was often not the location of the flock or the owner's village. In this case the flock was located in Pela in the second upper toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, but the herdsman was from the lower toparchy, some sixty kilometres to the north.

Many other such declarations by owners of flocks tended by a herdsman registered for the *laographia* are extant, all having the same or similar form.[53]

Even when owners had only a handful of sheep, they were likely to use a herdsman rather than care for them themselves.[54] This was likely for two reasons: the labour demands of animal husbandry, especially around lambing time in the spring, and milking thereafter,[55] competed with labour demands associated with the barley and wheat harvest, also in the spring. Agriculturalists could not afford the competing labour demands of sheep husbandry and agriculture. Just as important was an issue of status. As Pierre Briant points out, Greek sources regularly contrast agriculture with pastoralism, treating shepherds negatively.[56] In the third or fourth century BCE Moschion's account of the progress of civilization associated agriculture (and viticulture) with the

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[52] See Carla Balconi, "Απογραφαὶ προβάτων καὶ αἰγῶν dell'età di Tiberio e Caligola. P. Oxy. 354; 350; 356; 352; 355," *Aeg* 64 (1984): 35–60, esp. 39 for a discussion of the form of these declarations. See also Peter Arzt-Grabner, "Papyrologie und neutestamentliche Wissenschaft: Einige Beispiele aus neueren Papyruseditionen," in *Light from the East: Papyrologische Kommentare zum Neuen Testament* (ed. Peter Arzt-Grabner and Christina M. Kreinecker; Philippika 39; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 11–26 (24).

[53] For example (in chronological order), *P.Berl. Moeller* 7 (8–9 CE): declaration of herds totalling 146 sheep, 26 goats belonging to several owners; *P.Oxy*. LV 3779 (20 CE) 87 sheep, 4 goats belonging to several owners; *P.NYU* inv. 35 (20/21 CE) (K.A. Worp, K. A. and B. Nielsen, "New Papyri from the New York University Collection: II," *ZPE* 136 (2001) 127–8 [no. 12]); *PIFAO* III 43 (20–21 CE): 25 sheep and 1 goat; *P.Oxy*. LV 3778 (21 CE) 78 sheep 3 goat; *P.Oxy*. II 350 (24–25 CE) 100 sheep, 7 goats; *P.Oxy*. II 245 (26 CE) 6 sheep; *P.Oxy*. II 356 = *SB* XVI 12761 (27 CE) 50 sheep 7 goats; *P.Oxy*. II 353 (27–28 CE) 30 sheep, 2 goats, plus the lambs that will be born; *P.Ross.Georg*. II 13 (54–68 CE), unknown number of sheep and 15 lambs that will be born; *P.Oxy*. II 357–361 (77–90 CE): declarations of sheep and goats; *PIFAO* I 21 (54–68 CE): 70 sheep, 2 goats, 25 lambs; *P.Köln* II 86 (98–99 CE): 37 sheep, 1 goat, 6 lambs; *P.Batav*. 8 (I CE): unknown number of sheep with 4 goats; *P.Phil. 8* (136/7 CE): 32 sheep, 1 goat; *P.Oxy*. XLVII 3338 (150 CE): 110 sheep and ... goats ... lambs.

[54] E.g., *SB* XII 10794 (21 CE): 7 sheep; *P.Oxy*. II 245 (26 CE): 12 sheep; 353 (27–28 CE): 30 sheep, 2 goats, plus the lambs to be born; *SB* XII 10795 (28 CE): 22 sheep 1 goat; *SB* XVI 12763 (41 CE): 17 sheep, 1 goat; *P.Oxy*. I 74 (116 CE): 16 sheep, all herded by shepherds rather than the owners.

[55] Halstead, "Pastoralism or Household Herding?" 26 notes that sheep require milking 1–3 times daily.

[56] Pierre Briant, *Etat et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient ancien* (Collection Production pastorale et société; Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1982), 12–13.

key elements of civilization: the building of houses and cities and the rule of law, and contrasted these with a brutish life where "men resembled that of beasts, dwelling in mountain caves and dark ravines" and when violence shared the throne with Zeus.[57] It is not difficult to see how pastoralism would naturally fall on the wrong side of Moschion's divide. The inherent bias in favour of sedentary agriculture and against pastoralism can be seen in rabbinic sources as well (on which, see [**59**] below). Thus, it would amount to status degradation for an agriculturalist to stoop to shepherding.[58]

Because it was impractical for owners with only a few sheep to hire a shepherd of their own, it was common for smaller flocks to be "mingled" and placed in the case of a single shepherd. For example, *P.Oxy.* LV 3778 (21 CE) records a declaration by six owners that they have combined their animals into a flock of seventy-eight sheep and three goats and placed them in the care of a shepherd from their village. Individually, none had more than twenty-one sheep.[59]

Whether a flock of one hundred sheep was the property of a single estate – as is the case with those belonging to Flavia Isidora, Valeria Elpinike, and Valerius Kyrillos (above) – and leased to a shepherd, or the property of a number of smaller owners, it can be said that one hundred animals is unexceptional as a flock. Flocks of this size were regularly entrusted to the care of a single shepherd. Although a few very large flocks are attested,[60] most of the flocks recorded in papyri of this era range from 25 to 150 animals and were tended by a single shepherd.[61] This also accords with the advice of Varro, who reports

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[57] G. Xanthakis-Karamanos, "Remarks on Moschion's Account of Progress," *CQ* 31, no. 2 (1981): 410–17.

[58] Whether or not the owners of the flocks in question were subject to the *laographia*, the susceptibility of the herdsman to the tax was the mark of low status. See Victor Tcherikover, "Syntaxis and Laographia," *JJP* 4 (1950): 179–207; J.A.S. Evans, "The Poll-Tax in Egypt," *Aeg* 37 (1957): 259–65. That shepherds were on the lower end of status ladders is well attested: see Robert Sallares, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 311: The lack of mention of shepherd in Athenian literature is due to the low status of shepherds, and "a powerful ideological tendency to regard sedentary agriculture as the way of life befitting a civilized people, in contrast to animal husbandry which was associated with wild and uncivilized ways of life."

[59] For other examples of the "mingling" of several flocks, see *P.Tebt.* I 53 *recto* (Kerkeosiris/Arsinoites, 110–109 BCE); *P.Mich.* XVIII 782 (Arsinoites, I CE); *P.Oxy.* II 245 (26 CE).

[60] *P.Oxy.Hels.* 8 (9 BCE): 235 sheep, 10 goats; *SB* XVI 12759 (15 CE): 375 sheep, 100 goats. The text breaks off before the herdsman is named, so it is unclear whether this was tended by one or (more likely) several herdsmen.

[61] E.g., *P.Amst.* I 41 (10 BCE): 50 sheep, 2 goats; *P.Berl.Möller* 7 (8–9 CE): 146 sheep, 26 goats; *PIFAO* I 21 (54–68 CE): 70 sheep, 2 goats, 25 lambs; III 43 (20–21 CE): 25 sheep, 1 goat; *P.Köln* II 86 (98–99 CE): 37 sheep, 1 goat, 6 lambs; *P.Oxy.* II 350 (24–25 CE): 100 sheep, 7 goats; *SB* XII 10795 (28 CE): 22 sheep, 1 goat; *P.Oxy.* II 353 = *C.Pap.Jud.* III 482 (27–28 CE): 30 sheep, 2 goats and the lambs that will be born; *SB* XVI 12761 (27 CE): 50 sheep, 7 goats; *P.Oxy.* LV 3778 (21 CE): 78 sheep, 3 goats; *P.Oxy.* LV 3779 (20–21 CE): 75

that he assigned one shepherd for every eighty sheep and that his friend, Atticus, one for every one hundred sheep (*de re rustica* 2.10, 11). It also agrees with Cato's prescriptions for the provisioning of an olive orchard of 240 iugera, which lists (among many other things) one shepherd and one hundred sheep (*agr*. 10.1). Hence Q's one hundred sheep and one shepherd display verisimilitude with ancient practices.

A flock of this size of flock is not large enough for commercial purposes, but it would supplement the nutritional needs the shepherd and the owner(s), and would [**60**] supply income from the sale of wool, milk, lambs and kids.[62] In large scale specialized pastoralism, pastoralists could sustain themselves from the sale of sheep and sheep products.[63] With smaller flocks, however, the most common economic arrangement was that the lessee and owner divided the yearly crop of lambs and kids (e.g., *P.Sakaon* 71 [306 CE]) or the lessee paid a yearly rent, including some fleeces and lambs, but retrained the milk, some of the wool, and some of the lambs (*P.Amst*. 41 [10 BCE]). Such leasing arrangements functioned as a way for the estate owner to derive some income from his or her flocks, but to have them removed from the estate where they would not compete with cereal crops. For his part the lessee could not sustain himself exclusively from the income from the flock, since a scale of one hundred sheep is too small. Evidence from Egypt suggests that some lessees were in effect only herd managers who leased pastures and hired shepherds and made their profit from the difference between the rent paid to the owners and their own expenses, and the gross income from the flock.[64]

(or 79) sheep, 4 goats; *P.Princ*. II 24 (21 CE): 109 sheep, 3 goats and the lambs that will be born; *P.Princ. inv. Bell* III 93 = Garrett Deposit no. 9561 (Ann Ellis Hanson, "Declarations of Sheep and Goats from the Oxyrhynchite Nome," *Aeg* 69, no. 1–2 [1989]: 63–64) (29 CE): 67 sheep, 6 goats; *SB* XX 14525 (57 CE): 96 sheep. It is worth noting that in the Persian period documents cited by Mein ("Profitable and Unprofitable Shepherds," 498), the rates of payments and of allowable losses are calculated in relation to 100-head flocks.

[62] James G. Keenan, "Pastoralism in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 26 (1989): 181–82 points out in respect to *P.Oxy*. LV 3778 (a flock of 78 sheep and 3 goats) that this may have generated some profit, but does not suggest "the large commercial aims of transhumance," which would have required a few hundred sheep. On the wool industry, see Keenan, "Pastoralism," 183–86; Frayn, *Sheep-Rearing and the Wool Trade*.

[63] Gildas H. Hamel, *Poverty and Charity in Roman Palestine: First Three Centuries C.E.* (University of California Publications: Near Eastern Studies 23; Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 118 assumes this as a general model.

[64] Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism*, 206 describes lessees called *poimenes* ("shepherds") who neither shepherded the flocks nor even provided the shepherds, but rather organized the care of sheep for the owner to whom they paid a rent. The owners chose the pastures, determined the time of shearing, and supplied the herdsmen; the lessees only paid for the rented pastures and paid the herdsmen. "In effect the flocks remained under direct management, and all that the estates had really leased out were the financial risks of the enterprise."

In the case of hired shepherds (e.g., *P.Princ.* II 24) it is unlikely that the shepherd could claim any of the animals, since these were always part of the tax declarations. The shepherd might have been able to retain the milk products and perhaps some of the wool, but also required a salary.

The patterns of flock management attested in early Roman Egypt should caution us against the naive assumption that a shepherd with one hundred sheep was the owner of those sheep or that they were even the property of a single owner. On the contrary, given the patterns that obtain in Egypt, it seems quite *unlikely* that the shepherd of Q's parable was the owner. It is impossible to know whether the flock was owned by a single owner (as in *P.Princ.* II 24) or a consortium of owners (*P.Oxy.* LV 3778).[65] One should not even assume that the shepherd and the owner of the sheep were from the same village or even the same district.

Shepherds: Qualitative Aspects

The figure of the shepherd, despite various idealizations that have been associated with him, was both a marginal and dangerous figure. Unlike most agricultural [**61**] workers who were under the direct supervision of a steward or *vilicus*, the shepherd spent most of his time *unsupervised*.[66] The shepherd, unlike other workers, was *transient*, moving his flock over a large range of agriculturally marginal land or sometimes rented pasturage. In addition, the nature of shepherding required the shepherd to be *armed* with a sling and club to fend off predators.[67]

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[65] For examples of such consortia in a modern Egyptian setting, see Lucie Wood Saunders and Soheir Mehenna, "Village Entrepreneurs: An Egyptian Case," *Ethnology* 25, no. 1 (1986): 83–84, 87, and Halstead, "Pastoralism or Household Herding?" 23, reporting on early twentieth century Greek pastorialists.

[66] Although we use the masculine pronoun, modern Bedouin shepherds are sometimes female. Papyri records do not list women as shepherds, but it is certainly not impossible that they existed. Chloe in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe* was a foundling raised as a shepherdess, and it was while tending her flock that she met Daphnis (also a foundling raised to be a shepherd).

[67] Ps 23:4 (staff); 1 Sam 17:40 (staff and sling). Varro *de re rustica* 2.10.1.3 assumes that shepherds will be armed, able to protect the herd from predators and robbers and "who can dash out and hurl the javelin." Fronto relates a story of Marcus Aurelius (*ad M. Caesarem* 2.16): "When my father returned home from his vineyard, I as was my habit, mounted my horse and set off along the road and had gone some distance. There in the road were many sheep huddling together, as happens when there is little space, and four dogs and two shepherds, but nothing else. Then one of the shepherds said to the other, after he had seen our horses, 'Keep an eye on those horsemen, for they are used to stealing a lot'. When I heard that, I spurred my horse and plunged into the sheep. The sheep were frightened and were dispersed, fleeing and bleating in all directions. The shepherd whirled his crook (*furca*), which fell on the horse that was following me. We took flight and so it happened that he who

These structural features of pastoralism – the lack of supervision, transience, and the possession of weapons – help to account for the fact that shepherds in antiquity were often associated with banditry. Thomas Grünewald notes that three groups during the Roman period ran special risks of ending up as bandits: soldiers, slaves and herdsmen. In the cases of the first two groups, the demarcation between their earlier state and banditry was clear; but[68]

for the herdsmen this was much less clear. Thanks to their freedom of movement, they had the opportunity to indulge in banditry while managing their flocks thereby living a double life.

The association of shepherding with banditry and cattle rustling was common.[69] And at times it crossed over into organized actions against the state.[70]

Of course not all pastoralists modulated into organized crime. Shepherds were, nonetheless, a common target for charges of criminality. Papyri attest numerous [**62**] complaints of farmers against shepherds usually allowing their sheep to damage farm property or to take fodder.[71] Grünewald notes that in nineteen cases of complaints of criminality documented in papyri from Euhemeria in the Arsinoite nome from ca. 28–42 CE, there are thirteen instances in which the victim knew the identity of the perpetrator and identified his occupation. Nine of the accused are shepherds.[72]

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was afraid of losing his sheep lost his crook." Abraham Mitrie Rihbani, *The Syrian Christ* (Pontiac, Québec: Apamea Consulting and Publishing, 2003), 171–73 provides an account of contemporary Syrian shepherds armed with a heavy staff and a sling. Modern Sicilian shepherds are known for the *lupara* or sawed-off "wolf-gun" they carry.

[68] Thomas Grünewald, *Bandits in the Roman Empire: Myth and Reality* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 57.

[69] Peter Herz, "*Latrocinium* und Viehdiebstahl: Soziale Spannungen und Strafrecht in römischer Zeit," in *Soziale Randgruppen und Außenseiter im Altertum* (ed. I. Weiler; Graz: Leykam, 1988), 221–41.

[70] The social stigma of banditry should be stressed, particularly in the face of the construct of "social banditry," first advanced by Eric J. Hobsbawm, "Social Banditry," in *Rural Protest: Peasant Movements and Social Change* (ed. Henry A. Landsberger; London: Macmillan, 1974), 142–57. The "social bandit" is allegedly a Robin Hood-like figure, preying on the privileged and supported by peasant communities. That this construct belongs more to ideological theatre and literature than it does to social history has been shown by, *inter alii*, B.C. McGing who, relying primarily on papyrological evidence, concludes that "the romance of banditry belongs, no doubt, where Hobsbawm found it – in the world of literature, legend, and phantasy [...]. It is [...] a far cry from the harsher, more sullen world of social reality reflected in the papyri" ("Bandits, Real and Imagined, in Greco-Roman Egypt," *BASP* 35, no. 3–4 [1998]: 183, and John S. Kloppenborg, "Unsocial Bandits," in *A Wandering Galilean: Essays in Honour of Sean Freyne* [ed. Zuleika Rogers; JSJSup 132; Leiden and Boston: E.J. Brill, 2009], 451–84).

[71] See, e.g., *P.Hels*. I 31 (Heracleopolite nome, 160 BCE); *P.Princ*. II 23 (Theadelphia, 13 CE); *P.Ryl*. II 126 (28/29 CE); 131 (31 CE); 132 (32 CE); 142 (37 CE); 143 (38 CE); 147 (39 CE); 152 (42 CE; all from Euhemeria); *P.Mert*. II 92 (Karanis, 324 CE).

[72] Grünewald, *Bandits*, 30. Whether shepherds were any more prone to violence is moot; nevertheless, complaints about violence often identify shepherds as the perpetrators. To Grünewald's list, all drawn from the Euhemeria papyri (*P.Ryl*. II 124–152) we can add

The connection between shepherds and theft is also taken for granted in the Mishnah: *m. Qidd.* 4.14 states that "one should not teach his son [to be] an ass-driver, camel-driver, waggoner, sailor, shepherd, or shopkeeper, because their profession is the profession of robbers."[73] Accordingly, *m. B.Qam.* 10.9 rules that one cannot buy milk, wool, or kids from a shepherd. The logic of the ruling is clear: one could not know whether these items were in fact the property of shepherd, or whether they belonged to the owner of the flock, or even someone else from whom the shepherd had stolen.[74] As will become clear, the mobility and weapons of shepherds afforded them the means and opportunity for theft; but their typical wages likely made forms of criminality a temptation if not a necessity.[75]

Why did the Shepherd Seek the Lost?
The Economics of Pastoralism

That shepherds should have engaged in theft is hardly surprising. Shepherding was physically demanding and poorly paid. In choosing a suitable shepherd Varro recommends: "neither old men nor boys can easily endure the hardships of the trail and the steepness and roughness of the mountains – all of which must be encountered by those who follow the herd" (*De re rustica* 2.102–103). Varro was describing slave labour, but the physical exertion involved would have been no different for any shepherd, free or servile.

For such demanding labour the wage was pitifully small. Diocletian's price edict can provide a general scope of a shepherd's income in relation to other wages. It sets the wage for shepherds at twenty denarii per day plus maintenance. This is less than [**63**] a farm labourer, a water carrier, or sewage cleaner, all of whom received twenty-five denarii per day, plus maintenance. The shepherd's wage is half the wages of a carpenter, stone mason, or baker.[76]

P.Mich. V 228 (Tebtynis, 47 CE), a complaint that shepherds beat the wife of the plaintiff, causing her to miscarry.

[73] According to *b. B.Qam.* 94b, "For shepherds, tax collectors and revenue farmers it is difficult to make repentance, yet they must make restitution [of the articles in question] to all those whom they know [they have robbed]." The association of shepherds with the other despised figures of tax collectors is also attested in *b. Sanh.* 25b, which treats shepherds and tax collectors as ineligible to provide a valid witness.

[74] For the same reason, *m.B.Qam.* 10.9 prohibits the purchase of fruit or wood from the watchmen of an orchard, presumably because they are not the legal owners of those items.

[75] Diodoros Siculos 34/35.2.27–30 reports that Sicilian slave owners "who owned large numbers of slaves had made crime so familiar to their herdsmen that they provided them no food but permitted them to plunder" and thus encouraged a state of virtual anarchy.

[76] "Edict on Maximum Prices" (Elsa Rose Graser, "The Edict of Diocletian on Maximum Prices," in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, vol. 5 (ed. Tenny Frank; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1933–1940 [rerp. Paterson, NJ: Pageant Books, 1959]), 305–421): VII.1a: farm labourer, 25 dn. (daily); 2: stone mason, 50 dn.; 3a: carpenter, 50 dn.; 12: baker,

An even better index of the financial status of a shepherd is the level of a shepherd's wages relative to the price of sheep. An account from the mid-first century CE, *SB* XX 14525 (Philadelphia, 57 CE) offers a valuable point of comparison. The account indicates that the owner who bore a Roman name, Lucius, employed an Egyptian shepherd, Phepheros, to care for eighty sheep (fifty-three females, twenty-seven males) and twenty-two lambs. A number were sold: one female and three males brought fifty drachmae; one female and two males, forty drachmae; and one female and one male, forty drachmae. Although the exact price of sheep is not given, it is clear that females brought a higher price than males and that the price of a male could not have been much less than ten drachmae.[77] The wages of the shepherd, however, were only sixty-four drachmae for four months, that is, sixteen drachmae per month.[78] Another lease of a flock of sheep, *P.Amst.* I 41 (10 BCE), sets the yearly rent on each sheep at eleven drachmae, three obols, and the rent on a goat at thirty-three drachmae. While a single sheep might have been worth more than 11.5 drachmae, the loss of one sheep would also mean the loss of the milk and fleece from that sheep and such a loss would diminish a lessee's ability to pay the rent.[79]

James G. Keenan is undoubtedly correct that a shepherd was held accountable for livestock losses due to mortality and theft.[80] Several leases of sheep

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50 dn.; 18: shepherd, 20 dn. with maintenance; 19: mule driver, 25 dn. with maintenance; 31: water carrier, 25 dn., with maintenance; 32: sewer cleaner, 25 dn. with maintenance.

[77] A later bill of sale, *P.Ross.Georg.* II 15 (98–102 CE), puts the sale of eleven sheep at 192 dr., or an average of 17.45 dr. each. In contemporary pastoralism, milk production (and cheese making) makes females more valuable than males. Male lambs are slaughtered early so that the ewe's milk production can be diverted to human usage. See Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage*, 21 and Halstead, "Pastoralism or Household Herding?" 25.

[78] In another account, *P.Lond.* III 1171 *recto* (p. 177) (8 BCE) five herdmens minding five flocks, totally 566 sheep, 25 goats, are each paid 24 dr. monthly, and the boy who tended the lambs, half that amount.

[79] Owners of sheep and goat flocks sometimes leased their flocks to middle men, who in turn found pasturage and supplies shepherds to tend the flock, taking income from the flock in the form of milk, curds, cheese, fleeces, and kids and lambs sale or consumption. See, e.g., *PSI* IV 377, Fr. A (250–49 BCE); *P.Wisc.* II 78 (248 BCE); *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59422 (mid III BCE); *P.Amst.* I 41 (10 BCE); *SB* V 8086 (268 CE); *P.Stras.* I 30 (276 CE); *P.Sakaon* 71 (306 CE); *P.Princ.* III 151 (341 CE).

[80] Keenan, "Pastoralism," 197. This assertion finds further support in the same papyrus (*SB* XX 14525). While the penalty for sheep lost under the shepherd is not stated, the precise stipulation of what sheep were lost in what month under the care of the shepherd suggests that these losses were taken into account: "Phepheros the shepherd has 53 female sheep, 27 males, 22 lambs. Total: 80 sheep in all, 22 lambs. Of these, there perished in Pachon [26 April – 25 May 56 CE] through the same shepherd 2 females. In Pauni [26 May – 44 June 56 CE] 1 female. In Mesore [25 July – 23 August] 1 male, 2 lambs. Total, 3 females, 1 male and 2 lambs, making, 6." Mein, "Profitable and Unprofitable Shepherds," 498 notes that in Persian Period leases of flocks of sheep and goats, the lessee was allowed ten percent losses on the flock but was required to produce the skin and tendons of the deceased animal. Losses which

and goats refer [**64**] to the sheep or goats as "deathless" (ἀθάνατα), meaning that the lessor was entitled to recover the full number of animals in the initial lease.[81] For example, *P.Amst.* I 41.6–7 (10 BCE) concerns the lease of "fifty "deathless" full-grown sheep of mixed type and two goats" (πρόβατα τέλεια σύμμικτα πεντήκοντα αἶγας |[δύο ἀθάνατα]). The lease required the lessees, upon the completion of the lease period, to return the same number of animals. In another lease, *P.Sakaon* 71.21–23 (306 CE), the lessee agrees that the responsibility for "the offspring of the sheep and the goats, their pasture, green fodder, resin-oil, and (god forbid) death, as well as the care of and provisioning for their offspring [belongs] to the lessee" (τῆς τῶν̣ προβάτων καὶ αἰγ[ῶ]ν̣ γονῆς καὶ νομῶν [κα]ὶ κράστεως | καὶ κερδίας καὶ, ὃ [μ]ὴ εἴη, θανάτου καὶ ἐπιμελεί[ας] κ̣αὶ φροντίδος γο[ν]ῆς ὄντων πρὸς ἐ[μὲ] τὸν μεμι|σθωμένον).

Thus, the motivation to recover one lost sheep becomes exceedingly clear: the replacement cost of a male would be about one month's wages, and the loss of a female would likely amount to more than a month's wages. If the herd were leased, the loss of an animal would not only represent a replacement cost, but it would also reduce the income from the flock with which the lessee paid the rental costs. The recovery of one lost sheep from a flock of one hundred is clearly *not* an act of extraordinary solicitude; it is an act of financial necessity.

The Parable of the Shepherd

The results of this study are both methodological and substantive. From a methodological perspective, I have argued that the use of well-constructed models of the economics and anthropology of pastoralism assist us in asking the appropriate questions of our data and to frame our interpretations in such a way as to avoid ethnocentric and culturally anachronistic readings. The use of models of pastoralism constructed from a combination of Mediterranean ethnography and an examination of ancient documentary sources allows us to address in a much more controlled and disciplined manner the questions of typical herd sizes and the social and economic assumptions that first-century audiences would have made when they heard the parable. These models also assist us in avoiding the ethnocentric assumption that ownership is at stake in this parable.

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could not be documented in this way (e.g., a sheep that was lost and not recovered) had to be made up by the lessee.

[81] *PSI* IV 377, Fr. A 5–7 (250–49 BCE); *P.Wisc.* II 78 (248 BCE); *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59422.12 (mid III BCE); *P.Amst.* I 41.8 (10 BCE); *SB* V 8086.7–11 (268 CE); *P.Stras.* I 30.5–6 (276 CE); *P.Sakaon* 71.10.26 (306 CE); *P.Princ.* III 151.6–7 (341 CE). On this formula, see Joachim Hengstl, "Die ἀθάνατος-Klausel," in *Actes du XV Congrès international de papyrologie, IV: Papyrologie documentaire* (ed. J. Bingen and G. Nachtergael; Papyri Bruxellenses Graecae 19; Bruxelles: Fond Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1979), 231–39.

The use of economic and anthropological modelling does suggest certain conclusions about the details of the parable. A flock of one hundred sheep is a reasonably typical size to be managed by a single shepherd. The shepherd is likely not the owner, but either a slave (cf. Luke 17:7) or a hired herdsman employed to tend the [**65**] livestock of one or more farmers. The motivation for seeking the lost animal should not be romanticized or heroized; it is a matter of sheer economic necessity.

Many other aspects of the interpretation of this parable could be discussed, in particular the ways in which the image of the shepherd has been reframed by the synoptic writers, Thomas, and John. In order, however, to perceive *how* these later writers have adapted the image of the shepherd, we must be clear on where the story begins, with an account of marginal agent and his flock.

Addendum

Further literature on the parable of the shepherd: Andrea Lorenzo Molinari, "The Parable of the Lost Sheep and Its Lost Interpretation: A Proposal for Gospel of Thomas 107 as Stage 1 in an Early Christian Jesus Trajectory," in *Colloque International: "L'Évangile selon Thomas et les Textes de Nag Hammadi," Québec, 29–31 mai 2003* (ed. Louis Painchaud and Paul-Hubert Poirier; Bibliotèque Copte de Nag Hammadi, Section "Études" 8; Québec; Paris: Les Presses de l'Université Laval; Peeters, 2007), 301–322; Animosa Oveja, "Neunundneunzig sind nicht genug! (Vom verlorenen Schaf): Q 15,4–5a.9 (Mt 18,12–14) / Lk 15,1–7 / EvThom 107," in *Kompendium der Gleichnisse Jesu* (ed. Ruben Zimmermann, in collaboration with Detlev Dormeyer, et al.; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2007), 205–219; Ernest van Eck, "In the Kingdom Everybody Has Enough: A Social-Scientific and Realistic Reading of the Parable of the Lost Sheep (Lk 15:4–6)," *HvTSt* 67, no. 3 (2011): 214–227; Armand Puig i Tàrrech, "Interpreting the Parables of Jesus: A Test Case: The Parable of the Lost Sheep, By," in *Gospel Images of Jesus Christ in Church Tradition and in Biblical Scholarship: Fifth International East-West Symposium of New Testament Scholars, Minsk, September 2 to 9, 2010* (ed. Christos Karakolis, Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr, and Sviatoslav Rogalsky; WUNT 288; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 253–289.

Puig i Tàrrech argues that a sheep would have cost 8 denarii (relying on *m. Ker.* 5.2 and *m. Men.* 13.8), which implies that leaving the other sheep unattended could incur a potential loss of 792 denarii, or more than 2 years of wages. This calculation assumes that the 2 sela'im (= 8 den.) given by *m. Ker.* 5.2 and *m. Men.* 13.8 as the value of a guilt offering (cf. Lev 15:5–6) reflects the actual cost of a ram at the time of the Mishnah. It also appears to assume that first century wages for shepherds were one denarius per day). However as I have indicated, the *monthly* wage of shepherds in the first century is more likely between sixteen and twenty-four drachmae monthly (above, 78), while the cost of sheep was between one half and a full month's wage. *T. B.Meṣ* 5.1 gives the value of 100 sheep at 100 *aurei* (= 2500 den.), or 25

den. per head. *P.Ross.Georg* II 15 (Arsinoites, 98/102 CE) lists eleven sheep at 192 dr., or 17.45 dr. each, while *P.Oxy.* I 184 (Oxyrhynchus; II CE) has 14 sheep at 260 dr., or 18.57 dr. each. (See Hans-Joachim Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* [Vorarbeiten zu einer Wirtschaftsgeschichte des römischen Ägypten 1; St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991], 305).

Chapter 21

The Representation of Violence in the Synoptic Parables[1]

> "Mythical violence in its archetypal form is a mere manifestation of the gods. Not a means to their ends, scarcely a manifestation of their will, but first of all a manifestation of their existence" – Walter Benjamin[2]

The early Jesus movement is often supposed to have been a force for peace-making and nonviolence in the violent world of Mediterranean antiquity. Yet an examination of the discourse of the Jesus movement shows that it was quite prepared to use violent metaphors and to imagine actions effected on its behalf – in some instances quite appalling violence.[3] Some of the violent language of the Synoptics comes from the repertoire of apocalyptic images associated with the final judgment – burning and torture – but violent images can be found in other contexts as well.

The term "violence" is of course problematic, since violence is always socially constructed. What in one society or in one social register is regarded as the justifiable application of force in the pursuit of some legitimate end might

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[1] First published as "The Representation of Violence in the Synoptic Parables." In *Mark and Matthew I: Comparative Readings: Understanding the Earliest Gospels in Their First Century Settings*, edited by Eve-Marie Becker and Anders Runesson. WUNT, vol. 271, 323–51. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011. © Mohr Siebeck, 2011. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.hr Siebeck, 2011. Reprinted by permission of the publisher; all rights reserved.

[2] "Critique of Violence," in Walter Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 1: 1913–1926* (ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1996), 236–52, here 248.

[3] See Klaus Berger, "Der 'brutale' Jesus: Gewaltsames in Wirken und Verkündigung Jesu," *Bibel und Kirche* 51, no. 3 (1996): 119–27. Violent language in the Apocalypse has often embarrassed interpreters. Barbara R. Rossing ("Apocalyptic Violence and Politics: End-Time Fiction for Jews and Christians," in *Contested Texts* [ed. Melody D. Knowles, et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007], 67–77) insists that the violent images in the Apocalypse (esp. chap. 19) do not underwrite or authorize violence today. Instead, the author of the Apocalypse stands *against* violence and domination in his use of the image of a slain lamb. For a more historically-nuanced approach, see Adela Yarbro Collins, "Persecution and Vengeance in the Book of Revelation," in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East: Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism* (ed. David Hellholm; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1983), 729–49.

in another society or social register be viewed as unwarranted violence. The violence inflicted on a Roman slave, for example, was likely regarded by the owner as entirely appropriate use of property (*res*) or as simple discipline. The difference between δύναμις or ἐξουσία and ὕβρις or βία is a matter of perspective, for both the ancient reporter and the modern interpreter. The term "force" is perhaps a more neutral designation for what one party might call authority and power, and another might regard as violence. [**324**]

Force and Violence in the Ancient Mediterranean

Displays of force were ubiquitous in ancient society, military force being only its most obvious manifestation. Ancient Mediterranean states were founded on military force and maintained through the readiness to use force where needed. Martin Zimmermann observes a propos of the Romans that[4]

> [t]he merciless, unrestrained application of violence, victoriousness, and the cruel consequences for the subjugated barbarians ... were taken for granted by the Romans as a way of representing sovereignty and power and its positive corollary, security and order within the Empire. Economic prosperity was due to the *pax romana*, whose foundation was an uncompromising readiness to exercise physical violence.

The application of force was hardly restricted to the institution of the military, however. It was witnessed in interpersonal relationships. The articulation of status hierarchies was effected through the exercise or threat of force. Honor was gained and friendships maintained not only by helping friends but by harming enemies.[5] Even rhetorical speech was conceived as a form of violence.[6] In his advice on the construction of compelling speech, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* recommends not only using images of striking beauty or strong comic images, but deliberately to conjure fear and loathing with scenes of violence, appealing to "one stained with blood or soiled with mud or smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking" (3.22.37). Violence and representations of violence were simply part of the fabric of life.

Force was involved even in the concept of ownership. While modern concepts of ownership focus on the owner's rights to possess, use, and dispose of a thing, undergirded by such institutions as land registries and courts with bailiffs to enforce decisions concerning ownership, Greek and Roman conceptions of ownership involved having the force required to maintain possession and to

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[4] Martin Zimmermann, "Violence in Late Antiquity Reconsidered," in *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (ed. H.A. Drake; Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006), 347.

[5] Mary Whitlock Blundell, *Helping Friends and Harming Enemies: A Study in Sophocles and Greek Ethics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

[6] Daphne Elizabeth O'Regan, *Rhetoric, Comedy, and the Violence of Language in Aristophanes' Clouds* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

repel hostile claims.[7] Andrew Lintott describes this as an aristocratic conception of right: "rights are essentially rights of possession which were originally acquired by force and will therefore in the end have to be defended by force."[8] The long history of Roman interdicts *de vi* (concerning violence) shows how [325] deeply ingrained the expression of force was in matters having to do with property.[9]

Violent Gods and Heroes

Given the ubiquitous nature of displays of force, it is inevitable that the literature of the Jesus movement would display a wide array of violent images. I leave aside the obvious and explicit narratives of violence visited upon various persons by the ruling élite – the beheading of John, the execution of Jesus and such reports of violence as the legend of Herod's killing of the children (Matt 2:16–18) or the report of Pilate's killing of pilgrims (Luke 13:1). Instead, I wish to focus on metaphors and representations of violence in parables of Jesus where God is represented as the agent of violence or where Jesus is depicted as one who acts with overpowering force. I focus on the parables for two reasons.

First, the parables of Jesus, whatever else they might be, begin as generally realistic narratives. They offer a lexicon of ordinary ancient phenomena, including the dangers of travel, tensions between brothers over inheritance, the operation of vineyards, the management of households, housebreaking, and banditry. In his influential book, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, C. H. Dodd observed that Jesus' parables provided[10]

> a singularly complete and convincing picture ... of life in a small provincial town – probably a more complete picture of *petit-bourgeois* and peasant life than we possess for any other province of the Roman empire except Egypt, where papyri come to our aid.

As generally realistic discourse the parables also include a number of instances of the application of force. Such force is applied not only by negatively-marked characters – for example, the bandits of Luke 10:29–35 – but also by characters who are positively encoded: the estate owner in Q 12:42–45 who kills a disloyal slave, the nobleman of Luke's story of Entrusted Money (Luke 19:12–27), who slaughters his opponents, and the owner of the vineyard in Mark's parable of the Tenants (Mark 12:1–9), who slaughters his tenants.

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[7] Both Greek and Roman law observed a distinction between full ownership (κτῆσις, *dominium*) and the right to exploit the land (χρῆσις, *possessio*), the latter acquired by sale or by occupation and use (*usucapio*). This distinction created room for contests over possession, often involving the use of force.

[8] Andrew W. Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 30.

[9] Bruce W. Frier, "Urban Praetors and Rural Violence," *TAPA* 113 (1983): 221–41; Lintott, *Violence*, 128–30.

[10] C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (Rev. ed; London: James Nisbet & Co., 1961), 10.

The second reason for focussing on the parables has to do with their plastic quality. As the history of interpretation illustrates, the parables were subject to a wide variety of applications and developments. Stories that began in a highly realistic vein – Q's parable of the Banquet, for example – became in Matthew a transparent allegory of salvation history. The artificial and unnatural actions included in Matthew's narrative make clear to the auditor that the writer is not describing a banquet at all and the representation of realistic banqueting practices is almost entirely lost. [**326**]

It is the combination of highly realistic and patently non-realistic elements in the parables to which I would like to draw attention. On the one hand, some of the metaphors applied to God or Jesus or to other agents of the kingdom presuppose and appeal to the quotidien force that was simply part of the fabric of Mediterranean life. On the other, at crucial points the parables resort to what I will call "imaginary violence" – actions which cannot realistically be believed of human agents and can only be ascribed to the gods. As we track the development of Synoptic discourse, these resorts become more plentiful and discourse that was once anchored to realistic scenarios of force is increasingly disconnected from those realistic bases.

Drawing a line between real and imaginary violence is not a simple matter, since the modern interpreter is far removed from what was and was not possible in the ancient world. Sometimes interpreters substitute what they believe must have been the case for a careful analysis of actual patterns of social exchange, either imagining a legal free-for-all, with the élite regularly terrorizing nonelite persons, or positing a much more law-abiding society than was likely the case. In order to discipline our imaginations, we must attend to the examples of actual force that are documented in literary and especially documentary (non-literary) sources.[11] This will provide a better index of when the threshold between real and imaginary violence has been crossed.

Interpreters are sometimes troubled by the way in which lethal force is apportioned within the synoptic parables. While the Synoptic Jesus enjoins a generally nonviolent ethic, his stories are peppered with examples of appalling cruelty. In a recent article Barbara Reid has confronted the seeming anomaly in Matthew produced by Matthew's advocacy of nonviolence in the Sermon on the Mount and its juxtaposition with images of a violent deity in his parables.[12]

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[11] [Ed. note: It is not that documentary reports of violence are necessarily 'neutral' or 'objective'. On the contrary, the phrase ἔτυπτον εἰς ὃ ἔτυχον μέρος τοῦ σώματος, "they beat him on whatever part of his body they could" (*P.Gurob* 8.12 [Apollonias, 210 BCE]) initially strikes the reader as an indication of a severe thrashing but only until one discovers that the same or similar formulae appear in other complaints: e.g., *BGU* VI 1247.15–16 (137 BCE); *P.Hels*. I 2.15–17 (Arsinoites, 195–192 BCE). These suggest that the formula is stereotypical, designed to underscore the severity of the insult to the victim, rather than an actual description of the assault.]

[12] Barbara E. Reid, "Violent Endings in Matthew's Parables and Christian Nonviolence," *CBQ* 66, no. 2 (2004): 237–55.

She begins by rejecting certain way to resolve the anomaly: (a) that Matthew has combined conflicting strands of tradition which depict God in conflicting ways, either not noticing the conflicts or not bothering to resolve them; (b) that the images of a violent and a gracious deity were intended to illustrate, respectively, lower and higher forms of morality; and (c) that the images of violent males in the parables should not be associated with God at all.

The latter two solutions, according to Reid, are hardly viable. Matthew provides the reader with no guide to sort the various depictions of God into higher and lower moral forms, and in fact the narrative train of Matthew places the most violent images towards the conclusion of his narrative. And given Matthew's unpacking of the allegorical stories of the Planted Weeds (Matt 13:46–43) and the Unmerciful Servant (18:35) – one could add the obvious interpretations of the Tenants (Matt 21:33–46) and the Banquet (22:1–14) – it is impossible to deny that Matthew identifies God as an agent of astonishing violence.[13] [**327**]

Reid's resolution is to distinguish sharply between the nonviolence mandated for Jesus' disciples in the here and now and the violent eschatological action of the deity in effecting judgment[14]:

> The final separation of good and evil depicted in violent ways in the eight parables takes place in the end-time, and is to be done by God, not by human beings. The problem is that all too often Christians are tempted to apply this end-time separation of evildoers and righteous ones to the present.

As the final sentence makes clear, Reid's interest is at least in part in a contemporary application of biblical texts and it is for this reason, presumably, that she also rejects the first solution – Matthew's incorporation of multiple conflicting strands of tradition –, because Matthew provides no metric for how the modern theologically-engaged reader might distinguish one strand of tradition from another and choose to emulate only one strand.[15]

A partially parallel situation exists in the texts of Qumran, which were prepared to imagine horrific violence perpetrated by the angels upon the unjust[16]:

> And the visitation of all those who walk in [the spirit of deceit] will be for an abundance of afflictions at the hands of all the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation by the scorching wrath of the God of revenges, for permanent terror and shame without end with the humiliation of destruction by the fire of the dark region. And all the ages of their generations (they shall spend) in bitter weeping and harsh evils in the abysses of darkness until their destruction, without their being a remnant or a survivor for them. (1QS iv 11–14).

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[13] Reid, "Violent Endings," 250–52.

[14] Reid, "Violent Endings," 253.

[15] See the comments of John J. Collins, "The Zeal of Phinehas: The Bible and the Legitimation of Violence," *JBL* 122, no. 1 (2003): 3–21, esp. 19, who is critical of such selective readings of the Bible. "In short, violence is not the only model of behavior on offer in the Bible, but it is not an incidental or peripheral feature, and it cannot be glossed over."

[16] Translation: Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden, New York and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1997–98), 1:77.

1QM imagines a great eschatological battle in which the congregation participates and which ends with the annihilation of the forces of "Sons of Darkness."[17] Yet this fantasy of violence appears restricted to the end times. Raija Sollamo has argued that[18]

> the dualism adopted in 1QM was intolerant in nature, but still nonviolent in practice, except for the eschatological battle. For this dualism no compromise was allowed. With the representatives of darkness and evil, the sons of Belial, the Prince of Darkness, one must not negotiate; they must be destroyed.... It was impossible for a small group, like the Qumran community, to destroy its enemies, the Sons of Darkness, who comprised the majority of the human race, nor was revenge allowed to individuals (1QS 7.9). The solution was to turn the final decision into an eschatological battle where divine and angelic hosts, led by archangel Michael, would secure victory for the Sons of Light. [**328**]

In accord with the apocalyptic idiom of many Qumran texts, the faithful expected to endure hardships as the End approaches but *not* to seek revenge themselves. Sollamo continues:[19]

> Apocalyptic imagination concerning these hardships was full of violence and the use of force, but it is never permissible for the faithful ones to participate in violent activities or to resort to force (cf. 1QS 7.9). They have to suffer and wait until God intervenes.

The text to which Sollamo repeatedly points, 1QS vii.9, indeed prohibits retaliation. But this prohibition occurs in a section of *Serek haYaḥad* containing rules regulating the behavior of community members. It prohibits retaliation against fellow members, not against outsiders. Thus, we might have a rough analogy to Matthew, who enjoins the forgiveness and reconciliation of community members and prohibits anger and vengeance, but is quite prepared to imagine the torture and killing of the unfaithful in eschatological contexts.

Reid's solution of distinguishing sharply between present behavior and the representation of the End, where scenes of violence are freely elaborated, is not entirely adequate to the Synoptics, however. It ignores, for example, the violence done on behalf of the Jesus people that is not restricted to the End: the destruction of demons, and especially parabolic discourse that reflects on divine violence in causing the destruction of Jerusalem.

There is perhaps another way to consider the distinction that is witnessed in the Synoptics and at Qumran. In a recent article Tonio Hölscher examines the visual depictions of war in Greek and Roman sources. Important differences may be observed in the representation of archaic Greek, Hellenistic, and Roman battles which likely correspond to differences in the ideologies of conflict as well as differences in technologies, battle strategies, and in the organi-

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[17] See e.g., 1QM I.5, 10, 15, 16; III.9; IV.12; IX.5–7; XI.7, 11; XII.5; XIII.11, 13; XIV.5; XV. 2; XVIII.5. Similar statements may be found in other Qumran texts.

[18] Raija Sollamo, "War and Violence in the Ideology of the Qumran Community," in *Verbum et Calamus: Semitic and Related Studies in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Tapani, Harviainen* (ed. Hannu Juusola, Juha Laulainen, and Heikki Plava; Studia Orientalia 99; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2004), 341–52.

[19] Sollamo, "War and Violence."

zation of fighting units.[20] But in depictions of battles in archaic Greece, Hölscher makes a noteworthy observation. When picturing hoplite battles the constant focus is on the virtues of the manliness and bravery of the soldier, who typically strides forward, spear raised.[21] [**329**]

> Vanquished opponents on the other hand, are depicted in the most varied postures – fleeing, kneeling, couching, and lying stretched-out on the ground. *The weapons of victorious warriors often do not even hurt their opponents:* defeat is represented by posture.

By contrast, representations of *mythological* battles are filled with scenes of great cruelty. The war against the Amazons shows Achilles and Herakles killing Amazons[22]; a favourite image is Achilles' notorious ambush and killing of the young Trojan prince Troilos and the desecration of his body.[23] Other images include Achilles' desecration of Hector's corpse by dragging it behind his chariot in front of the Trojan lines, and Ajax's rape of Cassandra in the sanctuary of Athena. These provide graphic pictures of terrible and unparalleled cruelty. Of course terrible violence and cruelty *were* part of actual hoplite warfare. But, Hölscher observes,[24]

> in such images of fury, a wild and dangerous aspect of warfare, which was nevertheless considered an essential part of heroic conduct, *was transferred to the realm of myth*. From these mythological images, we can see more clearly that images of contemporary fighting were consciously focussed on other values – that is, on the values and norms that resulted from the manifold political and social interconnections between the elites of the poleis of archaic Greece.

The parsing of the representation of force and the displacement of savagery onto the gods and mythological heroes created in archaic Greek representations the space for other less lethal virtues such as manliness and courage in the

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[20] Tonio Hölscher, "Images of War in Greece and Rome: Between Military Practice, Public Memory, and Cultural Symbolism," *JRS* 93 (2003): 4–12. Archaic Greek battles are represented as contests between two warriors; Hellenistic forms depict two armies, distinguishable on the basis of clothing and weaponry, facing each other; and Roman reliefs present armies in coherent group formations. Archaic Greek images idealize the warrior's (frequently naked) body, often depicting it in accordance with heroic and athletic ideals; in Hellenistic representations the athletic ideal waned, and in Roman depictions heavily armoured legionaries might be juxtaposed with naked barbarian soldiers. In archaic Greek forms the enemy is not dehumanized and in many cases the two combatants are look alike; the image of the "ferocious uncivilized Gaul" makes its appearance during the Hellenistic period (p. 10); and in Roman reliefs the German enemy is depicted both as uncivilized and as bold (and therefore useful for certain roles). The oriental enemy, by contrast, is pictured as effeminate and weakened by luxury. oriental enemy, by contrast, is pictured as effeminate and weakened by luxury.

[21] Hölscher, "Images of War," 11 (emphasis added).

[22] *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae (LIMC)* (Publié par la Fondation pour le lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae; Zürich: Artemis, 1981–99) I/2 (1981) Amazones, nos. 2–3, 7 (Achilles), 8, 16ab, 18, 26 (Herakles).

[23] *LIMC* I/1 Achle, no. 19–90.

[24] Hölscher, "Images of War," 9–10 (emphasis added).

depiction of contemporary soldiers. This differential apportioning of cruelty and bravery allowed "positive" virtues to be emphasized for the warriors, who in fact were drawn from the same social classes throughout Greece. The contemporary human opponent was neither dehumanized nor his corpse desecrated; he was merely bested. In the next battle, after all, the forces of victory could be reversed, and at other times, these erstwhile opponents would form alliances and treat each other as friends and peers. Excessive cruelty and humiliation belonged to heroes and gods.

This way of parsing the roles of gods and humans in displays of lethal force was certainly not the only one available. Roman depictions of battles – for example, the column of Marcus Aurelius – shows legionaries hacking the vanquished and beheading prisoners while the Emperor, mounted and majestic, grants clemency to suppliants.[25] In the Gemma Augustea, the upper panel shows the gods [**330**] – *Oikoumene*, Oceanus or Neptune, Italia, Roma and the eagle of Jupiter – surrounding the seated and wreathed Augustus in a display of triumph, harmony and majesty. The lower panel has Diana and Mercury with bound and humiliated prisoners, one being dragged by the hair.[26] In other representations, actual violence was deliberately mythologized, as sometimes occurred in the amphitheatre when criminals and prisoners were brutally executed by having them reenact such scenes such as the immolation of Herakles, the castration of Attis, or the punishment of Prometheus.[27] But such instances of conflation could not occur without the existence of a *conceptual distinction* between the "ordinary" violence of humans and the extraordinary violence of gods and heroes.

The point here is to observe that the Synoptic Gospels' allocation of lethal displays to one party and other virtues to other parties is neither singular nor unique. Nor is it entirely correct to suggest, with Reid, that the fault line lies with eschatology, as we shall see. Matthew and probably Mark are both able to imagine terrible violence purveyed by the deity in historical time. The fault line, instead, falls between deities and their agents, who are able to act with extreme force and cruelty, and humans who are enjoined to express more humane virtues. The figure of Jesus is a transitional figure: Markan metaphors ascribe to him the power to torture and destroy demons, much as a Roman legate, but stop short of ascribing lethal force in relation to humans. The Sayings Gospel Q employs generally realistic metaphors when it ascribes force to Jesus, even

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[25] Keith R. Bradley, "On Captives Under the Principate," *Phoenix* 58, no. 3/4 (2004): plates 4, 8. Trajan's column shows the emperor being presented with the heads of the Dacians killed (Hölscher, "Images of War," plate II,1–2).

[26] Bradley, "Captives," 298 and plate 2 [Ed. note: for an analysis of lower register of the Gemma Augustea, see Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Magie der Steine: Die antiken Prunkkameen im Kunsthistorischen Museum* (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Mudeum, 2008), 108–14.]

[27] See Kathleen M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Execution Staged as Mythological Enactments," *JRS* 80 (1990): esp. 60–70.

lethal force. Yet at one key point Q casts Jesus in the role of one who tortures and kills a slave. In Matthew the volume of "imaginary violence" increases substantially and lethal force is imagined to apply not only against opponents of the Jesus movement but against its own underperforming partisans.

Violence, Realistic and Imaginary in Mark

Mark includes a variety of instances of the threat or actual application of force. Most of these are invoked in relation to Jesus' role as an exorcist, and the force that he is imagined to wield is in relation to the demonic world.

In contrast to Q's reference to ὁ ἐρχόμενος, John's coming figure in Mark is called ὁ ἰσχυρότερός (1:7), emphasizing the overwhelming power of Jesus as the Son of God. Adela Yarbro Collins is right to observe that Jesus' designation as "the one stronger than I..." evokes connotations of the divine warrior and his (royal) messiah or another agent in battle."[28] This of course coheres with a tissue of Markan elements. At 1:24 Jesus is expected to "destroy" (ἀπολέσαι) an unclean spirit, which reacts to Jesus' command by "mauling" or "convulsing" (σπαράσσειν) the [331] victim violently, an image not unlike the destructive panic and agony of the defeated depicted in Hellenistic and Roman battle reliefs.[29] Josephus paints just such a picture of the "bandit" defenders of Jerusalem. When they saw that Titus made a show that they were in his hands, "like dogs they mauled (ὥσπερ κύνες ἐσπάραττον) the corpse of the people and filled the prisons with the enfeebled" (*Bell.* 5.526). The request of the Gerasene demon to be spared "torture" (5:7) and instead to be put into a herd of swine evokes battle imagery where the triumphant commander is able to inflict a painful death on the vanquished, or to offer them a swift death.

The notion of superior strength, again in the context of besting the demonic world, is found in the parabolic aphorism of Mark 3:27: "No one is able to invade the house of the strong man (τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ) to steal his goods (τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσαι) unless first he binds the strong man."[30] Although this saying is used to illustrate Mark's argument that it is illogical to suppose that Jesus exorcizes demons by the power of Beelzebul, the aphorism itself draws for its metaphors on realistic scenarios of housebreaking, home invasion and conflicts over property.

The tales of housebreaking related by Apuleius presuppose that if the owner is at home, a vastly superior force is required to assail the house. Entry into the

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[28] Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 146.

[29] Hölscher, "Images of War," plate IV,2.

[30] Adela Yarbro Collins, *Mark*, 233 points to *T.Levi* 18.12 where the eschatological priest binds Beliar: "and Beliar will be bound by him" (καὶ ὁ Βελίαρ δεθήσεται ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ).

house must be secured either by subterfuge or by breaking or dislodging a heavily bolted door,[31] and then by overpowering the guards and other domestic servants. Apuleius tells of armed thieves able to hold back the household defenders with threats of force (*Met.* 3.28), or by killing the defenders outright (4.18), or of one thief getting his compatriots drunk or drugged so that he could bind them and take their spoils (7.12).

Apuleius's novel of course contains fantastic elements. The papyrus record, however, attests cases of conflict over property where force is involved. *BGU* VIII 1821 (Herakleopolites; after 1 Jan. 57 BCE) is a complaint by Hadastes, a military settler and a minor official in the nome, who had been imprisoned – without cause, he claims – and then his seed grain confiscated by the tax collector (λογευτής).

προχειρισάμενος Ἡράκλειος
ὁ λογευτὴς τῆς Σώβθεως ὑπηρέτας
νομαρχικοὺς *traces* καὶ ἀγωγήν μου
ποιησάμενοι τά τε σπέρματα
διαρπάσαντες κατακλείσαντές με
ἐμοῦ.... [**322**]

Herakleios the tax collector of Sobthis assigned some servants of the nomarch and arrested me and seized my seed, imprisoning me.

Herakleios' ability to seize Hadastes' grain depended upon his access to physical constraint, since Hadastes was also an official with some access to power – he claims to be the administrator the public accounts (ἐκλογιστεία) of the nome. This papyrus illustrates how the application of force was a common measure in contests over property.

In Mark's example it is important to keep in mind that it is not merely a matter of the theft of property of some householder, but of the local strongman (τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ) who, one must presume, had his own guards and henchmen. The ancient hearer would assume that "the strong man" is strong because he is able and willing to act violently and to employ others to do the same in pursuit of his interests. Thus, Mark 3:27 places Jesus in the role of one who wields even more force than the local don and is able to overpower and disarm him. The metaphor is full of the implications of overwhelming violence.

1. The Parable of the Tenants

Whilst Mark 1:7 and 1:24 draw realistically on the battlefield conduct, and while Mark 3:27 invokes a realistic scenario of the use of physical constraint as a metaphor for Christ's use of force against the demonic world, the same is not the case with Mark 12:1–9, the conclusion of the parable of the Tenants.

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[31] Apuleius (*Met.* 4.10) mentions 'moving the door' (*sublevare*), lifting it from its hinges (*dimovere*), or breaking it (*perfringere*) and 4.16 has a scenario of gaining entry through forged letters of introduction.

There are indeed some realistic representations in the parable, as I have shown elsewhere.[32] In particular, the assumption that conflict would arise in a vineyard more readily than in a wheat field or vegetable garden is perfectly realistic given the particularities of ancient viticulture: it was the most heavily capitalized sector of ancient agriculture, requiring a substantial investment in facilities and tools; during the four to five years of initial unproductivity, the vineyard nevertheless required costly maintenance;[33] the minimum labor inputs required were significantly higher than for any other crop, and there was a high degree of volatility in the labor required throughout the agricultural cycle[34]; a significant social gulf typically existed between the owners of vineyards and their tenant vinedressers, and owners were normally absentees[35]; the value of the crop relative to other crops made it an especially appealing target for thieves, and the typical rental structures (requiring between one-half and two-thirds of the crop as rent[36]) made it appealing for tenants to try to hide some of the produce, and for landlords to take extraordinary measures to prevent this. [**333**]

Hence, numerous instances of conflict are attested in vineyard: the confiscation of crops by the owner's agents[37]; tenants being expelled from their leases[38]; late payment or nonpayment of wages and tenants' threats to abandon the lease if payment is not forthcoming[39]; requests from tenants that the owner send more guards lest the crop be stolen[40]; violence at harvest time, perhaps from neighbours or the pickers[41]; thefts of crops, iron tools, vineshoots and vine supports, and in some cases, injuries done to a guard trying to prevent the theft[42]; interference from tax collectors who could stop the harvest and pressing until the taxes were paid or sureties given[43]; and overt acts of aggression – tenants being prevented from entering their vineyards by neighbours[44], deliberate damage to the vines and vineyard equipment by rivals of the owner or by neighbours,[45] illegal occupation of vineyards by others and the expulsion

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[32] John S. Kloppenborg, *The Tenants in the Vineyard: Ideology, Economics, and Agrarian Conflict in Jewish Palestine* (WUNT 195; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006).

[33] Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 295–97.

[34] John S. Kloppenborg, "The Growth and Impact of Agricultural Tenancy in Jewish Palestine (III BCE – I CE)," *JESHO* 51, no. 1 (2008): 33–66.

[35] Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 298, 304–5.

[36] Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 581.

[37] *PSI* VI 554 (Zenon archive; III BCE).

[38] *CPR* XVIIA 6 (Hermopolis; III CE).

[39] *P.Zen.Pestm* 37; *PSI* IV 414; *PSI* IV 421; *P.Lond.* VII 2061; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59317; *P.Zen.Pestm.* 52.

[40] *PSI* IV 345; *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59329; *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59610.

[41] *PSI* IV 345.

[42] *P.Mich.* I 63–64; *P.Gur.* 8; *CPJ* I 14; *P.Oxy.* XX 2274.

[43] *P.Mich.* X 601.

[44] *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59367.

[45] *P.Enteux.* 65; *P.Mich.* V 229; *SB* XVI 12524.

of the tenants, normally about harvest time when there was a chance of appropriating the grape harvest and its revenue.[46]

Of course, tenants did not normally revolt in the course of things or kill their landlord's agents. The parable here takes literary license. But what Mark 12:1–8 describes is not far from the realm of the realistic. Perhaps events such as that related in Mark 12:1–8 occurred from time to time. A papyrus from the late second or early third century CE contains a complaint of an owner of an olive orchard who found two persons harvesting his date palms. When he tried to apprehend them, the interlopers tried to kill him with a pruning knife in order to appropriate his land.[47] Surely the ancient reader of Mark 12:1–8 would not register the same shock that some modern readers do when they hear of a story of homicide in a vineyard around harvest time. The ancient reader, understanding the tools of the vinedresser's trade, would no doubt assume that the killing was done with iron tools – mattocks, hooks and pruning knives. In sum, the scenario depicted in Mark 12:1–8 (and *Gos. Thom.* 65) is well within the realm of the imaginable. [334]

If Mark 12:1–8 evokes a scenario that at least has the ring of verisimilitude, Mark 12:9 does not. In response the killing of the only son, the parable puts the question, "What then will the owner of the vineyard do?" It answers immediately, "he will come and will destroy those tenants," as if this were the obvious conclusion to the story. Indeed many critics, beginning with Dodd, supposed that this is the inevitable conclusion, even though Dodd himself did not think that v. 9b was original to the parable.[48]

Mark 12:9 in fact makes three assumptions which in no way can be judged realistic or inevitable. First, it takes as self-evident that the owner would move against the tenants in order to dislodge them. But as I have shown elsewhere, in other cases of known take-overs of vineyards, even powerful owners such as Apollonios the *dioikētēs* of Ptolemy II Philopater did *not* dare attempt to dislodge the aggressors. Less powerful individuals clearly avoided punitive expeditions for fear of suffering physical injury themselves. Hence, Mark's

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[46] *P.Cair.Zen.* IV 59624; *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3464; *P.Cair.Zen.* II 59179.

[47] *P.Mich.Michael* 11 (Karanis?; 180-210 CE): 'When I visited] the olive-garden which belongs to me in the plain of Psenarpsenesis of the village of Karanis, I found Satabous, also called Kinkiol, along with his son, harvesting the fruit of the date-palms on the same land. And when I wanted to lay hold of him, desiring to kill(?) me with the pruning-knife(?) that he had and [to appropriate] my [land, he . . .] (ὡς δὴ ἐβουλήθην ἐπιλ̣[αβ]έ̣σθαι αὐτοῦ, ᾧ εἶχεν δ̣[ρεπά]γ̣ῳ ἐ̣[μ]ὲ̣ βουλόμε[νος ἀποκτείν]ειν καί̣ μου[---).

[48] Dodd, *Parables*, 98, 102. Similarly, Scott "Essaying the Rock: The Authenticity of the Jesus Parable Tradition," *Forum* 2, no. 1 (1986): 23: "It is also a normal response by a reader – a reader/performer expects a master to punish." Newell and Newell ("The Parable of the Wicked Tenants," *NovT* 14 [1972]: 236) also argue that the parable ended with v. 9a, but conclude that the question "can have only one answer: It is that the owner will put the tenants to death for their crimes."

assumption is clearly *not* self-evident to any first-century audience.[49] Second, verse 9 assumes that the owner would undoubtedly *succeed* in recovering his property. Such confidence is plainly unrealistic given actual reports of the illegal occupation of farms and the difficulties that plaintiffs incurred in recovery. For even when one's claim to ownership was unassailable, it could not be taken for granted that recaption would be smooth or that it would occur at all. The owner would have to be possessed of clearly superior force, since, as the parable makes plain, the tenants were already armed and were prepared to use force themselves in order to retain the vineyard. What is astonishing in verse 9 is its naïve assumption that the owner would succeed, something that no ancient reader of the story could assume.[50] And finally, the conclusion to Mark's story takes for granted that the owner's resort to self-help was normal and indeed justified, when in fact an analysis of contemporary Roman, Greek, and Graeco-Egyptian law shows that self-help of this sort had been criminalized.[51] It is not that such resorts to self-help may not have occurred. The point is that Mark 12:9 does not betray the least embarrassment or interest in justifying what in a depiction of actual events was in fact clearly an illegal resort to [335] force.[52] Lease agreements regularly contained a clause permitting the lessor, in the event of default, to expel (ἐκβάλλειν) the lessee from the object of the lease and to re-let it (μεταμισθοῦν) to others.[53] They did not permit self-help.

What makes verse 9 the "natural" conclusion to the story is its Isaian intertext, introduced in v. 1. Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard (Isa 5:1–7) tells the story

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[49] Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 344–45.

[50] Compare the celebrated case prosecuted by Cicero of the seizure of the farm belonging to Aulus Caecina by Sextus Aebutius and detailed in *Pro Caesina*. It is far from clear that Cicero's case won the day, or that Caecina was able to recover his land. On this see Bruce W. Frier, *The Rise of the Roman Jurists: Studies in Cicero's Pro Caecina* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[51] Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 338–46; Abraham Schalit, *König Herodes: Der Mann und sein Werk* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1969), 256.

[52] Klyne Snodgrass (*Stories with Intent: A Comprehensive Guide to the Parables of Jesus* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 2008], 292) concedes now that the owner's action in taking the law into his own hands was illegal, but asks, "Is it unrealistic to hear a story of people who did?" This, however, misses the key point that the story makes no apology whatsoever for the owner's action, nor does it betray any uncertainty over whether the owner's actions would be successful. It is the *naive confidence* reflected in verse 9 rather than the action itself which indicates that the story is no longer speaking of a vineyard owner, but is speaking of God.

[53] See, e.g, clauses permitting expulsion (ἐκβάλλειν) and re-leasing (μεταμισθοῦν): *P.Col.Zen.* I 54.18–19 (256 BCE); *P.Hal.* 1v.8.177 (III BCE); *BGU* IV 1119.39–40 (6/5 BCE); *BGU* IV 1120.45 (5 BCE); *BGU* IV 1121.25–36 (5 BCE); *BGU* IV 1122.33–36 (13 BCE); *P.Köln* III 147.14 (30 BCE–14 CE); *P.Ross.Georg.* II 19.50 (141 CE). Other contracts stipulate that the lease being guaranteed, the tenant's tenure is secure against expulsion (ἐκβάλλειν) and re-leasing (μεταμισθοῦν): *P.Tebt.* I 105.31–21 (103 BCE).

of an oddly unsuccessful vineyard and ends with the owner demolishing the wall and allowing it to be trampled and destroyed. Mark's generally realistic story of a man who encountered problems with his tenants assumes a different cast when it is conflated with or seen to reenact *another* story, taken from Israelite representations of the actions of the deity. Mark's adaptation of the ending of Isaiah's song takes into account the particularities of the parable: it was not a vineyard that had become unproductive but rather the tenants who had robbed the owner of his produce and killed his son.[54] Hence, the remedy was not to destroy the vineyard but to destroy the tenants.

This *deus ex machina* ending makes sense only if the reader understands from the allusions to Isa 5:1–2, 5 in vv. 1, 9 that the parable is no longer speaking about a vineyard or a real owner, but instead is speaking about God, and that certain details are deliberate mythological renactments. God is unfettered by human prohibitions of self-help; one must assume that God's actions are justified; and one must also assume that God's efforts at recovering the "vineyard" would be successful. That is, all of the implausibilities and illegalities of verse 9, if read as a realistic story, vanish once one sees that it is discourse about God. Verse 9 is not only a *deus ex machina* ending in the theatrical sense of an ending that is not warranted by the plot up to that point, but also in the sense that the protagonist of verse 9 is quite literally God. [336]

The significance of this conclusion should not be missed. At a crucial point in his narrative, Mark moved beyond metaphors based on the "realistic" norms of force attested in the experiences of Mediterranean persons, and invokes a discourse of a *divine being using lethal force* in punishing enemies. Mark 12:9 does not involve the destruction of demons, but imagines the killing of humans, as 12:12 makes clear, Jesus' opponents. Mark 12:1–9 shifts registers to the realm of the gods and their ability to use force out of proportion with what human could muster. This is the *only* point in Mark's narrative where the divine explicitly intervenes or is imagined to intervene with such deadly force to kill human opponents.

Force and Violence in Q

Like Mark the metaphorical discourse in Sayings Gospel Q for the most part reflects the realities of life in an advanced agrarian society.

Although Q 6:47–49, the parable of the Two Builders, warns of destruction,

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[54] I have shown elsewhere ("Egyptian Viticultural Practices and the Citation of Isa 5:1–7 in Mark 12:1–9," *NovT* 44, no. 2 [2002]: 134–59) that the LXX rendering of the MT of Isa 5:1–7 has already introduced implicitly the idea of tenancy though its substitution of ἄκανθα (thorns) for the MT's *beʾušîm* (stinking grapes), since thorns are a sign of poor tending, against which tenancy contracts regularly have stipulations. Hence, the LXX's owner cannot be the vinedresser, since in that case he is fully responsible for the unproductivity of the vineyard.

that destruction is due to stupidity rather than punishment inflicted by a divine agent. Like Mark, Q illustrated Jesus' triumph over demons by citing a parable of a strong man (Q 11:21–22). Unfortunately, it is impossible to reconstruct this parable with any certainty.[55] If Matt 12:29 reflects Q, Q's parable was very close to that in Mark (3:27), and pictured the overpowering of a local strong-man. If Luke 11:21–22 reflects Q, the image is of a soldier who overpowers another and distributes the spoils to his own partisans. In either case, however, Q's parable represents Jesus in the role of a man of violence, but does not transgress the bounds of realistic discourse.

1. Q 12:33–34, 39–40

A more striking picture of violence is Q's comparison of the Son of Man to a housebreaker in 12:39. The context in Q is supplied by the prior admonition concerning wealth:

[33] «μὴ θησαυρίζετε ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπου σὴς καὶ βρῶσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται διορύσσουσιν καὶ κλέπτουσιν·» θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυρο… ἐν οὐραν⟦ῷ⟧, ὅπου οὔτε σὴς οὔτε βρῶσις ἀφανίζει καὶ ὅπου κλέπται οὐ διορύσσουσιν οὐδὲ κλέπτουσιν· [34] ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ θησαυρός σου, ἐκεῖ ἔσται καὶ ἡ καρδία σου. (12:33–34)

This draws on the entirely realistic scenario of housebreaking in which the thief, rather than smashing the door, tunnels through the wall. Compare, for example, the complaint to a local official in *P.Mich.* V 421.5–9 (41–54 CE): [337]

5 .τινὲς ληστρικῶι τρόπωι
[δ]ι̣ῴρυξαν τὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὄνων
αὐ̣[λ]ὴν καὶ ἔνδον γενόμενοι ἀπήλασάν μο[υ]
ὄνους λευκοὺς δύο τελείους τιμηθέντας
ʟ σϙ

... certain persons dug their way through the wall of the courtyard like thieves and getting inside drove off two full-grown white donkeys of mine valued at 290 drachmae.... [56]

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[55] The International Q Project printed Q 11:21–22 in open brackets, indicating that the text was in Q, but its wording could not be reconstructed (James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q: A Synopsis, Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and Thomas, with English, German and French Translations of Q and Thomas* [Hermeneia Supplements; Leuven: Peeters; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000], 234–35).

[56] The technique of digging through (διορύσειν) a wall or undermining (ὑπορύσσειν) a door is attested in several complaints about theft. *P.Oxy.* XLIX 3467 (98 CE): [···]·[c ?] την ·ρ··[c ?]νος λης[τρικῷ τρόπῳ διορύ]ξαντές τι̣νε̣[ς τὸ ἐν τῇ δημο]σί̣ᾳ ῥύμῃ τεῖχος τῆς αὐ̣[λῆς] καὶ εἰσελθόντες ἀπήλασάν μου πρόβατα ὀκτώ, "... some in a bandit-like fashion dug through the wall in the public street of the courtyard and entering, set free eight of my sheep"; *P.Tebt.* III 804 (112 BCE): report of night burglary, "having undermined the doorpost (ὑπορύξαν|τες τὸ σταθμὸν), he entered the vestibule. I woke up and shouted for help"; *P.Mich.* inv. 3267 (*SB* XX 14679) (205–24 CE) also mentions the undermining of a house (ὑπορύξαντες τὴν οἰκίαν ἐβάστασαν) and violent entry.

The next Q saying, Q 12:39–40, recycles the image of housebreaking but now applies it to the Son of Man, comparing *him* to a housebreaker:

[39] [[ἐκεῖν]]ο δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι εἰ ᾔδει ὁ οἰκοδεσπότης ποί φυλακῇ ὁ κλέπτης ἔρχεται, οὐκ ἂν [[εἴασ]]εν διορυχθῆναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. [40] καὶ ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι, ὅτι ᾗ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρᾳ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.

As can be seen, Q 12:39–40 is attached to 12:33–34 by the catchwords διορύς-σειν and κλέπτης. The result of the juxtaposition of the two sayings is doubly jarring, since in 12:33–34 the point is to acquire goods that cannot in principle be stolen, while in 12:39 the point is to prevent a theft of goods that can be stolen. And while 12:39 and *Gos. Thom.* 21; 103 presume that a theft can be prevented by readiness – not merely being awake but being prepared with arms to repel the attack –, Q 12:40 implies that one should be constantly armed because one *cannot* know when the (armed) thief is coming.

In a context where housebreaking was common, the image of the house-breaker is a vivid reminder not only of unexpected loss but also of violent confrontation. The modern North Atlantic interpreter is likely to miss the assumptions about violence that are part of this saying – the violence of thieves undermining walls and the violence of a householder repelling such attacks with equal or greater force. Q's alignment of the Son of man with a bandit-/housebreaker is no less striking than Mark's comparison of Jesus with one who is strong enough to overwhelm a local strongman. Both comparisons presuppose the central importance of brute force in effecting one's goals. Yet Q uses the image of the housebreaker only as an analogy to the bandit's unexpected appearance, and stops short of identifying the Son of Man with the lethal force that bandits applied. [338]

2. Q 12:42–46: The Slave left in Charge

Much more gruesome, but still within the realm of the realistic, is Q's parable of the Slave left in Charge. The parable is told in a generally realistic vein. Q imagines a slave estate, with a *vilicus* responsible for the management of other slaves, a scenario well known from agronomic writers such as Cato and Columella. Owners were typically anxious that in their absence managers might abuse their trust and, presumably, managers did so only when they thought that they would not be discovered. Estate owners (or their agents) frequently made inspection tours of their holdings, sometimes discovering their orders being disobeyed.[57]

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[57] See Cato, *De agri cultura* 5.3–4 and the wide-ranging advice of Columella, *De re rustica* 1.7–8. Examples of inspection visits or the right to conduct them are found in *P.Lond.* VII 1948 (257 BCE); *P.Cair.Zen.* III 59300 (ca. 250 BCE); III 59329 (249 BCE); *BGU* IV 1122.36 (13 BCE); IV 1151.46 (13 BCE); *P.Flor.* II 118; 127; 148.11–14; 156; 201; 267.

What is more striking in Q's parable is the severity of the punishment that is imagined: the untrustworthy slaves is not beaten or sold but bisected (διχοτομεῖν), and then his lot assigned to the disloyal (ἄπιστοι). This punishment has embarrassed some interpreters, who, citing 1QS ii.16–17, tried to mitigate its force by arguing that the verb refers figuratively to being cut off from the community.[58] Jeremias conjectured that διχοτομεῖν was the result of a mistranslation of the Aramaic יִפַלֵּג לֵהּ (√ פלג, "divide"), which could have been rendered "he will give him (blows)" or "he will assign him (his portion)."[59]

The Greek verb, however, is unambiguous, although it is normally reserved to medical, astronomical, mathematical and architectural contexts.[60] Josephus (*Ant.* 8.31) uses the verb in connection with Solomon's famous offer to split a child under dispute and the *Greek Apocalypse of Baruch* has Michael command his angels to "cut [the wicked] apart with sword and death and their children with demons" (καὶ διχοτομήσατε αὐτοὺς ἐν μαχαίρᾳ καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ, καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἐν δαιμονίοις (16:3).[61] A related verb, διατέμνειν/διατάμνειν is attested describing the dismemberment of humans. Odysseus threatens to have an opponent torn to pieces (διὰ μελεϊστὶ τάμῃσιν, *Od.* 18.339). Herodotus (2.139.1) [339] reports a vision in which Sabacos the king of Ethiopia is advised to cut Egyptian priests in half (πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν). Herodotus also relates Xerxes' punishment of a retainer, Pythius the Lydian, by having his eldest son cut in half and the two halves of the body placed on opposite sides of the road for the army to march through (μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά) (7.39.3). Caligula is said to have had victims sawn in half (*multos honesti ordinis... medios serra dissecuit*) (Suetonius, *Caligula* 27).[62] Famously, Isaiah is rumour-

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[58] See Otto Betz, "The Dichotomized Servant and the End of Judas Iscariot," *RevQ* 5 [1964]: 43–58) who cites 1QS ii.16–17 ("May God separate him for evil and may he be cut off (ונכרת) from the midst of all the sons of light... May he [God] assign his lot with the cursed ones forever"). This suggestion is accepted by Eduard Schweizer, *The Good News According to Matthew* (trans. David E. Green; Atlanta, Ga.: John Knox Press, 1975), 463; John R. Donahue, *The Gospel in Parable: Metaphor, Narrative, and Theology in the Synoptic Gospels* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1988), 100.

[59] Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of Jesus* (Revised edition [based on 8th 1970 German ed.]; trans. S.H. Hooke; London: SCM Press; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 57 n. 31. T.W. Manson (*The Sayings of Jesus* [London: SCM Press, 1949 [repr. 1971]], 118) proposed that there was a confusion between the Hebr. נִתַּח (Pi. 'cut up') and the Aram. נָתַח, which can mean 'to cut up' or 'to seize' or 'take by force'. M.-J. Lagrange (*L'Évangile selon saint Luc* [4th ed. 1927; repr., EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1921], 370) admits the plain meaning of the verb, but argues "cependant il faut ici l'entendre au figuré, puisque le serviteur va se trouver rangé parmi les infidèles."

[60] Snodgrass (*Stories with Intent*, 502) wrongly reports that it is "rare." On the contrary, the verb is commonly attested (more than 300x) in Greek literature.

[61] This section of 3 Baruch shows the influence of Matthew.

[62] There is some evidence that later rabbis knew of execution by 'bisection': *b. Sanh.* 52b: "But whence do we know it [viz. execution by the sword] of a murderer? — It has been

ed to have been "sawn in two," a legend which is alluded to in Heb 11:37.[63] There are no defensible grounds for avoiding the plain meaning of Q's verb.[64]

Although the punishment is gruesome in the extreme, it is hardly unrealistic. An inscription from Puteoli dating from the Augustan period outlines the duties of a *manceps* (contractor), which include the disposal of corpses and the torturing and execution of slaves[65]:

> Qui supplic(ium) de ser(vo) servave privatim sumer(e) volet, uti is sumi volet ita supplic(ium) sumet, si in cruc(em) patibul(atum) agere volet, redempt(or) asser(es) vincul(a) restes verbera-torib(us) et verberator(es) praeber(e) d(ebeto), etquisq(uis) supplic(ium) sumet pro oper(is) sing(ulis) quae patibul(um) ferunt verberatorib(us)q(ue) item carnif(ici) HS IIII d(are) d(ebeto).
>
> If someone, privately, wants to inflict punishment on a male or female slave, then the punishment must be inflicted in the way that has been asked for, so that if he has asked for the yoke and the cross, the *manceps* must provide the beams, the fetters, the whips for the floggers, and the floggers, and each person asking for inflicting punishment must pay 4 [**340**] sesterces for each worker carrying the yoke, and for each flogger, and likewise for the executioner. (cols. 8–10).

It is not incidental that the object of the brutal treatment in Q 12:46 is a slave. Jennifer Glancy rightly stresses the fact that slaves were answerable in their

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taught: [And if a man strikes his slave ... and he die under his hand,'] he shall surely be avenged. Now I do not know what form this vengeance is to take; but when it is written, A ND I WILL BRING A SWORD UPON YOU, WHICH SHALL EXECUTE THE VENGEANCE OF THE COVENANT [Lev 26:25], I learn that vengeance is by the sword. But perhaps it means that he must be pierced through? — It is written, WITH THE EDGE OF THE SWORD. Then perhaps it means that he must be cut in two [lengthwise]?"

[63] See the *Lives of the Prophets* (Isaiah) 1: Isaiah was "sawn in two" (πρισθεὶς εἰς δύο). This is repeated by the *Assumption of Isaiah* (5.1). For other instances of dismemberment, see 1 Sam 15:33; Susanna 55 (ἤδη γὰρ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ λαβὼν φάσιν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σχίσει σε μέσον.), 59 (μένει γὰρ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἔχων πρίσαι σε μέσον).

[64] Most interpreters are now prepared to accept the literal meaning of the verb: Alfons Weiser, *Die Knechtsgleichnisse der synoptischen Evangelien* (SANT 29; Munich: Kösel, 1971), 198–201; I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Exeter: Paternoster Press; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978), 543; Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1982), 497; W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Matthew* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1988–97), 3:390; Bernard Brandon Scott, *Hear Then the Parable: A Commentary on the Parables of Jesus* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 210–11; Mary Ann Beavis, "Ancient Slavery as an Interpretive Context for the New Testament Servant Parables with Special Reference to the Unjust Steward (Luke 16:1–8)," *JBL* 111, no. 1 (1992): 42–43; Arland J. Hultgren, *The Parables of Jesus: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids, Mich. and Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2000), 161; Ulrich Luz, *Matthew 21–28* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 225.

[65] Text: John Bodel, "Graveyards and Groves: A Study of the *Lex Lucerina*," *AJAH* 11 (1986): 1–133 and François Hinard and Jean Christian Dumount, eds., *Libitina: Pompes funèbres et supplices en Campanie à l'époque d'Auguste. Édition, traduction et commentaire de la Lex libitinae Puteolana* (De l'archéologie à l'histoire; Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 2003).

bodies and argues that Matthew's representation of slaves merely inscribes the prevailing ideology of slavery, which viewed slaves as bodies available to their owners' use and punishable only in their bodies.[66] In Plautus' comedies slaves are routinely subject to a wide variety of tortures. Erich Segal observes[67]:

> [b]esides the countless references to the standard whipping instruments like *virgae* (rods) and *stimuli* (goads), [Plautus'] comedies display a vocabulary of tortures which, for color, variety, and inventiveness, is matched only (appropriately enough) by his Rabelaisian rosters of trickeries. Plautus mentions an astounding number of torture devices, including iron chains, hot tar, burning clothes, restraining collars, the rack, the pillory, and the mill. The fact that his bondsmen are so frequently referred to as *verbero* ("flog-worthy"), *mastigia* ("whip-worthy"), and *furcifer* ("gallowsbird") is an additional reminder of what retribution usually awaits a misbehaving slave. (These allusions are far too numerous to cite, but it may be worth noting that there is a high incidence of these "torture titles" in, of all plays, the *Captivi*.)

Hence, despite the seeming hyperbole of Q's picture of a bisected slave and the ways it might offend modern sensibilities, such bodily punishment fell within the range of the imaginable.

If we do not seek to avoid the obvious intent of Q's διχοτομεῖν, two further features of the parable become important in the context of a discussion of violence. The first concerns the object of force. All of the sayings preceding the parable (Q 12:2–12, ⟦13–15, 16–20⟧, 22–31, 33–34, 39–40) are aimed at insiders to the Jesus movement, or at least persons who are potential sympathizers and who might accept Q's moral instruction. Since there is no indication of a change of audience, this means that, in sharp contrast to Mark's metaphors of lethal force, the threat of lethal force in Q 12:46 is directed not at opponents but at *insiders*. These insiders (or potential sympathizers) are to conduct themselves appropriately as slaves or face brutal punishment.

Contemporary apocalyptic literature is rife with imagined scenes of torture and brutal punishment – persons being cast into flaming pits, or being devoured by animals and vomited up only to be devoured again. The typical victims of such tortures are fallen stars, kings and landlords, sinners, and the wicked – that [341] is, persons whom one presumes do *not* belong to these authors' identity groups.[68] Hence, it is remarkable that Q turns the threat of such violence on its own partisans.[69] One explanation of this development lies with Q's

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[66] Jennifer Ann Glancy, "Slaves and Slavery in the Matthean Parables," *JBL* 119, no. 1 (2000): 67–90, esp. 90.

[67] Erich Segal, *Roman Laughter: The Comedy of Plautus* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 138. I owe this reference to Glancy ("Slaves and Slavery," 81). See in general, Keith R. Bradley, *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire: A Study in Social Control* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 118–37.

[68] See *1 Enoch* 17; 21 (fallen stars); 63 (kings, rulers and landlords); 103 (sinners); *T.Abr.* 12 (those entering by the broad path); *T.Isaac* 5.10–32 (sinners); *2 Apoc. Bar.* 30.5 (the wicked); Greek Apoc. Esdras (4.13–24) (sinners); *Vision of Esdras* (sinners).

[69] A parallel is found at Qumran, where covenanters were subject both to the discipline of the sect for various infractions of the rule, but also to extreme punishment at the hands of God or "all those who accomplish retributions" (1QS ii.6–7). See Carol Newsom, *The Self as*

choice to adopt the trope of the household in 12:39–40 and 12:42–46. Once the trope was adopted, the dynamics of slave owning became narrative options. When imagining a punishment for a disloyal slave, the parable remains strictly within the idiom of household management, even if it chose one of the most extreme punishments available. In this respect Q does not, like Mark 12:9, appeal to "imaginary" violence, but remains strictly within the bounds of a realistic story. If Q moves outside the bounds of realistic household management, it is only in the final phrase, Q 12:46b (καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει). Commenting on the Lukan version, Nolland cites 1QS 2.16–17, "[God] will give his allotted portion in the midst of the accursed forever" and remarks[70]:

> Here we are dealing with the assignment of an eschatological destiny. This final clause is likely to have been added at a time in the transmission history when Jesus' role in assigning eschatological destinies was self-evidently the thrust of the story.

A second noteworthy feature of the parable concerns the subject of διχοτομήσει. Prescinding for a moment from the question of the referents in the original parable, for Q the κύριος (and therefore the dispenser of the punishment) is clearly the Son of Man. The allegorical identification of the ὁ κύριος of 12:46 with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου of 12:40 is inevitable given the close and deliberate structural similarities between the two parables.[71] Hence, there is a progression in Q from the representation of the Son of Man as a housebreaker whose advent cannot be anticipated or stopped, to the Son of Man as a slave-owning disciplinarian, able to dispense graphic and horrific punishment.

In the sequence from 12:39–40 to 12:42–46, Q shifts from the responsibilities of an οἰκοδεσπότης to those of the chief δοῦλος or οἰκονόμος. The κύριος of the [342] second parable in fact functions in the role of an οἰκοδεσπότης. This shift in social register is symptomatic of a later development when

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Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran (Studies in the Texts of the Desert of Judah 52; Leiden: E.J. Brill; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 2004), 95–101, 127–34.

[70] See John Nolland, *Luke* (Word Biblical Commentary 35A-C; Dallas, TX: Word Books, 1989–93), 704. Of the various proposals to see redactional development in the parable, Nolland judges the descriptions of the first slave as "faithful" and "wise" and the final clause of v. 46 assigning the slave to a place with the unfaithful to be the most likely secondary accretions. "The first seems to short-circuit the logic of the parable...; the last moves right outside the story logic of the parable" (700).

[71] This is the consensus of virtually all scholars. See most recently, Claus-Peter März, "Zur Vorgeschichte von Lk 12,35–48: Beobachtungen zur Komposition der Logientradition in der Redequelle," in *Christus bezeugen: Festschrift für Wolfgang Trilling zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. Karl Kertelge, Traugott Holtz, and Claus-Peter März; Erfurter theologische Studien 59; Leipzig: St. Benno, 1989), 175; Harry T. Fleddermann, *Q: A Reconstruction and Commentary* (Biblical Tools and Studies 1; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 634–35; Brian Han Gregg, *The Historical Jesus and the Final Judgment Sayings in Q* (WUNT 2/207; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 216–17.

it was deemed more appropriate to identify Jesus' followers with "slaves" rather than "householders," a term which in other circumstances is a metaphor for Jesus or God.[72]

Finally, it should be noted that the function of this parable is not merely to enjoin faithful action. That point could easily have been made without stressing the delay and sudden return of the κύριος. In fact much the same point is made by the story of Joseph in Genesis 39 which, as Dale Allison has pointed out, has many points of contact with Q 12:42–46.[73] In later developments of the Joseph story in the *Testament of Joseph*, Joseph adds that as overseer he drank no wine, but supplied food to the poor (*T.Jos*. 3.5).[74] Q's parable, by contrast, stresses not only the master's absence – which was not uncommon, since owners often did not wish to be involved in the daily operations of their estates – but his delay and sudden return. The latter detail is in fact borrowed from 12:40 (ᾗ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρᾳ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται.).

Given the emphasis of Q's parable, its main thrust appears to have been to encourage the same consciousness as that enjoined by Q 17:26–30. Since the Day of the Lord will come without any warning whatsoever, in the midst of perfectly ordinary events, it is imperative to be ready (cf. 12:40: ὑμεῖς γίνεσθε ἕτοιμοι) at all times. Q's answer to the suspicion of a delay of the Parousia (12:45) is that there may well be no delay at all. It is dangerous folly to put one's trust in guesses about the End, despite how educated they might seem. The conclusion to Q's parable, with its depiction of the terrible fate of the slave, is paralleled in Q 17 by the spectre of one member of a family or clan being swept away to destruction while her or his fellow is spared (Q 17:34–35).

Thus, unlike Mark, Q maintains a generally realistic idiom when describing violent scenarios. There are other points in Q's discourse where "imaginary" scenes are entertained – fiery destruction of the non-repentant (Q 3:9, 17), Capernaum's descent to Hades (10:15), and the resurrection of the Queen of the South and the Ninevites (Q 11:31–32) – but in Q's parables at least, a realistic tone is preserved and metaphors are invoked that are based on the ordinary practices and patterns of exchange in Mediterranean society – house-breaking, and household management. In Q, however, the Son of Man becomes a man of violence not only against demons but against his own disobedient partisans. [**343**]

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[72] Cf. Matthew, who uses 'householder' (οἰκοδεσπότης) in particular in parables and metaphorical expressions seven times: Matt 10:25^{R}; 13:27^{S}, 52^{S}; 20:1^{S}, 11^{S}; 21:33^{R}; 24:43 (=Q).

[73] Dale C. Allison, *The Intertextual Jesus: Scripture in Q* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000), 87–92.

[74] Allison, *Intertextual Jesus*, 90 adds a reference to his master's absence (ἐὰν δὲ ἀπεδήμει, οἶνον οὐκ ἔπινον), which is the reading of some manuscripts, instead of ἐὰν δὲ ἐπεδίδη μοι οἶνον, οὐκ ἔπινον.

Divine Force and Violence in Matthew

Matthew's editing of Mark's stories and his creation of new episodes intensified the level of lethal force attributed to the divine or agents of the divine. Matthew's penchant for a fuller allegorizing of parables also led to an increasing disconnection between the original realistic scenarios of the parables and the meta-message that Matthew wished to install in the parable. Matthew's parables, unlike Mark's or Q's, are unrealistic from the very beginning. And while Matthew preserved Mark's metaphors of force in regard to the besting of demons and the punishment of opponents, he extended his metaphors of force to *insiders* to the Jesus movement, the "underperformers" as far as his ethical demands were concerned. Increasingly Matthew's language embraces fantastic or at least unusual scenarios.[75]

In Matthew's adaptation of Mark and Q, two features of these documents were decisive. First, Matthew has expanded and elaborated Mark's *deus ex machina* ending to Mark 12:1–9 and used the motif of divine destruction to transform Q's parable of the Banquet into an allegorical story featuring God's destruction of his enemies. Second, Matthew combined two features of Q to create a discourse increasing aimed at insiders rather than at demons and opponents: Q's attention to household management, seen in the parable of the Slave left in Charge, and a tag-phrase found in Q 13:28.

1. The Destruction of Opponents: Matt 21:33–22:10

In place of Mark's single parable (Mark 12:1–9), Matthew created a triptych of the parable of the Two Sons (21:28–32), the Tenants (21:33–46), and the Banquet (22:1–10, 11–14), all aimed at the chief priests and elders and all having to do with God's demand for righteousness. The three parables also illustrate escalating sequence from non-belief (21:32), to the killing of the son (21:39), to the abuse and killing of God's slaves, presumably members of the Jesus movement (22:6).

Matthew's editing of Mark's parable of the Tenants has greatly enhanced its allegorical dimensions. First, while the significance of the vineyard is not entirely clear in Mark, Matt 21:43 indicates that Matthew saw it as the Reign of God. Second, Matthew allegorized the "harvest" (καρποί)[76] demanded by the owner as "righteousness" demanded by God.[77] Third, his interpretation of the

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[75] On the usual understanding of Synoptic relationships, Matthew edited Mark. Matthew did not preserve Mark's account of the destruction of the unclean spirit in Mark 1:23–28, but he took over mostly unchanged Mark's image of a burglary in 3:27 at Matt 12:29. And the demon at Matt 8:29, like its Markan counterpart, expects to be tortured (βασανίσαι).

[76] On the plural καρποί meaning 'harvest', see *P.Lond.* II 163.6–7, "we wish to lease from you for a period of three years (and) three harvests" (εἰς [ἔ]τη τ̣ρ̣{ε}ί̣α καρ[ποὺς] | τρεῖς).

[77] (1) In Mark the owner expects 'to receive *from* the harvest' (λάβῃ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος), implying a standard crop-share arrangement. Matthew converted this into 'to

slaves as [**344**] the prophets is even more patent than it is in Mark, especially because he has some of the slaves "stoned," anticipating Matt 23:37–39 and recalling 2 Chr 24:21.[78] These transformations have the effect of alerting the hearer that the story is not about viticulture at all, but is a coded story about God's dealings with Israel.

It should then come as no surprise when Matthew further elaborates the punishment sequence of Mark 12:9. Since the reader of Matt 21:33–46 recognizes *via* the allusions to Isa 5:1–7[79] that the parable is in fact about God's relationship with Israel, the tensions that exist in Mark, between the generally realistic idiom in Mark 12:1–8 and the implausible conclusion (v. 9), are mitigated considerably, if not eliminated entirely. Matthew's householder is not a real viticulturalist but a stand-in for God. Because of this the reader has no expectation that the actions of the householder will be governed by realistic norms.

Matthew's editing of Mark 12:9 has three aspects. First, he adds the phrase, ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος, which at first sight might appear to be an allusion to the Parousia (cf. Matt 19:28; 25:31). Since, however, ὁ κύριος is the vineyard owner, not the son, and since in Matt 21:46 the chief priests and elders recognize themselves in the destruction of the first tenants, it is more likely that Matthew has the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE in view.[80] The

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receive *his harvest*', as though the owner were entitled to the whole of the harvest. Gundry (*Matthew*, 426) aptly comments that "the theological symbolism of God's demanding the totality of people's lives has swallowed up the economic realism, which requires rental payment of only part of the crop." (2) Matthew underscores the importance of the 'harvest' twice more in the parable, both times, redactionally. First he qualifies Mark's 'others' (12:9) as 'those who will return to him *the harvest* in its appropriate time' (21:41). Then he offers his own interpretation of the parable: the Reign of God will be taken from the priestly élite and given to an *ethnos* 'which produces *its harvest*' (τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς) (21:43). Since Matthew earlier uses καρποί as a metaphor for good works or righteousness (3:9; 7:16–20; 12:33), and given the obvious paraenetic import of the parable of the Wedding Garment which follows (22:11–14), it is a reasonable surmise that the produce looked for by the owner (i.e., God) is righteousness.

[78] Matthew compresses Mark's sequence of three individual slaves into two *groups* of slaves and adds ὃν μὲν ἔδειραν, ὃν δὲ ἀπέκτειναν, ὃν δὲ ἐλιθοβόλησαν to Mark 12:3. The latter verb both anticipates Jesus' lament in Matt 23:37–39 and recalls the murder of the priest-prophet Zechariah ben Yehoida in 2 Chr 24:21. His pluralization of the δοῦλοι suggests strongly that Matthew has in mind the Deuteronomistic motif of the sending of the prophets to Israel and their typical fates, at least according to Deuteronomistic theology. On the Deuteronomistic motif of the killing of the prophets, see Odil H. Steck, *Israel und das gewaltsame Geschick der Propheten: Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung des deuteronomistischen Geschichtsbildes im Alten Testament, Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (WMANT 23; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1967).

[79] Matthew has enhanced the allusions to Isaiah. For details, see Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 178–79.

[80] Thus Wolfgang Trilling, "Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des Gleichnisses vom Hoch-

parable of the Banquet, which follows immediately, likewise offers an aetiology of the destruction of the Temple. Second, Matthew describes the replacement tenants as οἵτινες ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν, underscoring [**345**] his interest in καρποί, that is, righteousness as the "harvest" of the vineyard. This is also in keeping with the focus of the next parable, in particular the parable of the Wedding Garment.

For our purposes, the most significant transformation is Matthew's qualification of Mark's simple ἀπολέσει ("he will destroy"). In Matthew this becomes κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς, "he shall put them to a miserable death." Κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπόλλυμι occurs frequently in Greek literature, including in contexts where the gods destroy the impious. For example, in Sophocles' *Ajax* Teucer prays that Zeus, Fury, and Justice the Fulfiller might destroy those who would desecrate Ajax's body: "Put these miserable men to a miserable end (κακοὺς κακῶς φθείρειαν), just as they sought to cast this man out with unmerited, outrageous mistreatment" (*Ajax* 1391). Menander's *Dyskolos* four times has characters uttering κακὸν δὲ σὲ κακῶς ἅπαντες ἀπολέσειαν οἱ θεοί, "may all the gods vilely destroy you" (138, 220, 442, 926). In Josephus' account of the Egyptian plagues, he writes:

> Again therefore the Deity sent a fresh plague to punish [Pharaoh] for his deceit. A vast multitude of lice broke out on the persons of the Egyptians issuing from their bodies, *whereby the miserable wretches miserably perished* (ὑφ' ὧν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο), neither lotions nor unguents availing to destroy the vermin. (*Ant.* 2.300)

Of course the phrase κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσαι is not restricted to actions of the gods; it is employed in a wide range of Greek literature to describe miserable deaths, however they are effected.[81] But when the phrase is used in connection

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zeitsmahl Mt 22,1–14," *BZ* 4 n.F. (1960): 254–55; Dodd, *Parables*, 99; Jeremias, *Parables*, 77; Davies and Allison, *Matthew*, 3:184; Hultgren, *Parables of Jesus*, 372.

[81] For example, Aesopus *Fabulae* 164 (κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε πάντες οἱ λύκοι, ὅτι μηδὲν παθόντες ὑφ' ἡμῶν κακὸν πολεμεῖτε ἡμᾶς); Euripides, *Cyclops* 268 (ἢ κακῶς οὗτοι κακοὶ οἱ παῖδες ἀπόλοινθ', 'If I am lying, may these sons of mine be taken miserably'); Euripides, *Medea* 805 (κακὴν κακῶς θανεῖν, 'that wretch must die a wretched death'); 1386 (σὺ δ', ὥσπερ εἰκός, κατθανῇι κακὸς κακῶς, 'you ... shall die a miserable death'); *Troiadas* 446 (κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσηι νυκτός); Sophocles, *Ajax* 1177: (κακὸς κακῶς ἄθαπτος ἐκπέσοι χθονός, 'for his wickedness may he be wickedly cast out of his country'); Aristophanes *Plutus* 65 (ἀπό σ' ὀλῶ κακὸν κακῶς), 418 (ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐξολῶ κακοὺς κακῶς), 879 (τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐξολεῖ κακοὺς κακῶς); Demosthenes, *De Halonneso* 45.6 (κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι); *In Midiam* 204.8 (εἶτα θαυμάζεις εἰ κακὸς κακῶς ἀπολεῖ; 'Then can you wonder if your evil deeds bring you to a miserable end?'); *Contra Zenothemin* 6.5 (κακὸς κακῶς ἀπώλετο, 'miserable, he was destroyed miserably'); Eubulus, *Fragmenta* 116–17 (κακὸς κακῶς ἀπόλοιθ' ὅστις γυναῖκα δεύτερος ἔγημε); Polybius 7.3.2 (ἔφη συλλυπεῖσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅτι κακοὶ κακῶς ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μάχαις ἀπολώλασιν ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων); Josephus, *Ant.* 7.291 (κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι); 12.256 (κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο); Aristippus (*apud* Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.69) (κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι); Cebes, *Tabula* 32.5 (ἀπόλλυται κακὸς κακῶς); Plutarch, *Cicero* 26.2 (κακὸς... ἀπόλοιτο κακῶς); *Antonius* 70.7 (τοὔνομα δ' οὐ πεύσεσθε, κακοὶ δὲ κακῶς ἀπόλοισθε);

with actions of a deity, as it is by Matthew, it conjures up images of spectacular and extravagant violence and destruction. Matthew here has God act in a way [**346**] that is hardly distinguishable from his Greek counterparts. The stock classical expression evokes both vengeance and unrestrained fury as part of these agents.

Matthew's version of the Banquet (22:1–10) similarly conveys a picture of unrestrained divine violence, when the king sets his troops loose on the city to destroy and burn. Matthew's version of the parable follows immediately upon his version of the Tenants and it is likely that Matthew's violent end to the Tenants has simply been carried forward into his rendition of the Banquet. The unrealistic and highly allegorical elements of Matthew's parable are obvious and need not be rehearsed here. It is sufficient to remark that Matthew has taken a parable told in a generally realistic mode in Q (14:16–24) and the *Gos.Thom.* (64) and turned it into an allegory of salvation (and damnation) history, borrowing from the Tenants the verb ἀπώλεσεν (21:41; 22:7) and adding the burning of the city, a motif that is featured in other Matthaean parables.

Both parables have in view the destruction of Jerusalem and both are directed at the same audience – the chief priest, the elders of the people and the Pharisees, who will be the main opponents during the Matthew's passion narrative as well. As I have argued elsewhere, Matthew displays a strong apologetic interest in these two parables, providing an aetiology of the destruction of temple and the devastation of Jerusalem.[82] For Matthew, the two parables offer an explanation of temple's demise: God's demand for righteous-

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Brutus 33.6 (οἱ μὲν δίκας τιννύοντες ἀπώλλυντο κακοὶ κακῶς); Lucian, *Philops.* 20 (κακὸς κακῶς ἀπέθανεν μαστιγούμενος); *Icaromenippus* 33 (ἐς νέωτα οὖν ἀρχομένου ἦρος κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολοῦνται τῷ σμερδαλέῳ κεραυνῷ, 'next year at the opening of the spring the wretches shall die a wretched death by the horrid thunderbold' [Zeus speaking]); Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon* 2.16 (κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι).

[82] Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, 199: "Josephus, writing about the same time as *2 Baruch* and Matthew, lays most of the blame for the destruction revolt upon the 'tyrants' or revolutionary factions that occupied and controlled the city during the siege; but he also cites enmity kindled between the high priesthood on the one hand, and the lesser priests and the leaders of Jerusalem on the other, which led to a general collapse of public order (*Ant.* 20.179–81, 205–7). For his part Matthew narrows the blame to the priestly élite and their associates, who at a climactic point in [his] passion narrative persuade (ἔπεισαν) the crowds to ask for the release of 'Jesus Barabbas' rather than 'Jesus the Christ' (27:17–20). A few moments later this crowd calls out, 'his blood be on us and our children' (27,25). This disastrous cry is for Matthew the product of the malice of Jesus' élite opponents. Matthew of course knew that many of the élite were killed during the First Revolt and that those who survived never regained power. Both the destruction of the tenants in 21:41 and their loss of the Reign of God in 21:43 refer to events in Matthew's world. His parable also imagines the ascendancy of the Jesus group in the place of the displaced élite, fulfilling God's original mandate to produce a good harvest (21:43). Matthew's account of the history of Israel both compasses an explanation of the disaster of 70 CE and holds out hope of restoration and recovery."

ness was ignored, God's repeated invitations to the Kingdom were rejected, and God's son and his prophets were killed. Under such circumstances, vengeance was inevitable.

Mark's editing of the parable of the Tenants thus played a crucial role in the development of this fantasy of divine violence. It is worth noting that of all the synoptic parables, *only* Mark's Tenants, Matthew's Tenants and Banquet and Luke's Entrusted Money conclude with the wholesale slaughter of opponents. Since both the Matthew's Banquet and Luke's Entrusted Money are found in the immediate context of their retellings of the Tenants, we must conclude that it [347] was Mark's story of divine violence that provided the template for the development of later fantasies of divine vengeance. Mark's account of divine violence is understated: it occurs in a single verb, ἀπολέσει. But this is all it took to encourage Matthew and Luke to produce much more detailed accounts of divine violence.[83] It might also be noted in passing that this exercise of divine force is *not* restricted to the End times but is, instead, an expression of lethal force by the deity *in* history.

2. Force against Insiders in Matthew

Mark 12:9, Matt 21:33–46 and Matt 22:1–10 all imagine the application of divine force against hostile *outsiders* – the chief priests, elders and scribes –, and imply that God is an agent in the destruction of the temple.[84] Matthew's depiction of divine force is not limited to these scenes, however. He also has several scenes of the punishment and exclusion of persons who are not opponents but *underperformers* – those who do not meet the moral standards of the Jesus movement. I will note these more briefly.

Two elements, both present in Matthew' sources, seems to have been influential in Matthew's representation of divine force and punitive violence: the motif of casting into outer darkness, borrowed from Q and, more importantly, the trope of household management.

Matthew reused two of Q's phrases, "cast[ing] into outer darkness" and "weeping and grinding of teeth" in contexts which lethal force. In addition to the text he drew from Q (Matt 8:12 = Q 13:28), Matthew used "outer darkness" at 22:13 and 25:30, and "weeping and grinding of teeth" at 13:42, 50; 22:13; 24:51 and 25:30, five times in all.

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[83] I have shown elsewhere that the Markan trajectory of aligning the divine with destructive powers is much longer, extending through Eusebius' treatment of the dispossession of the Jews in *Comm. in Esiam*, Stuart England, and Victorian age accounts of the triumph of British Colonialism, all of which utilized the parable of the Tenants as a parable of the justified use of force. See Kloppenborg, *Tenants*, chap. 1.

[84] On Mark and the destruction of the temple, see John S. Kloppenborg, "*Evocatio Deorum* and the Date of Mark," *JBL* 124, no. 3 (2005): 419–50 [chap. 16 in this volume].

In Q the scene is of Galilean villagers being denied entry into an eschatological banquet. In that context the phrases "outer darkness" and "weeping and grinding of teeth" (Q 13:28 = Matt 8:12), though hyperbolic, do not imply the torture or destruction of those excluded as much as the anguish and humiliation at being barred from a banquet with the patriarchs.

In Matthew's reuse of these phrases, however, more is implied. "Grinding of teeth" appears twice in the editing of Matthew's parable chapter (chap. 13), where Matthew attaches it to the description of the punishment of the wicked, who are "thrown into the furnace of fire" (13:42, 50). Commentators have already noted that the agricultural procedure reflected in the Planted Weeds is at odds [**348**] with contemporary agricultural practice.[85] Matthew's allegorical interests have evidently supervened and allowed him to embrace an unrealistic representation of harvest practices. Still influenced by the notion of *exclusion* from the kingdom in 8:12, Matthew has the weeds (= wicked) thrown out (βαλοῦσιν αὐτούς) of the field. And because he wishes to construct a figure of destructive punishment, burning is introduced in place of feeding the weeds to livestock. "Grinding of teeth" in the context of immolation obviously has a different sense than Q's grinding of teeth.

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[85] The burning of weeds in order to prepare land for planting is common enough, but the procedure envisaged by Matthew is not. Lagrange (*L'Évangile selon saint Matthieu* [4th ed. 1927; repr., EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1923], 268) expressed doubt over the binding of the weeds prior to burning: "Il paraît superflu de faire des gerbes liées avec l'ivraie; peut-être est-ce à cause de son abundance exceptionnelle, ou parce que déjà le sens figuré pénètre dans la parabole: l'ivraie, soigneusement ligotée, ne pourra échapper au feu." Robert Gundry (*Matthew*, 265) and Ulrich Luz (*Matthew 8–20* [Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000], 255) and Jürgen Roloff (*Jesu Gleichnisse im Matthäusevangelium: Ein Kommentar zu Mt 13,1–52* [Biblisch-Theologische Studien 73; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2005], 56) argue that it would be more usual to leave the weeds in the field.

At harvest weeds are more likely left behind by the harvesters and later used for animal fodder; they are rarely collected *first* and then burned. According to Dalman (*Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* [Deutsches evangelisches Institut für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem, Schriften 3/1–2; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1928–1942; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964], 2:248–50), darnel (*lolium temulentum*) is difficult to distinguish from wheat, but is edible by chickens and livestock. Ibid., 324-26: "Bei *bēt nettīf* | sagte man mir, daß der stehengebleibende Rest beim Ernten von den Schinttern fallen gelassen werde, damit er nicht in die Garben komme. Frauen sammelten ihn dann als Hühnerfutter.... Dabei will das Gleichnis [Matt 13:29-30] gewiß nicht den gewöhnlichen Hergang der Landwirtschaft schildern, sondern nur zum Zweck der beabsichtigten Belehrung einen dafür geeigneten Fall herausheben. Das zeigt sich besonders Matth. 13,30 in dem den Schnittern gegebenen Befehl, erst den Lolch zu sammeln und für das Verbrennen in Bündel zu binden, sodann den Weizen in den Vorratsraum zu führen. Die praktische Ausführung wäre nur so denkbar, wie es oben von *bēt nettīf* berichtet wurde, da die Schnitter unmöglich erst den Lolch | aus dem Felde herausholen und dann den Weizen ernten können. Die Möglichkeit seiner nützlichen Verwendung des Lolches, die auch für die Zeit des Gleichnisses anzunehmen ist, wird in den Hintergrund gerückt, um, dem Zweck des Gleichnisses entsprechend, den Gegensatz von Lolch und Weizen in möglichst großer Schärfe erscheinen zu lassen."

The parable of the Net (13:47–50) creates a yet more unrealistic scenario. This parable carries the same Matthaean message of the eschatological separation of the unjust from the just. While the image of the burning of weeds in a furnace has at least some pertinence in the parable of the Weeds, at 13:50 the metaphor of the furnace has become completely detached from its natural use and it now applied to fish. The tropes of the incineration of the wicked and their lamentation evidently had sufficient appeal for Matthew that he turned them into tag-lines that could be applied indiscriminately to any eschatological judgment scene. The original connection with the realistic scenario of exclusion from Q's nighttime banquet was progressively lost.

Having used Q's "grinding of teeth" twice in chapter 13, Matthew introduces it into another parable taken from Q (Q 12:42–46 = Matt 24:45–51) and adds Q's "outer darkness" to orthodontic abuse in his editing of Q 19:12–26 (Matt 25:14–30). Both phrases then appear at the conclusion of Matthew parable of the Wedding [**349**] Garment (22:13). By this time in Matthew's narrative the two phrases have assumed their full mythological connotation of eschatological torment.

While Q's adoption of the trope of the group of Jesus-followers as a household (Q 12:39–40, 42–46) accounts for its dramatization of internal discipline as the dismemberment, Matthew's development of the trope of the church as a household has resulted in the depiction of extravagant punishments not only for outsiders but for insiders, coded in his stories as "guests" or as domestic "slaves." Matthew's spatial imagination is strongly dominated by the metaphor of the household, into which newcomers might be admitted and from which they can forcibly be expelled.[86]

Household control through force is seen in Matthew's parable of the Wedding Garment, artificially attached to the parable of Banquet. In the parable of the Wedding Garment Matthew's interest shifted from an aetiology of the destruction of the Temple (22:1–10) to the unresolved problem constituted by the Matthaean community's invitation to both πονηρούς τε καὶ ἀγαθούς (22:10). The parable resolves the problem of a *corpus mixtum* by insisting, much in the vein of a similar parable told by Yohanan ben Zakkai,[87] that performance of the commandments – righteousness – is necessary if one is to survive the last judgment.

The nonrealistic aspects of the parable of the Wedding Garment are obvious. Persons invited off the street can hardly be expected to have come prepared with freshly washed clothing. This narrative *non sequitur* is sufficient to alert the hearer to the fact that the story has long departed the world of realistic

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[86] Michael Crosby, *House of Disciples: Church, Economics, and Justice in Matthew* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1988) stresses the centrality of the metaphor of the house in Matthew's gospel, but does not comment on the aspect of household control through force. Crosby's study should be read alongside that of Glancy ("Slaves and Slavery").

[87] *b. Šabb.* 153a = *Qoheleth Rabbah* 9.8.

wedding etiquette and is about something else. Hence, Matthew can be equally unrealistic in representing the punishment of the unfortunate guest, who is "bound" – borrowed perhaps from Matt 13:30 – and thrown (ἐκβάλλειν) into "outer darkness" amid the grinding of teeth (22:13). The extravagance of the punishment is striking when one compares this parable with the equally fanciful parable of Yohanan ben Zakkai, where those unprepared are merely shamed.[88]

As noted above, when Matthew took over Q's parable of the Slave left in Charge (Q 12:42–45 = Matt 24:25–51) he added, rather gratuitously, ἐκεῖ ἔσται [350] ὁ κλαυθμὸς καὶ ὁ βρυγμὸς τῶν ὀδόντων to Q's description of the dismemberment of the slave and his assignment of dishonorable place. Matthew also substituted ὑποκριταί for Q's ἄπιστοι, assimilating disloyal Jesus followers with those vilified in Matthew 23.

The conclusion to Q's parable of the Slave left in Charge may also have influenced Matthew's construction of his story of the Unmerciful Slave. This parable is, like other Matthaean parables, told in a fantastic idiom: a slave who owes 10,000 talents to his master – that is, twenty-five times the yearly revenue from Judaean allowed to Archelaus (Josephus, *Bell.* 2.97) – and a king who is willing to forgive such a debt. When the first slave is found acting in an unmerciful way to one of his fellows, he is handed over to the "torturers" (τοῖς βασανισταῖς).

It is not so much that the torturing of slaves is unusual; on the contrary, it is well known that prevailing ideologies of slave-owning held that force and torture were the only ways to produce reliable testimony from slaves. What is striking is how Matthew has re-used the scenario from Q 12:42–45, which there as here is aimed at insiders to the Jesus movement, evidently those in leadership positions.

Finally, the parable of the Entrusted Money – a text of terror as Richard Rohrbaugh has called it[89] – likewise concludes with the third "worthless" slave being thrown into outer darkness amid grinding of teeth (25:30). As a realistic story the parable makes no sense. As Richard Rohrbaugh has shown, the returns on investment expected by the householder are completely unrealistic except in the extremely risky world of maritime shipping. Matthew can only be

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[88] *b. Šabb.* 153a: Said Yohanen ben Zakkai: "It is like a king who invited his servants to the banquet and did not name the exact time. The wise among them came and sat at the door of the palace, saying 'Does the king's palace lack for anything?' But the fools went about their own business saying, 'Was there ever a banquet without a set hour?' All of a sudden, the king summoned them to his presence. The wise ones appeared all dressed and cleaned up for the occasion, while the fools appeared in their dirt. The king rejoiced to see the wise ones and was angered at the appearance of the fools, and said, 'Those who have dressed themselves for the banquet, let them sit and eat and drink, while the ones who are unprepared may stand by and look at them'"

[89] Richard L. Rohrbaugh, "A Peasant Reading of the Parable of the Talents/Pounds: A Text of Terror?" *BTB* 23, no. 1 (1993): 32–39.

thinking of some non-monetary gain, probably righteousness, as the parable of the last judgment which follows immediately suggests. The very extravagance of the parable, with its demands for unheard-of gains, alerts the hearer to the fact that an allegorizing code is to be inferred from the very beginning. That is, unlike Mark 12:1–8, 9, where the parable is composed in a generally realistic mode though v. 8 and only in v. 9 jumps to the imaginary world of the gods and their actions, Matthew's parable of the Entrusted Money *begins* as an allegory, and has lost most of its connections to the worlds of the management of slave estates, investment, and credible scenarios of gain. Hence, it is not too surprising when the third slave is punished extravagantly.

Conclusion

In the representation of modes of force purveyed on behalf of the Jesus movement, the Synoptic tradition begins with metaphors drawn from a range of violent scenarios well known from daily life in the Mediterranean, including housebreaking, the disciplining of slaves, and battlefield practices. In Q and Mark, with [**351**] one exception, the use of these scenarios remains well within the bounds of realistic representation. Mark represents Jesus as a military commander, defeating and dispatching demons, and as a strongman, able to overpower other men of violence. At only one point does Mark invoke a scenario of "imaginary violence" where the violence out of proportion to what is normally witnessed is unleashed, here on Jesus' opponents.

Q also preserves a generally realistic mode in its construction of metaphors of force but imagines deadly force used not only against demons but against partisans of the Jesus movement. In this sense Q, like Qumran,[90] constructs the self with threats of violent destruction, but unlike Qumran appeals to the "ordinary" violence of a slave-owning household rather than the imaginary violence of destroying angels and apocalyptic fire.

It is in Matthew that we see the widest development of scenarios of lethal violence. Matthew expands the scope and intensity of divine violence so that it is applied both to opponents and to underperforming insiders. Matthew makes explicit what is only hinted at in Mark, that the deity unleashes his fury on the people of Jerusalem and, like Greek gods, "evilly puts them to a miserable death." But Matthew surrounds the discipline of the self with threats of imaginary violence effected by God on those who fail to meet community standards.

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[90] See above, n. 69.

Addendum

For more recent treatments of violence and the New Testament, see S. Matthews and E.L. Gibson, eds., *Violence in the New Testament* (New York and London: T. & T. Clark International, 2005), and David J. Neville, *A Peaceable Hope: Contesting Violent Eschatology in New Testament Narratives* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013).

On violence in Q, see Ronald A. Piper, "The Language of Violence and the Aphoristic Sayings in Q: A Study of Q 6:27–36," in *Conflict and Invention: Literary, Rhetorical and Social Studies on the Sayings Gospel Q* (ed. John S. Kloppenborg; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1995), 53–72.

On violence and the religions of antiquity, see Christoph Bultmann and Benedikt Kranemann Rüpke, eds., *Religion, Gewalt, Gewaltlosigkeit: Probleme, Positionen, Perspektiven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 2004), and more generally, Jerzy Styka, ed., *Violence and Aggression in the Ancient World* (Classica Cracoviensia 10; Kraków: Ksiegarnia Akademicka, 2006); H.A. Drake, ed., *Violence in Late Antiquity: Perceptions and Practices* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006); Benjamin Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Ari Z. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt: A Study in Legal Interpretation* (Empire and After; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); idem, "Visibility and Violence in Petitions from Roman Egypt," *GRBS* 48, no. 2 (2008): 181–200.

The violent language of the Apocalypse has recently been contested, with Barbara R. Rossing, "Apocalyptic Violence and Politics: End-Time Fiction for Jews and Christians," in *Contested Texts* (ed. Melody D. Knowles, et al.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2007), 67–77; and Warren Carter, "Roman Imperial Power: A New Testament Perspective," in *Rome and Religion: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult* (ed. Jeffrey Brodd and Jonathan L. Reed; Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplements 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 137–151.

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